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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 1.

SHAKESPEARE'S DRAMATIC USE OF SONGS.

In the great majority of Shakespeare's plays there is some singing; and the exceptions are mainly those plays which are at least his, or are least characteristic of his genius. There is, if nothing more, a scrap of a ballad, or a stage direction for a song in every comedy but the *Comedy of Errors*, and in all the tragedies which are associated with the name of Shakespeare but *Titus Andronicus*, *Timon of Athens*, *Coriolanus*, and as I believe, the true text of *Macbeth*,—in a word, the most stern and drastic of the plays. In the historical dramas, being of peculiar genesis and nature, there are songs only in the two parts of *Henry IV*, and in *Henry VIII*. As poems, these songs have roused delight and a delicate affection in the hearts of generations. Where is there any one with the least feeling for poetry to whom the mere repetition of the first line of "Where the bee sucks, there suck I," or "Hark! hark! the lark," or "Under the greenwood tree," is not as the breath of a spring breeze? As words for music, they have inspired literally hundreds of composers, some of them to compositions of entrancing beauty. They have been made the subject of much laudation and critical analysis. But there seems to be no general treatment of their dramatic function;—their part in the plays and their relation to the characters singing them. It is the purpose of the present paper to discuss these topics.

The great number of the songs—some forty that are more than fragments, besides stage directions for six more, and about fifty snatches of ballads—impresses a modern reader as unnatural; but as the first pages of Chappell's *Popular Melodies of the Olden Time* show, singing was universal in England in Elizabethan times. The meadow, the street, the barber-shop, rang with popular melodies. It is also, of course, well known that the standard of vocal accomplishment in those days was not high. We have authentic records of the

much later introduction into England of the Italian art of singing. With the advance of the art, singing has become more and more the business of specialists, who sing much better than anybody in Shakespeare's England, but who make ordinary people ashamed to sing for their own or others' pleasure in company. The stage of the present day, as a consequence, will not tolerate a song not sung with a finish and skill unknown to the actors of the Globe and the Curtain. When every gentleman, nay, every tinker and carter, sang to kill time, having neither tobacco nor newspaper, the stage naturally reflected the customs of the day. Again, as there was neither regular concert nor vaudeville in those days, the legitimate theatre was the only place where public singing could be heard; and hence an actor who sang agreeably was listened to with a patience such as no modern audience would show. The abundance of music in Shakespeare's and other Elizabethan plays is nothing individual, but was the most natural thing in the world, when England was still vocal and merry.

As to the personages into whose mouths the songs are put, Mr. G. Bernard Shaw said once, at a meeting of the Browning Society in London, when someone had quoted the hackneyed lines from *Twelfth Night*, so often pressed into service to prove Shakespeare's surpassing love for music, that he should not like to sit down to dinner with the singers in Shakespeare. Complete songs are sung by fools, by pert pages, by men in liquor, by servants; by Autolycus the rogue, Caliban the monster, Iago the demi-devil; by Pandarus and Proteus; by Ariel and the fairies; by Ophelia, when mad, by Desdemona. In the company there is but one respectable man, Amiens, a mere walking gentleman, and but one noble woman in full possession of her intellect. Snatches of song are sung by such people as Falstaff, Petruchio, Mercutio, old Evans in the *Merry Wives*, the grave-digger in *Hamlet*, and Edgar when simulating insanity.

The snatches and scraps of song, as they inter-

rupt the play least and are most like conversation, are the easiest of explanation. A frequent form taken by a trivial contest of wit in Shakespeare is the pert application of bits of familiar songs. Thus Rosaline in *Love's Labors Lost* (iv, 1: 129) sings jestingly to Boyet :

"Thou canst not hit it, hit it ;
Thou canst not hit it, my good man."

and Boyet replies :

"An I cannot, cannot, cannot,
An I cannot, another can."

The free and easy wit, Mercutio, points his conversation (*R. J.*, ii, 4 ; 140, 151) with bits of verse, in which popular songs or improvisations to familiar tunes are employed as quips and jeers. The clown in *All's Well* (i, 3 ; 63, 73) is merely pert. Touchstone's farewell to the priest (*A. Y. L.* iii, 3, 101) is more like Mercutio's farewell to the Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*. Men of vacant minds at ease troll snatches of song, as the gravedigger in *Hamlet*, Petruchio, when he sits down at home and is drawing off his boots (*T. S.*, iv, 1, 143, 148), and Falstaff taking his ease in his inn (*H. IV*, Pt. 2, ii, 4, 36). Evans, in the *Merry Wives* (iii, 1, 16), covers his fear by singing. Men who are exhilarated by drinking sing snatches of song. The most exquisite example is Silence (*H. IV*, Pt. 2, v, 3). He caps every speech with an irrelevant line or two from a ballad : "Be merry, be merry !" "Fill the cup and let it come !" Falstaff says : "Why now you have done me right."

"Silence. Do me right
And dub me knight,
Samingo !

Is't not so ?

"Falstaff. 'Tis so.

"Silence. Why, then, say an old man can do somewhat !"

The fine scene with Sir Toby Belch, Sir Andrew Aguecheek and the Clown in *Twelfth Night* (ii, 3) will be recurred to later. Fools, who will be spoken of again, and mad persons betray their lightheadedness by irrelevant scraps of melody. Under this disguise the hysterical tenderness of the Fool in *Lear* is hidden ; his shafts of keen but loving satiric wit are couched in the form of improvisations and parodies of popular songs,

sung to familiar tunes. Edgar in his pretence of madness sings scraps of song, Ophelia does likewise, and it is in the scene where Hamlet confirms in the mind of Polonius the belief in his madness that Hamlet repeats, or as I think more likely, sings, a line or two of an old song. In fine, the singing of snatches of melody is, on Shakespeare's stage at best undignified, and usually unbalanced.

The complete songs present a more attractive and a more complicated problem. A few are mere epilogues, as is the song "When that I was and a little tiny boy," at the end of *Twelfth Night*. The actor who first played the part was a favorite singer, and an Elizabethan audience was glad of the opportunity to hear him sing a popular song—it is not by Shakespeare—after the play was over. The two songs with which *Love's Labors Lost* closes are in effect epilogues. Unlike the epilogue of *Twelfth Night*, they must be by Shakespeare. No other writer combined such vividness of concrete phrase, humor, and refined sweetness of diction as are present in these two songs. Yet they are mere tags to the play.

Other songs have a mechanical or technical function. They help to shift a scene or to bring in an aside. For example, in *As You Like It*, two people go out. It is desired to bring them on the stage again almost immediately, two hours or more being supposed to pass in the interval. A song is interpolated (iv, 2) between the two appearances, a lively song with a lot of bustle on the stage,— "What shall he have that kills the deer ?" Dr. Johnson complained that this "noisy sceue," in which nothing was transacted, was supposed to occupy two hours. So it did to the imagination. It took up the mind for the moment, broke the current of thought completely, and when the next scene opened, the auditor only felt that an indefinitely long space of time had elapsed since the personages then on the stage had left it. We must remember that there was no curtain closing off the whole stage, and no such decisive change of the scenery as is possible now.

Or again, where Proteus sings Thurio's song to Sylvia (*T. G.* iv, 2, 31), Julia is enabled to catch the proof of his faithlessness more easily and with less appearance of spying than if she listened to speech addressed to Sylvia alone. Likewise in

Much Ado (ii, 3, 64), Balthazar's song, "Sigh no more, ladies," gives the opportunity to make Benediek's hiding and detection more effective.

But these are after all superficial effects, mere accidents of the playwright's trade, having little to do with the fundamentally dramatic elements in the plays. Can we not find in Shakespeare's employment of songs a finer art than is exhibited in these tricks and devices?

A drama is an action; a connected sequence of human deeds. These deeds of the characters proceed from their will, or unconsciously reveal their characters. An action, then, brings together the two worlds, the world within us and the world without. A deed is dramatic, as Freytag tells us, if it is the result of an inward struggle, reaching a decisive determination, with consequences in the outer world; an event is dramatic if it acts on the inner life and affects the character. Will, then, is the supremely dramatic element of human nature. Further, an act to be dramatic must be part of a transaction, of a plot. Thus the appearance of the ghost in *Hamlet* is dramatic; it affects the action of Hamlet's mind, and has consequences psychological and material. Hamlet's mental struggles are dramatic; they affect the decision of his will, and determine the fortunes of others. Hamlet is a dramatic character: we see in him an effort to adjust the outer and the inner world. Ophelia is not in the same degree dramatic. In her case we deal not so much with acts and consequences as with fixed emotional conditions.

Melody, it is obvious, is in some respects the opposite of dramatic. It is the index and the natural result of definite emotional conditions with vague results in the world of action. It looks to no consequences, it is complete in its own paradise. Its seed is in itself, like the fruit tree created by divine power in the beginning of the world. A song sung naturally gives us a picture, not an incident; is static, not progressive. Thus in an Italian opera the conspicuous scenes are points of emotional overwelling,—joy, aspiration, retrospect,—in which the mood of a single figure dominates the stage. The aria is finished, the story is moved on by a quasi-conversation, and a new emotional picture is given. "Arsace returns—I rejoice"; "Margherita! how beautiful you look in the jewels"; "Ab, what a fright I

had last night!" The melodies of the Elizabethan age were gentle and closed in short space, and were therefore frequently recurrent. They are accordingly conspicuously incompatible with decided action and forward movement of the plot.

Songs, and especially such songs, are fit for one class of scenes above all—convivial scenes. Joy is its own justification. It looks neither forward nor backward, but simply bubbles out in ecstatic song, dance, and frolic. Song is the absolute ideal expression of joy, in real life as on the stage. Naturally, every convivial scene in Shakespeare contains snatches of singing, more often than not accompanying a complete song. There are five notable passages of bacchanalian gaiety in Shakespeare's plays: the one in *Henry IV, Pt. 2*, already referred to, in which Silence gradually gets drunk as an accompaniment to fragments of a dozen ballads; the scene in *Othello* (ii, 31) in which Iago tempts Cassio, and sings a pair of jolly songs; the scene in *Antony and Cleopatra* (iii, 2) in which Pompey entertains the triumvirs, and the boy sings "Come, thou monarch of the vine"; the scene in the *Tempest* (ii, 2), in which Stephano and Caliban sing; and the scenes in *Twelfth Night* (ii, 1 and 3), in which the musical fool entertains the two knights, and Sir Toby afterwards becomes irrepressibly vocal. The central song of the last passage, "O mistress mine," completely and purely expresses delight in living, but in it there is nothing dramatic, not so much as special appropriateness to the character of the singer. It is, of course, something to cause reflection that such words should be put into the mouth of a professional entertainer singing to two old sinners. We know Elizabethan England could provide plenty of ribald songs; but testimony of the most irrefutable nature assures us that the sympathies of the time were sufficiently pure for very ordinary fellows, bores even, to delight in such strains as these. Several of the drinking songs are designed to be in keeping with the characters who sing them,—for example, Stephano's vulgar tavern songs, and Caliban's grotesque canticle of freedom; and no doubt the drinking song in *Antony and Cleopatra* is designedly classical in its allusions.

The central function of Shakespeare's songs, however, the function of the songs most loved

and best remembered, is to give a tone, usually a glamor and a sense of romance, to a whole play. Proteus's song to Sylvia, the only song in Shakespeare actually sung by a lover to his mistress, and by him under pretense of acting as a deputy, is the song of a faithless lover, and its substance has no peculiar fitness to the situation. Only the age and time and place wherein such songs are sung is raised and ideal. In *Cymbeline* it is Cloten who causes to be sung the "hunt's-up,"—"Hark! hark! the lark"; but the charm of the song makes the whole play beautiful with the light of morning, while the song of the two boys by "fair Fidele's grassy tomb" perfumes it as with the breath of violets.

It is in the woodland romances that this effect is most plain; as is natural from the traditions of Elizabethan song. It is largely, if not mainly, pastoral in spirit. The pastoral form has never taken firm hold in English literature, but the pastoral spirit has been vital there as in few literatures, a spirit of delight in rural life, felt by people near enough to enjoy it, far enough to appreciate it, and sophisticated enough to idealize it. In the pastoral romances, elegant and refined shepherdesses, or princesses disguised as such, are wooed by elegant and chivalrous shepherds; and both of them fill every pause with song. When the hero is sad, he sings; when hopeful, he sings; when he has nothing to do, he sings; when he is going to do something, he sings; and when he has done something, he sings. We are told what passion his songs display, but when we read the verses the passion seems to have evaporated, leaving usually a *caput mortuum*, but sometimes a delicate savor of gentle and romantic beauty, and a strange and sweet union of sincerity and artificiality. Such are the songs and pastorals of Breton, the successful songs of Lodge and Greene, and such in the drama are the golden songs of Peele, and Lyly's "Cupid and my Campaspe." Arcadia is a kind of fairyland, and Cupid and other delicate mythological fancies from the gardens of Alexandria are not unfit associates for the princesses of curds and cream who dwell there. The appropriateness of such songs to the forest of Arden is evident, even though a clearer air blows in it than in the sometimes "musky alleys" of Arcadian groves. Without "Under the greenwood tree," "Hey, ding-

a-ding," and "Blow, blow, thou winter wind," how much even of the charm of Rosalind would be lost.

Fairies and sweet spirits of course sing. One might think song would be their natural speech; but this is not the case. Fairies and witches speak in a special metre, but they speak. Yet the incantations of fairyland are often sung:

"Ye spotted snakes, with double tongue,
Thorny hedge-hogs, be not seen;
Newts and blind worms, do no wrong;
Come not near our fairy queen."

At the end of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, a stage direction calls for a song and dance of the fairies to hallow the house; and the pretended fairies in *The Merry Wives* play their pranks with a song, reminding us how in Lyly's plays no mischief of page or fairy but is performed to singing. The scenes in *Macbeth* containing stage directions for a song are generally regarded as spurious, and while the witches must intone "Double, double," or deliver it in recitative, the metrical structure of the verses which accompany this refrain seem to make a regular tune for the words very unlikely. Ariel is a creature of song. His element is even more ethereal than that of the fairies, and he is represented nearly always as exercising his magic influence, or as in an ecstasy beyond expression except through song. Hence he sings always.

Fools are all singers. They are professional entertainers, they are emotionally unbalanced, hysterical, and excitable, and song, whether fragmentary or complete, is appropriate in their mouths. Rogues also sing. Like fools, they make a business of entertaining; and their irresponsibility is marked by their giving themselves up to impulse, instead of looking to the remote consequences of action. Illustrations are Falstaff, Pandarus, Autolycus. Rogues and fools are generally but two species of the same genus in Shakespeare, and both alike are usually given something of the golden charm of Arcadian life such as pervades the atmosphere of *As You Like It*. Autolycus in particular through his songs expresses the delights of irresponsible living sweetly and perfectly.

Effective men do not sing in Shakespeare. Iago may seem to be an exception; but Iago

sings not to sing but to seduce. He sings as a dramatic act, with purpose and with effect in the plot. He assumes the appearance of unthinking good-fellowship, and in doing so displays another of the gifts which his creator lavished upon him. We may be sure he was a creditable vocalist as well as a ready improvisator.

A station of dignity is incompatible with singing, on the stage of Shakespeare, either by man or woman. Hence great personages who desire to hear music call for it, and the actual singing is performed by a servant or attendant, usually a young person. Here, of course, the influence of practical exigencies in determining the assignment of rôles must be recognized. Singing parts would naturally be taken by the best vocalist in the company; and a company would be strangely fortunate in which the best vocalist possessed also the abilities qualifying him for the nobler rôles. In principle, Hamlet as a complete gentleman should be a musician; but Hamlets who can rise to the part are not so common that the choice should be limited by adding dispensable requirements to the absolute necessities of the part. Often, indeed, the singer might not have histrionic talent for even humble rôles. Hence, the playwright, except where assured of uncommon powers possessed by the singing actor, could safely offer him only a colorless part, or at best one of little variety, in which he could be coached. Yet, after all allowances and abatements are made, it is plain that like all other wise artists, like the painter in oil who "feels his medium," or the architect who is aware that the same ideas cannot be expressed in marble, iron, and brick, Shakespeare has by accepting the limitations of his art, made them the means of characteristic effects. It is to be observed that even the noble personages who care for music in Shakespeare are in general a little soft. It is the love-sick duke in *Twelfth Night* who is consoled by listening to Feste and finds "music the moody food of love." Brutus asks the boy Lucius for a song, and the emotional tenderness of Brutus, hidden under his mask of stoicism, is often suggested. The melancholy Jaques, who beweeeps the deer, calls for Amiens' first song; and though the banished duke asks for the second, he does not listen, but talks to Orlando. The songs at the ladies' windows,

"Hark! hark! the lark," and "Who is Sylvia?" are conventional compliments, and indicate no interest in music on the part of either Cloten or Thurio. It is a trait of the character of Othello, a man of action, that he "does not greatly care to hear music," and of Benedick that he says, "A horn for my money!" To be sure, Benedick tries to sing when he is in love; but he makes himself ridiculous in the attempt.

Among women, the forsaken and unhappy lady is solaced by song. Mariana in her moated grange hears her page sing "Take, oh, take those lips away." Queen Katharine in *Henry VIII* listens to "Orpheus with his lute,"—the convention is the same whether the scene be Shakespeare's or not. The reason why decent, effective, and dignified men do not sing or appear to care much for song in Shakespeare is that they are responsible persons in the world of action: it is the passive characters in tragedy who sing or are comforted by song. It is the pathetic situation of the woman, a passive character, overcome by fate not deserved, the satellite of the active characters, which is thus accentuated,—pathetic, I say, not tragic, overcoming by pity, not associated with terror. Ophelia's songs are of this nature, and Desdemona's song of "Willow, Willow," owes its dramatic effect to the same sentiment. It is a curious illustration of the difficulty felt in the Shakespearean drama of combining external dignity with the act of singing that the one lady should be mad when she sings, and that the other should be in the utmost privacy of her home, and overcome by melancholy sentiment.

In reading Shakespeare's dramas for the purposes of this study, I have been surprised to observe how many scenes, whether musical or not, are mainly contributory to the atmosphere and background, instead of the action, of the plays. The intenser scenes are in this way provided with foils, and the attention is not jaded by too constant excitement. Thus to some of the most active plays are given serenity and gentleness, qualities which predominate in the personal impression left by Shakespeare.

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THE EXCITING FORCE IN THE DRAMA.

Every drama has one or more exciting moments or forces. The purpose of this paper is to determine the nature, function, and position of the principal exciting force of a drama. Various definitions of this force have been offered from time to time, but the most important of these definitions contain obscure or conflicting elements. They do not agree as to either the function or the position of the force. In some of these there is even a confounding of the exciting force with the exciting cause of the action. It is my purpose, then, to attempt to clear up the obscurities and separate and distinguish the conflicting elements.

I shall take up, first, some of the definitions of the exciting moment as given by the different authorities on the subject. A. W. Schlegel, in his *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*, pp. 240-42 (Bohn's translation), several times makes use of the term 'first determination' or simply 'determination' as the beginning of the action. He speaks of the "determination of Oedipus to discover and punish the murderer of Laius; the pious 'resolve' of Antigone to bury her brother; Brutus' great 'resolve,' and so on. . . . The absolute beginning of an ancient tragedy is the assertion of free-will." Thus it is seen that Schlegel incidentally considers the beginning of the action as an act of volition, and this is the exciting force of the action.

In his *Technique of the Drama*, Gustav Freytag is more explicit and attempts various definitions of the dramatic exciting moment. Some of these definitions are very clear, but others are obscure and even contradictory. On p. 115 (MacEwan's translation), Freytag indicates accurately the nature and position of the exciting moment, when he says that "Between the [five parts of a drama] stand three important scenic effects, through which the parts are separated as well as bound together. Of these three dramatic moments or crises one, which indicates the beginning of the stirring action, stands between the introduction and the rise. It is called the exciting moment or force." Again on p. 121, in speaking of the element of volition necessary to the beginning of the excited action, he says that "in *Julius Cæsar* this impel-

ling force is the thought of killing Cæsar," and that "in *Othello* it is the agreement between Iago and Roderigo to separate the Moor and Desdemona."

Some of Freytag's illustrations, however, do not illustrate, as in *Clavigo*, the arrival of Beaumarchais at his sister's is said to be the exciting force. There is certainly no act of will in a mere arrival of a character. Nor can the entrance of Mephistopheles into Faust's room be the exciting moment. Nor can either the stimulating prophecies of the Weird Sisters in *Macbeth* or the melodramatic appearance of the Ghost in *Hamlet* be considered as the beginning of the action proper of the drama.

More consistent is Freytag when, on p. 124, he affirms that the exciting force "always forms the transition from the introduction to the ascending action." Again, however, his illustrations are not all apt, for the rescue of Baumgarten in *Tell* cannot be merely an act of will; it is the accomplishment of his determination, a stage in the rise of the Tell-action. On another page (197), Freytag calls Baumgarten's flight and rescue the exciting force.

Other illustrations of the exciting force show plainly that Freytag had no very clear idea of what such a force is. They make it evident that at one time he is thinking more of the scenic nature of the force than of its volitional aspect. Such physical actions as the arrival of Beaumarchais or Thescus, the rescue of Baumgarten, the appearance of a ghost, the utterances of the oracles, the reading of a list of names, the boxing of ears, the meeting of generals, are often called by Freytag and others the exciting force of the drama, though they may precede or follow, frequently by more than one scene, the real beginning of the dramatic action. Evidently the exciting force cannot be two entirely different things at one and the same time.

Professor Price, in his *Technique of the Drama*, p. 72, puts the beginning of the action in Act I, immediately after the introduction. With Price as with Freytag, there is a tendency to confuse the initiating moment with one of the causes of the action, which should belong, of course, to the introduction or exposition. Quite clear and definite, however, are Price's words on page 90:

"It is when issue is joined that the action really begins. . . . The moment the hero of the play or his following, or the opposing force, announces a purpose, the mechanism is set in motion. . . . It must occur in every first act, and is usually not distant from the conclusion of it."

Rather definite, but still somewhat contradictory, is a passage from Miss Woodbridge's excellent little book, *The Drama, its Law and its Technique*, p. 81: "The action proper of a play begins with what is called the 'exciting force,' that is, the force which is to change things from their condition of balance or repose, and precipitate the dramatic conflict. . . . Macbeth's meeting with the witches furnishes the exciting force. Here first is suggested to him the thought that afterwards develops into act, in the murders of Duncan and Banquo." But Macbeth's meeting with the witches does not begin the real action of the drama; it is only a part of the exposition, a presentation of one of the causes or occasions or motive forces of the action. The action proper begins when Macbeth says, at the very end of Act first:

"I am settled, and bend up
Each corporal agent to this terrible feat."

All before this is introductory matter, is preparation for action. The final decision to act is the exciting force.

Following in the track of the preceding authorities Bliss Perry reproduces their errors or contradictions. In his discriminating work, *A Study of Prose Fiction*, p. 53, he says: "Then comes, commonly in the middle or towards the end of the first act of the play, and not far from the beginning of a well-constructed tale, what is called the 'exciting (or 'inciting') force' or 'moment.' Something happens and even though this happening may be apparently insignificant, it begins to affect the entire course of the plot. The ghost appears to Hamlet; the witches confront Macbeth; Cassius talks with Brutus; the clash of interest begins; the lines of party or of faction, of individual ambition or resolve, are suddenly apparent."

The principal difficulty with the above terms and definitions is the fact that the critics have tried in vain to make one definition apply to two

entirely different things. Those who have attempted to give an exhaustive definition with ample and apt illustrations have invariably failed to perceive their inevitable contradictions. They have not seen that there is of necessity a difference between an inciting cause and an exciting force, between the introduction or exposition and the real action of a drama. They have forgotten that the first act of a drama is almost wholly composed of introductory or preparatory matter, the actual beginning of the dramatic action being reserved regularly, in a well-constructed drama, for the last few speeches of the first act or the first lines of the second act. They have failed to discriminate between the nature, the function, and the position of the exciting force. At times they have emphasized the scenic power of the force, as in the appearance of the ghost in *Hamlet*, and at other times its position. Some have laid stress on the word 'exciting,' others have been more concerned about the function of the moment.

The solution of the difficulty that I propose to offer is as follows. In the first place, the exciting cause of the dramatic action should be clearly and rigidly separated from the exciting commencement of this action. The first I would call the exciting or inciting cause, and the second the exciting or initial force or moment. For example, in the *Antigone* of Sophocles the exciting cause is Creon's edict that whoever buries the body of Polynices shall be punished with death; the exciting force is Antigone's resolve to bury her brother. In *Hamlet*, the exciting cause is the appearance and instruction of the Ghost to Hamlet; the exciting force is Hamlet's rather indefinite resolution that, with certain mental reservations, he will avenge the death of his father, ending with these words:

"The time is out of joint: O cursed spite
That ever I was born to set it right."

In Corneille's *Le Cid*, the exciting cause is the famous 'box on the ears,' the exciting force being Rodrigue's determination to avenge his father on the Count, though the offender be the father of Chimène. In Racine's *Iphigénie*, the exciting cause is the demand of the oracle for a victim of the blood of Helen, the exciting force being Agamemnon's 'Je cède,' his resolution to sacrifice his

daughter. In the same author's *Esther*, the exciting cause is the edict of the King that the Jews shall be put to death, the exciting force being Esther's resolve to enter the King's presence to intercede for her people, though she should perish in her attempt. In Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*, the exciting cause is Dr. Stockman's discovery that the Baths are contaminated; the exciting force is his determination to prepare and publish a report of his discovery. In Schiller's *Robbers*, the exciting cause is the reception of the supposed letter from Karl von Moor's father, the exciting force being Karl's resolve to become Captain of the band of robbers, expressed in these words, "As my soul lives I will be your captain."

I would confine, then, the exciting force or moment strictly to the actual beginning of the dramatic action, eliminating all introductory matter whether causal or explanatory. The function of the exciting force is, therefore, to initiate the action, to start the ball to rolling, to arouse the curiosity and interest of the spectator in the real conflict of opposing forces. At this point the hero, or the principal opposing force, comes forth, after being subjected to various influences from within and without, with his mind definitely made up to accomplish some great purpose. The forming or announcement of this cherished plan is the initiating moment of the conflict, the exciting force of the drama. Thus the nature of this force is psychological, an act of will. Occasionally, however, as in Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, this resolve takes place off the stage and is made known to the spectators by the physical beginning of the action.

Furthermore, the exciting force is, as a rule, connected directly with the hero or the principal opposing force, who resolves to do something. Electra resolves to avenge her father. Ajax determines to kill himself. In the liberty-action of *Tell* the three Swiss determine to stand together for liberty, in victory or defeat, in life and death. Wallenstein decides to continue his rebellion against the emperor. Mephistopheles resolves to tempt Faust, permission being granted him to test the unsatisfied Doctor. Brutus resolves on the death of Caesar. The early conversation of Cassius and Brutus is not, as Freytag and Bliss Perry would have us believe, the exciting force

of the drama. The early action of the hero's friends or adherents, as that of Cassius in *Julius Caesar* and of Nearchus in *Polyeucte*, only leads the hero to determine on doing something. Such action is, then, only preparatory or causal or explanatory, and therefore belongs properly to the exposition or introduction. Finally, in a comedy of intrigue the exciting force is generally the determination of the arch-intriguer to outwit his victim, often his master, as in Molière's *L'Étourdi*.

As to the position of this exciting force, the practice is that it comes almost invariably just before the first appearance of the full chorus in the ancient drama and at the very end of act first in a regularly constructed modern drama of from three to five acts. In *Oedipus King*, just before the entrance of the full chorus, Oedipus declares that he will, at all hazards, discover the murderer of Laius. In *Othello*, the agreement between Iago and Roderigo to separate Othello and Desdemona, occurs at the very end of Act I. In speaking of his resolve to avenge himself on Othello, Iago, in the last words of the Act, says:

"I have 't. It is engender'd. Hell and night
Must bring this monstrous birth to the world's light."

The Cid's determination to avenge himself on the Count is expressed in the last lines of the first Act of Corneille's *Le Cid*.

Rarely is the exciting force found in the early scenes of the first Act. It appears in the very beginning of *Richard III*, where the hero, with his mind fully made up as to his plans, declares, "I am determined to prove a villain," and then plunges at once into the action of the drama which is dominated by his personality. In other plays of Shakespeare, as in the histories and romances, which contain a large epic element, the exciting force is usually given at or near the beginning of the first act, employing the traditional method of the Classical epic poems that plunge at once *in medias res*. Thus the remarks of Bliss Perry, quoted above, are more true perhaps of the novel, which is epic in form and spirit, than of the drama.

A few dramas, as Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, defer the exciting force to the beginning of the second act, in order that the hero may make use of the additional time that passes in the interval

between the first and second acts. With consummate art Shakespeare makes us see that the action is important, concerning not simply individuals but kings and empires, and that this interval of time was employed by Brutus in a most exciting inward conflict :

"Between the acting of a dreadful thing
And the first motion, all the interim is
Like a phantasma or a hideous dream :
The genius and the mortal instruments
Are then in council, and the state of man,
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then
The nature of an insurrection."

Now, this 'first motion' is an exact definition of the exciting force, which is expressed in Brutus' words at the beginning of Act II, "Then it must be by his death," the completion of the hero's resolve to join and lead the conspiracy against the life of Cæsar. Usually this conflict, whether inward or outward, is seen in the introduction, the interval between Acts I and II being devoted to preparation for the carrying out of the resolve which forms the exciting or initiating force of the action ; but in the case of *Julius Cæsar* the actual resolution of Brutus is delayed until after this "interim" between the "first motion" and "the acting of a dreadful thing."

In a Classical drama or a drama with only one action, there is, of course, only one exciting force and its position is regular, being at or near the end of Act I. In romantic dramas, however, there are often several actions—a main action and one or more minor or subordinate actions. Each of these actions has its own exciting force ; but sometimes, as in *Hernani* and *The Robbers*, the exciting force of a sub-action usurps the position usually held by that of the main action, intentionally perhaps misleading the spectators.

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A MISINTERPRETED PASSAGE IN GOETHE'S *HERMANN UND DOROTHEA*.

In order to realize the state of affairs presented in the concluding canto of *Hermann und Dorothea*, it should be remembered that when the maiden is

introduced into Hermann's parental home, all persons are aware of the young man's real intentions, except Dorothea herself. Thus the father, going straight to the point with his whimsical, self-complacent speech (IX, 78-85) unwittingly brings the uncomfortable situation to a head. Encouraged by the sagacious pastor, Hermann relieves the tension of the moment by confessing his stratagem and declaring his love to Dorothea ; and then the pastor, with his accustomed presence of mind and sureness of judgment, seizes upon the "psychologic" moment and of his own accord proceeds to the rites of betrothal, as follows (243 f.) :

"Noch einmal sei der goldenen Reifen Bestimmung,
Fest ein Band zu knüpfen, das völlig gleiche dem alten.
Dieser Jüngling ist tief von der Liebe zum Mädchen
durchdrungen,
Und das Mädchen gesteht, dass auch ihr der Jüngling
erwünscht ist.
Also verloh' ich euch hier und segn' euch künftigen
Zeiten,
Mit dem Willen der Eltern und mit dem Zeugnis des
Freundes."

The mercurial apothecary cannot refrain from signalling his felicitations before the ceremony is over (249 f.) :

"Und es neigte sich gleich mit Segenswünschen der
Nachbar.
Aber als der geistliche Herr den goldenen Reif nun
Steckt' an die Hand des Mädchens, erblickt' er den
anderen
staunend,
Den schon Hermann zuvor am Brunnen sorglich be-
trachtet.
Und er sagte darauf mit freundlich scherzenden Worten :
'Wie! du verlobest dich schon zum zweitenmal? Dass
nicht der erste
Bräutigam bei dem Altar sich zeige mit hinderndem
Einspruch!'"

Probably the passage would not bother the reader had it not been obfuscated by critical overconscientiousness. For the editors, from Father Düntzer on, are perplexed by the pastor's astonishment, inasmuch as he knows, or ought to know, all about Dorothea's former love affair (VI, 186-190). And so they seek for an explanation. Nearly all American editors of *H. u. D.* have dealt with this question.

Says Hewett (p. 209) : "The pastor's real or feigned surprise has led to the supposition that

the lines in canto VI, 186-190, were an interpolation," etc.; . . . *id.* (p. 210), anent l. 255: "This reference to Dorothea's first betrothed would have been cruel had the pastor known the verses VI, 187-191, describing the noble death of her lover, and her silent heroism under her loss."

Hatfield (p. 168), acquiescing, adds the remark that "such inconsistencies are not unknown in Goethe's works, notably in 'Faust.'"

Allen (p. 181) suggests as a motive for the pastor's feigned surprise a desire to elicit from Dorothea herself a recital of her story.

Thomas (p. 104) mentions the interesting fact that the pastor has once been on the point of telling Hermann of Dorothea's first engagement (VI, 251), and hazards two guesses, neither of them very plausible: . . . "to disclose his knowledge now, in Dorothea's presence, would bring out the story of his playing the spy upon her. He has also a pardonable desire to hear the story from the girl herself."

It strikes me as strange that none of the editors express any concern over what would be really far more disturbing to the æsthetic enjoyment of our poem than that inferential lapse of memory, real or feigned, on the part of the pastor; namely, the calamitous break in the delineation of his character by the poet. The taunting query:

"Wie! du verlobest dich schon zum zweitenmal?"

and the facetious threat:

"Dass nicht der erste
Bräutigam bei dem Altar sich zeige mit hinderndem
Einspruch!"

so unsuited to the solemn moment—would they not be wholly out of keeping with the spiritual and social grace of the pastor whom we know to be a man of the world (I, 80, 83; VI, 306, f.), and who has only just been commended again (IX, 239) as *gut* and *verständlich*, at the very opening of our passage? Yet there is no doubt that this *mauvaise plaisanterie* is laid at the door of the kindest and most sensible of ministers *nemine contradicente*.

It is slightly mortifying to have to confess that my own present understanding of the passage is due to the suggestion of a student at Washington University,—a Freshman, to make the humiliation

complete!¹—namely, that the pronoun *er* (251) might refer, not to *der geistliche Herr* (253), but to *der Nachbar* (249).

It will readily be admitted that those illtimed remarks are quite within the possibilities of our none too discreet friend of the mortar and pestle, while at the same time his surprise would not be quite so inconsistent with the antecedents. At the close of V (241 ff.) the apothecary was seen to leave the pastor and the judge to themselves; his excited curiosity deflected his interest from the judge's story. It is true, as Professor Collitz has clearly pointed out to me, that an unbiased reading of the sequel (VI) shows no evidence of inattention on the part of the apothecary when reference is made to Dorothea's first betrothal (186 f.). Yet absentmindedness there must have been. The question is: Whose mind was it that wandered? The pastor's? The druggist's? Or Goethe's? I contend that the presumption is against the apothecary, so that there is at least some probability of his being genuinely astonished at the sight of the old engagement ring.

Grammatically, to be sure, the proposed reference of *er* to *der Nachbar* seems at first rather dubious.

Not that the rulings of the grammarians stand in the way of the construction here advocated. The most that is to be gathered from their statutes is that the personal pronoun refers to a preceding noun of the same gender and number and that if ambiguity would follow the use of *er*, certain pronouns of demonstrative force should be substituted. Indeed the rule as formulated by Curme would hardly permit of any construction except the one suggested by Miss Harris. For Curme has it (§ 141, 7) that "*er* refers to the subject of the preceding sentence, or in a complex sentence to the subject of the main clause, while *derselbe* (or *dieser*) refers to some oblique case in the preceding sentence or in a complex sentence to some word in a preceding subordinate clause," etc. In our case, therefore, *er* in 253 would refer to *er* in 251 (as it must under any circumstances), and the first *er* could have for its antecedent not *der geistliche Herr*, this not being the subject of the main clause, but only *der Nachbar*, which is

¹ Miss Celia Harris, of St. Louis, Mo.

the subject of the preceding sentence. We must refrain, however, from making capital out of the above not altogether correct summary of actual literary practice, the more so since Curme himself practically repudiates the rule by advising, very justly, adherence to the personal pronoun (in preference over *derselbe* and *dieser*), if no ambiguity would arise therefrom. Heyse, 24th edition, p. 147, says that in doubtful cases reference to the subject of the previous clause should be made by means of *er*, but to the object by means of *derselbe*. The aversion to *derselbe* in such use, nay in conversational German its absolute avoidance, is not taken into account. In Curme, by the way, I find no allusion to the use of *jener* for *er* to refer back to a word in a preceding sentence or clause by which means a very careful writer may nearly always obviate ambiguity; e. g., "Aus allen Bänden ragten zahlreiche Papierstreifen und bewiesen, dass jene fleissig gelesen wurden." Gottfr. Keller, *Das Sinngedicht*, Ges. Werke, VII, p. 40.

In contrast with such almost overscrupulous avoidance of ambiguity stands the slipshod use of the personal pronoun which may be frequently observed in writers of a more ordinary stamp:

"Ihr Fuss berührte seinen Schenkel; er spürte es; es war, als ob ein Feuer von ihm (Fuss? Schenkel? er?) auslief." C. Freiherr v. Schlichtegroll, *Die Hexe von Klewan*, p. 78.

But ambiguity occurs also in writers who are in general quite careful in matters of style:

"Er (Jörn Uhl) warf den Rock ab und zog sein Hemd aus und fasste den Oberkörper des Verwundeten. Da stiess er einen Schrei aus; sein Kopf fiel zurück, und er war tot." (Not Jörn, but the wounded soldier, was dead.) G. Frenssen, *Jörn Uhl*, p. 272.

For the correct reference of the personal pronoun the writer unconsciously relies on the context; as a rule, he may do so with far greater safety than on any grammatical precept. The next illustration is from an author with an exceptionally good diction:

"Sie (Iphigenie) gedenkt seiner (des Tantalus) mit Ehrfurcht, auch Orest nennt ihn das teure, vielverehrte Haupt. Von einer Liebe zu den

Seinigen ist eigentlich nur bei ihm (i. e. bei Tantalus) die Rede." Kuno Fischer, *Goethe's Iphigenie*, p. 30.

It will be noticed that in the last example the personal pronoun does not relate "to the subject of the preceding sentence" any more than in the sentence from *Jörn Uhl*.

Observance of the "rule," in itself, by no means furnishes a safeguard against momentary equivocation. In the following, the noun subject of the first sentence would better have been repeated in the subordinate clause of the second:

"Das Kopftuch trug sie, wie sich's für ein ehrbares und unbescholtenes Mädchen gehört; doch alnte man den dieken Knopf braunen Haares darunter, obwohl es (das Kopftuch) das ganze Gesicht rahmte und hüllte." J. J. David, *Filippinas Kind*, Neue Rundschau, Jan., 1907, p. 96.

In ordinary conversation, too, the clarity of expression does not depend on compliance with the "rule." If I were told in a tone of perfect calmness: "Ich trat ins Zimmer meines Sohnes, um nach dem Ofen zu sehen und bemerkte zu Ümeiner Berrassung, dass er rauchte," I might be in doubt whether the surprise was due to the smoking of the stove or of the speaker's son.

A considerable collection of sentences with a more or less uncertain reference of the personal pronoun, culled casually from my miscellaneous reading in the course of a few weeks, furnishes convincing proof that the passage in *Hermann und Dorothea* in point of syntax has analogues by the score; yet our passage may be reckoned as unique in that the true antecedent of the personal pronoun has apparently not even been given the "benefit of the doubt."

In English the personal pronoun pays even less attention to the wishes of grammarians. This is due to the more restricted possibilities of substitution. The lack of surrogates is not infrequently responsible for actual ambiguity where enlightenment is not conveyed by circumstantial evidence. A double meaning would be carried by a warning worded as follows:

You must not put your hands on the pictures, else *they* will be soiled.

A few other cases of syntactical unclearness of the sort :

"It was a long time since Babington's course of life had fostered physical courage. As a college boy, etc. It was Plow that stood in all the glory of his healthy and mature manhood, ready and unafraid. *His* (Babington's) heart beat at his ribs as if it would burst, and his hands were helpless." Herbert M. Hopkins, *The Torch*, p. 349 f.

"By this time I had enough of these credulous inanities, and so I left *them* (refers to the Apostles Peter and John) to their foolish selves." Will. Schuyler, *Under Pontius Pilate*, p. 25.

In the next example, the reader's doubt is not resolved till the last word is reached :

"Morell, angered, turns suddenly on him (Marchbank). *He* flies to the door in involuntary dread." G. Bernard Shaw, *Candida* : Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant, vol. II, p. 235.

The following passage from a writer favorably known for his clear and trenchant style is of special interest in that the personal pronoun is even more remote from its antecedent noun than in our passage in *Hermann und Dorothea* :

"At heart Fiesco is never a republican, though he sometimes takes his mouth full of republican phrases. His mainspring of action is not the welfare of Genova, but his own aggrandizement. Old Andrea, whose power he plots to overthrow and whose magnanimity puts him to shame, is actually a better man than he. If *he* (Fiesco, of course) has a measure of our sympathy in his feud with the younger Doria, that is only because Gianettino is portrayed as a vulgar brute, etc." Calvin Thomas, *Life of Schiller*, p. 86.

It has already been noticed that the possessive pronoun is just as apt to lead to misunderstanding as the personal :

"Gemmingen's 'Head of the House' is an upright German nobleman, etc. . . . His eldest son, Karl, has fallen madly in love with Lotte Wehrmann, etc. . . . The younger son, Ferdinand, an officer, has taken to gaming, lost heavily and has a duel on his hands. His (namely, the upright gentleman's) son-in-law, Monheim, has

become infatuated with a dazzling widow, etc., . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 120.

For the careful reader there is no real ambiguity here, since preceding sentences prepare him to refer *his* to "head of the house."

My final illustrations, however, shall be still more to the purpose. Next to Goethe himself, the weightiest witness to be cited in support of Miss Harris's contention that the maladroitness remarks are interposed by the apothecary, not the minister, is undeniably Schiller. We may content ourselves with a single striking passage from his poetry :

"Aufs Weidwerk hinaus ritt ein edler Held,
Den flüchtigen Gamsbock zu jagen.
Ihm folgte der Knapp mit dem Jägerschoss,
Und als *er* auf seinem stattlichen Ross
In eine Au kommt geritten,
Ein Glöcklein hört er erklingen fern ;
Ein Priester war's mit dem Leib des Herrn ;
Vorankam der Messner geschritten."

Schiller, *der Graf von Habsburg*.

Here the immediate context is no more enlightening as regards the relation of *er* than in the lines under discussion ; and I fail to see why in the last analysis a narrow interpretation of a more or less fictitious rule is less absurd in *Hermann und Dorothea* than it would be in Schiller's ballad, had it ever occurred to anybody to propose it for the latter. Best proof of all, repetitions of the sin against that "rule" are not lacking in Goethe's own writings. Take this one which is not without special aggravations :

"Nach Aulis lockt er sie (viz. Klytämnestra) und brachte dort,

Als eine Gottheit sich der Griechen Fahrt
Mit ungestümen Winden widersetzte,
Die ält'ste Tochter, Iphigenien,
Vor den Altar Dianens, und *sie* fiel
Ein blutig Opfer für der Griechen Heil.
Dies, sagt man, hat *ihr* einen Widerwillen
So tief ins Herz geprägt, dass sie dem Werben
Ägisthens sich ergab und den Gemahl
Mit Netzen des Verderbens selbst umschlang."

Goethe, *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, III, 1 (l. 908 ff.).

Attention should also be called to the typographic divisions of canto IX of *Hermann und Dorothea*. I feel that according to the current understanding, l. 249 would better conclude the preceding section. Placed at the beginning of a new paragraph, *Aber* would certainly have less

adversative force. As it is, to make *aber* fit in with the sense imagined by the editors it would have to be taken not as the real German conjunction but as a mere connective in imitation of Greek *μὲν, δέ*; whereas properly read, *aber* here marks very skilfully the sudden check of the apothecary's blithe alacrity.

I doubt not that a closer scrutiny of the text on the basis of the above material will cause many to accept Miss Harris's suggestion, and that with the poet's acquittal of having marred the character presentment of the pastor, the enjoyment of the poem as an artistic whole will be still further enhanced.

OTTO HELLER.

Prague, Bibliotheca Caesarea Regia.

ESPRONCEDA, BYRON AND OSSIAN.

In the course of a study of the relations between Lord Byron's poetry and that of José de Espronceda, I noticed the remarkable resemblance of the Spaniard's hymn *Al Sol*¹ to Byron's versification of Ossian's Address to the Sun in "Carthon."² In both compositions the question is raised whether the sun will perish like mankind, or live on unextinguished, immortal; and the parallelism here suggested is established beyond a cavil by such practically identical lines as the following:—

"Exult, O Sun, in all thy youthful strength!
Age, dark unlovely Age, appears at length."
(ll. 29-30.)

"Goza tu juventud y tu hermosura,
¡ Oh sol ! que cuando el pavoroso día
Llegue que el orbe estalle y se desprenda
De la potente mano
Del Padre soberano, . . ."
(ll. 93-97.)

Before long I hope to show in detail how greatly Espronceda was influenced by Lord Byron, but the above interesting parallelism cannot be used to strengthen the case; for the Spanish poet died in 1842, and the lines in English quoted above

were first published in 1898. To be sure, Byron made another version of the same theme, but that, too, was not published until the same year.³ As it is clear, then, that a Byronic source for the *hymno* is out of the question, one turns instinctively to Ossian itself. In this connection, before considering Espronceda's poem on the sun, it may be well first to note that he wrote two confessed imitations "*del estilo de Osian*." These are grouped together under the joint title of *Oscar y Malvina*,⁴ and are preceded by the Ossianic legend "A tale of the times of old." The separate poems are called *La Despedida* and *El Combate*. While I have not made a minute study of Espronceda's possible relations to the Ossian matter in general, yet it is safe to say that in both of these compositions he has caught the weird, mournful, mysterious spirit of the "bard"; and there is, moreover, considerable imitation of proper names and incidents, beside such tricks as the use of compound epithets,—*armipotente, aurirrolladas*,⁵—and others like "*Oscar de negros ojos*."⁶ But there is also much original material in Espronceda's poems, particularly in the *Despedida*, which has little in common with the Ossianic matter except the use of such names as those of the lovers, Oscar and Malvina. *El Combate* has borrowed more freely,—from the Ossianic fight between Oscar and Cairbar⁷ ("Cairvar" in the Spanish poem); for not only do the two champions die of mutually inflicted wounds in both compositions, but the *défi*, in both, indicates borrowing:—

"Do I fear thy clanging shield?
Tremble I at Olla's song? No: Cairbar, fright-
en the feeble: Oscar is a rock." (p. 227, ll. 5-7.)

"Levántate, Cairvar—Oscar le grita—
Cual hórrida tormenta
Eres tú de temer: mas yo no tiemblo:
Desprecio tu arrogancia vosadía:
La lanza apresta y el escudo embraza:
Álzate, pues, que Oscar te desafia."
(ll. 8-13.)

³ Cf. *Atlantic Monthly*, 1898, vol. LXXXII, pp. 810-814; also *The Works*, &c.; *Poetry*, vol. VII (1904), p. 2.

⁴ *Obras*, pp. 50-54.

⁵ *El Combate*, ll. 22 and 24.

⁶ *La Despedida*, l. 49.

⁷ *The Poems of Ossian, Centenary Edition*, Edinburgh, 1896, pp. 225-229.

¹ *Obras poéticas de Espronceda*, Valladolid, 1900, p. 55.

² *The Works of Lord Byron*. London. *Poetry*, vol. I (1898), p. 229.

“¿Y habrás de ser eterno, inextinguible,
Sin que nunca jamás tu inmensa hoguera
Pierda su resplandor, siempre incansable,
Audaz siguiendo tu inmortal carrera,
Hundirse las edades contemplando
Y solo, eterno, perenal, sublime,
Monarca poderoso, dominando?
No : que también la muerte.
Si de lejos te sigue,
No menos anhelante te persigue.”

(ll. 79-88.)

- (5) “Exult then, O sun ! in all the strength of thy
youth : Age is dark and unlovely.”

(ll. 26-28.)

“Goza tu juventud y tu hermosura,
¡ Oh sol !”

(ll. 93-94.)

- (6) “Thou shalt sleep in the clouds, careless of the
voice of the morning.”

(ll. 25-26.)

“En tinieblas sin fin tu llama pura
Entonces morirá.”

(ll. 103-4.)

Weddigen, who is rather prone to see Byronic influence wherever skepticism or pessimism show themselves, speaks of this poem of Espronceda's as follows, with no mention of the source : “Espronceda's Skepticismus spricht sich in der Hymne ‘An die Sonne’ aus. ‘Wie viele Jahrhunderte ohne Ende,’ so heisst es darin, ‘hast du in ibrem unerforschlichen Abgrunde versinken, wie viel Glanz, Hobeit und Macht bevölkter Reiche verschwinden sehen !’ . . . Aber mitten in seiner Begeisterung unterbricht sich der Dichter. Er sieht den Augenblick voraus, wo die glänzende Sonne Spaniens [!] erbleichen und ohne einen Morgen in der Nacht erlösen wird. Seine Skeptis giebt dem Ganzen einen disbarmonischen Abschluss.”¹¹ All of this would be much more to the point if the composition were spontaneous. Blanco Garea shows a keener scent when he remarks concerning the *Himno al Sol* that Espronceda “copia imágenes y conceptos del falso Ossian, aunque calentándolos con el fuego de su propio numen”,¹² but he tells us nothing more precise.

¹¹Lord Byron's *Einfluss auf die europäischen Litteraturen der Neuzeit*, Hannover, 1884, p. 96.

¹²*La literatura española en el siglo XIX* (2nd ed.), Parte Primera (Madrid, 1899), p. 81. This opinion had, I believe, been previously expressed by Señor Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Other writers who mention Espronceda's *Al Sol* almost invariably speak of it as one of his greatest poems, but say nothing of its relation to Ossian.

Thus far the case has been clear enough. Espronceda certainly used the Ossian matter. Whether Byron's influence may be invoked to account in any way for this imitation, it is much less easy to decide. Byron's use of Ossian, even in compositions published during his lifetime, is of course clear enough ; and, this being true, one should be ready to admit that this habit might, consciously or unconsciously, have passed from him to his Spanish disciple. “Ossian points as directly to Byron,” says Professor Phelps, “as the chivalry and ballad revivals to Scott. . . . In Byron's poetry—sincere or feigned—we see constantly manifest the Ossian feeling.”¹³ Not taking account of probable reminiscences such as those in “The Giaour” (292 sq., and 620 sq.), one may appeal to the legend placed at the head of the “Elegy on Newstead Abbey,” to such compositions as “Ode on Alva,” and, more concrete still, to the prose “Imitations of MacPherson's Ossian” called “The Death of Calmar and Orla.”¹⁴ But the passage—probably Ossianic—that has the most direct bearing on the present problem is the interesting apostrophe to the sun found in “Manfred,” Act III, scene ii ; for several lines can be selected from it that remind one of Espronceda's poem :—

- (1) “As my first glance
Of love and wonder was for thee, then take
My latest look.”

(ll. 25-27.)

- “¡ Cuánto siempre te amé, sol refulgente !
¡ Con qué sencillo anhelo,
Siendo niño inocente,
Seguirte ansiaba en el tendido cielo,
Y extático te ví
Y en contemplar tu luz me embebecía.”

(ll. 18-23.)

- (2) “Thou chief Star !
Centre of many stars ! which mak'st our earth
Endurable, and temperest the hues
And hearts of all who walk within thy rays !”

(ll. 16-19.)

“Y el mundo bañas en tu lumbre pura,
Vívido lanzas de tu frente el día,
Y, alma y vida del mundo,
Tu disco en paz majestoso envía

¹³*The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement*, p. 153.

¹⁴See further *Ossian's Einfluss auf Byrons Jugendgedichte*, von Friedrich Wilmsen, Berlin, 1903.

Plácido ardor fecundo,
Y te elevas triunfante,
Corona de los orbes ceutellante." ¹⁵

(ll. 29-35.)

It may be well to add that these two citations from the Spanish poem are taken from the first third of it, while nearly all of those allied to the Ossianic matter occur in the later part of the composition. If these parallels to "Manfred" are to be taken seriously, one might perhaps hazard the guess that Espronceda caught the first suggestion of a hymn to the sun from his favorite, Byron, and that he then filled out his poem with ideas taken from Ossian. This would help to explain why he happened unintentionally to versify the very passage from Ossian that Byron put twice into unpublished verse. And yet these Ossianic poems of Espronceda's belong to his earlier and relatively un-Byronic period; and Ossian, an older force in European literature, may well have been not only the most important source for the hymn to the sun, but also its earliest inspiration; and "Manfred" may have come second in time as well as in importance.

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THE SOURCES AND AUTHORSHIP OF *THE THRACIAN WONDER*.

In *Modern Philology*, January, 1906, Mr. J. Q. Adams published an article¹ showing that the play, *The Thracian Wonder*, the earliest known copy of which is dated 1661, is based primarily upon Robert Greene's pastoral romance *Menaphon*, first published in 1589. Mr. Adams explains the resemblance, however, on the usual basis of the borrowing of one author from another, and so discounts any probability that the play is by Greene himself. More recently in *The Modern*

Language Review,² Mr. J. Le Gay Brereton, evidently unacquainted with the earlier article, puts forward Mr. Adams's first view, but argues in some detail for Greene's authorship of the play. It is the purpose of the present writer to present various resemblances between *The Thracian Wonder* and works of Greene other than *Menaphon*, and on this enlarged basis for inferences, to discuss Greene's relation to the play.

It has already been made clear that the main plot of *The Thracian Wonder* is substantially that of *Menaphon*. In both a cruel king accuses his daughter and her husband unjustly, setting her adrift with her child in one boat, and her husband in another, and putting them out to sea, whence in time, without knowing each other's fate, they come to the same shore, both take to the shepherd life and guise, meet and without recognition, and again fall in love with each other. The child, being stolen away, grows up in a foreign court, is loved by the king's daughter there, and later hearing of the beauty of the fair shepherdess, his mother, comes to pay court to her, as does her father, the king, neither of them guessing her relationship to himself. Through her father's contrivance she is stolen away from the shepherds, who at once go to recover her by storming the king's castle, and after much parley and complication all identities are disclosed, all wrongs are forgiven, and everybody is made happy. So far the *Menaphon* plot holds sway.

It is worth noting, however, that the resemblance between Greene's *Orlando Furioso*³ and *The Thracian Wonder* is hardly less striking than that between the latter and *Menaphon*. Indeed, although the *Menaphon* motive is the more fundamental, *The Thracian Wonder* is a fairly even compound of *Menaphon* and *Orlando*; for the latter not only provides the chief substance for the comic sub-plot, but influences the main-plot in significant and fructifying ways, such deviations from the *Menaphon* material as occur

¹⁵ Cf. also "Sardanapalus," II, i, 14-17:—

"But oh! thou true Sun!
The burning oracle of all that live,
As fountain of all life, and symbol of
Him who bestows it. . . ."

¹ Greene's "*Menaphon*" and "*The Thracian Wonder*."

² *The Relation of "The Thracian Wonder" to Greene's "Menaphon," Modern Language Review*, October, 1906.

³ It should be said that Mr. Brereton has called general attention to resemblance between the ravings of Palemon and those of Orlando, though the point was not developed and the larger resemblances between the plays were not noted.

being almost invariably in the direction of closer resemblance to the *Orlando*. All three plots agree in having a king accuse his daughter wrongly for her love and drive her from his court, as also in her taking the guise of a shepherdess, her later being proved innocent, being forgiven by her father and being restored to her lover (or husband). It is the *Orlando*, however, not *Menaphon* which, as in *The Thracian Wonder*, makes the lover the scion of a royal house, so that any wrong done him has political consequences, and must be answered for by one state to another; and, indeed, a considerable proportion of the dramatic complication in *The Thracian Wonder* results from the adoption of this device. Thus Radagon, who has been secretly married to the king's daughter Ariadne, is not, as in the case of Maximus in *Menaphon*, an obscure shepherd whose base birth wins the king's scorn, but like Orlando, a prince who, fired by tales of the lady's beauty, has braved all dangers and difficulties to win her hand. There is close resemblance also between their proud and proudly avowed of their allegiance to their love. So too, in both cases, when wrongs are visited upon them, ambassadors come to demand redress, and there is even considerable resemblance in the more trivial details of the scenes where the latter present themselves:—in each instance they arrive somewhat confusedly without guides or ceremony, and are forced to wander about in order to discover the whereabouts of the king whom they seek. Their wrongs are presented, too, in much the same way in both plays,—these scenes being, of course, lacking in *Menaphon*, because there the lover is obscurely born—and in each case the sovereign offers full redress and ends the audience amicably, although in *The Thracian Wonder* the action is drawn out to include some preliminary resistance of their demands on the king's part. It is evident that the author of *The Thracian Wonder* recognized in the *Orlando* motive here a helpful suggestion for multiplying and quickening the dramatic activities provided for his main-plot by the *Menaphon*.

It is in the comic sub-plot, however, that the contribution of the *Orlando* is most evident. The madness of the *Orlando* hero is diverted to this plot and becomes its central interest, although used in combination with the motive duplicated

from the main-plot, of a lady scorning her shepherd lover. This lover, Palemon, like Orlando, goes mad for love and is watched over by his brother, Tityrus, in much the same half-affectionate, half-amused spirit as that which Orgalio shows towards Orlando. Both guardians at times find their task too difficult and hire clowns to help them divert their charges. In both plays, too, the clown rehearse the vagaries of the madmen, then tease and anger them by levity, later get beaten by the madmen and themselves complain of ill usage. In each play, too, the clown pretends to be the madman's lady, deceiving him into the utterance of compliments and endearing terms; in each the madman fights in the mistaken belief that his lady has been stolen, talking meanwhile in high mythological strain of the wrong done him and the vengeance he will wreak upon her enemies and his, and alarming his friends for their safety, as well as his own, since he mistakes his friends for his imaginary foes. As in the *Orlando*, too, the madman in *The Thracian Wonder* is healed by the ministrations of a woman, and in spite of the greater elaborateness of the *Orlando* scene of healing, the general contrivance and handling of the two situations and the conduct of the patient are much the same—he is drowsy, murmurs dizzily and confusedly, feels vaguely at first the spell of the music, then rouses to full consciousness and recognition, receiving the assurance of his lady's love and all other explanations necessary to his full happiness and understanding. Certainly there is not much in the comic sub-plot of *The Thracian Wonder* which cannot, either by identity or by close resemblance, be traced to the *Orlando Furioso*.

There is one scene in the sub-plot of *The Thracian Wonder*, however, which is, not only in material but in mood and movement, so intimately like that of Greene's *James IV*, act iv, sc. 3, that one cannot escape the inference of some direct connection between the two, although the situation is of the more or less conventional sort. In *James IV*, the waggish Slipper making ready to charm the fair sex, is deep in discussion with tailor, shoemaker and cutler, all busy devising his adornment, while he exults in the thought of his triumphs. Andrew, a cleverer wag, seeing him in this glib state of exaltation, brings forward certain

merrymakers to divert Slipper's attention by music and dancing, and then, while Slipper is absorbed with these, picks the latter's pocket and runs off with all the money wherewith tailor, shoemaker and cutler are to be paid, thus shattering the hopes of the would-be gallant, who soon discovers his loss, cries out at first in angry distress, and then rallies into more cheerful thoughts of punishing his deceiver. So in *The Thracian Wonder* (iv, 2), Antimon, the merry-hearted vain old shepherd, decked for feminine conquest, considers this or that detail of his toilet, and calls urgently for a mirror, inquiring anxiously as to the effect of his garments and boasting that he is at last to prove irresistible to the lady of his heart. Meanwhile, his companion, the clown, seeing him entirely open to flattery, suggests that if he wears this bravery now before he sees his lady, he will be hopelessly beset by other fair ones, and so persuades him to exchange it temporarily for a simpler garb. No sooner is this done, however, than the clown snatches up the finery and runs away, leaving Antimon, like Slipper, to rail, at first in indignant despair, and then good-naturedly with threats of vengeance.

Another and perhaps less significant parallel obtains between *Alphonsus* and *The Thracian Wonder*. In the first, the hero, before he will help Belinus fight for the crown of Aragon, extorts from the unsuspecting monarch the promise that he himself may claim as his own whatever he captures in battle, meaning to lay hold of the actual Aragonese crown. Then with surprising accuracy and promptness he carries out his intentions, and at once reports to Belinus, diadem in hand, to have his rights of capture confirmed. In vain Belinus insists that his promise admits of no such interpretation; the triumphant Alphonsus will brook no denial. In the corresponding scene in *The Thracian Wonder*, Serena declares all favor to Palemon's love impossible until he gives solemn promise to perform a certain unexplained task. Then when the promise is given, she explains that he must not speak of love again or even look upon her without her consent, thus turning his oath to his own undoing in the very cause on which he is bent; and no amount of protest will bend her from claiming the fulfilment of his promise.

In the general stylistic features of the play, too,

as well as in actual material and plot handling, there is a good deal which is suggestive of Greene. Indeed, nearly all the tendencies ascribed to him by Grosart and Prof. Collins may be detected here—not only the more Marlowesque features of the pseudo-historical main-plot, the absurd array of kings, the prevalence of mythological allusions, the bombastic declamatory speech, but the effective lightness and popular appeal of the comic subplot, the genuine pleasure in the rustic setting, the recurrence of the "repentant note" and various other, though less marked traits.

Nor is it difficult to cite parallel passages which not only follow similar lines of thought and scene handling, but move with a similar sweep and spirit of rhythm. Take, for example, the passage in which Palemon woos Serena (*The Thracian Wonder*) in comparison with Edward's declaration of love to Margret in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*:

The Thracian Wonder, I, 2.
Pal.

"I'll pluck the moon from
forth the starry throne,
And place thee there to
light the lower orb;
And if stern Pluto offer to
embrace thee,
I'll pitch him headlong
into Phlegethon.

Or if thou'lt live, and be
the shepherd's queen,
I'll fetch Senessa from the
down of swans
To be thy handmaid: the
Phrygian boy,
That Jove so doated on,
shall be thy page,
And serve thee on his
knee:

Thou shalt be guarded
round with jolly swains
Such as was Luna's love
on Latmus' hill:
Thy music shall surpass the
Argus'-tamer;
If this content thee not,
I'll dive into the bottom of
the deep,
And fetch thee bracelets of
the orient pearl;
The treasure of the sea
shall all be thine."

*Friar Bacon and Friar
Bungay*, III, 1
Edward.

"I tell thee, Peggie, I will
haue thy loues;
Edward or none shall con-
quer Margret.
In Frigats bottomd with
rich Sethin planks,
Topt with the loftie firs of
Libanon,
Stemd and incast with
burnisht Iuorie,
And overlaid with plates of
Persian wealth,
Like Thetis shalt thou
wanton on the waues,
And draw the Dolphins to
thy louely eyes,
To daunce lauoltas in the
purple streames;
Sirens, with harpes and
siluer psalteries,
Shall waight with musicke
at thy frigots stem,
And entertaine faire Mar-
gret with their laies.
England and *Englands*
wealth shall wait on thee,
Brittaine shall bend vnto
her princes loue,
And doe due homage to
thine excellence,
If thou wilt be but Ed-
wards Margret."

One must remember, of course, that parallel passages lend themselves, with suspicious haste, to almost any theory set forth and that contradictory theories easily take shape where one emphasizes likeness and another difference. There is general resemblance to Greene, however, and considerable suggestion of the more elusive, subtler sort in one of the lyrics of *The Thracian Wonder*, Palemon's song to Serena (I, 2) :

"Art thou gone in haste?
 I'll not forsake thee;
 Runn'st thou ne'er so fast
 I'll o'ertake thee:
 O'er the dales, o'er the downs,
 Through the green meadows,
 From the fields, through the towns,
 To the dim shadows.

 All along the plain
 To the low fountains,
 Up and down again
 From the high mountains, &c."

Certainly Greene might have written this so far as spirit and movement go. Moreover, while the play bears various marks of the earlier Elizabethan drama, it is clearly not by any well-known dramatist of that time—Kyd, Marlowe, Peele, Lyly, or any of the rest—so that it would seem that if any of that group wrote it, Greene was the man.

And yet when all is said, one cannot feel that the play—at least in its present form—is Greene's. It is hard to conceive of one dramatist as borrowing so intimately and so extensively in detail from another, as a different author for *The Thracian Wonder* must necessarily have borrowed from Greene; but it is perhaps even more improbable that Greene would thus fully have duplicated his own material, fond as he was of repeating himself, and it has been the chief purpose of this paper to show that *The Thracian Wonder* in its plot is practically compounded from Greene's accepted works. There may be passages, too, where Greene's versification at its best, his purest lyric quality and his most musical touch could be granted, but there are many more in which he may not be traced in any stage of his development. It is, indeed, for the most part better than his worst and worse than his best, being stricter in its observance of certain simple metrical proprieties,

much fuller of broken and run-on lines and in other points of technique more skilfully constructed, but lacking, except in rare instances, in a certain native limpidity and freshness which gratify us in Greene's verse in spite of its frequent crudity.

Indeed, it is largely because the play as a whole is not redolent of Greene's spirit that we must look elsewhere for its author. It lacks the frank exuberance of his early Elizabethan ardor, his joy in his many kings and their marvellous doings, his unrestrained naïve delight in what a later age came to smile at half cynically. Marvels like his do come to pass in the play, but they come as the cold dramatic conventions of the time and not as the natural expression of a time when faith and imagination were young. The kings talk as gloriously as did Alphonsus or Tamburlaine, but they do not believe in themselves, because the author does not believe in them, and the sublimity of real self-trust which inevitably commanded a certain respect for the earlier heroes gives way in our minds to an amused contempt. The age of enthusiasm is dead. Indeed, not even the lovers escape the general infection. The serious ones are past genuine passion and with most of them raillery alternates with some slight surrender to feeling. The unquestioning devotion of a Dorothy or a Margret has given way to a certain piquant coquetry and we look in vain for the real tenderness of a love like that between Lacie and Margret.

What, then, must we conclude? Chiefly this—that the play—in its present form at least—is not Greene's. Such a conclusion leaves open a choice between two possibilities of inference:

1. That it was gotten together by Greene, and later completed or revised by some other dramatist, or other dramatists working in conjunction.
2. That it was rather deliberately compounded from Greene's plays by a close student and great admirer of them.

As to date, the play in its finished form seems to the present writer to belong to the period at the beginning of the seventeenth century, probably that of the earlier decadence of the drama, somewhere between 1600 and 1610. My attention has been called to the fact that (in *T. W.* iv, 2) Antimon,

one of the characters in the play, speaks of "old Menaphon," in a sense which must be interpreted as "well known" or "popular," since Menaphon is distinctly represented by Greene as a youth. The term "old" was in that day somewhat rarely used in this sense, but it is found several times in Shakespeare and so may be thus construed here.⁴ If it is so construed, it suggests that the play builds on some lapse of time since the appearance of the romance, and upon an accumulated popularity of the hero of the latter. This, of course, gives no basis for exact inference as to the date of our play, but it at least suggests that the latter may not have followed very close on the romance. That it belongs to a time anywhere approaching the date of its publication, no one will be at all likely to believe.

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ON THE EDITING OF CHAUCER'S MINOR POEMS.

Among the manuscripts which preserve to us the shorter poems of Chaucer, three are of peculiar interest. They are all contained in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and are marked respectively Fairfax 16, Bodley 638, and Tanner 346; their Chaucerian texts are printed by the Chaucer Society, and are thus accessible to every student.

Examination of the contents of these MSS. shows a relationship even more striking than editors of the separate poems have noted. Tanner and Bodley, the two smaller MSS., agree very closely in their contents, and their list is paralleled with equal closeness by the first portion of the larger Fairfax volume. All three are, however, independently transcribed, though evidence shows that while Fairfax and Bodley are derived almost entire from one common original (which I shall call FB), Tanner was copied from another codex, either the ancestor or the sister of FB. Of the three Tanner, written by several hands, is the poorest, but Fairfax and Bodley, each written by

one man, are equally careful transcriptions of an original as good as they; while the excellence of their texts shows that the ultimate ancestor of all three codices (which I shall call Oxford), must have been as sound as its worthiest descendants, Tanner's degenerations being of its own introduction.

The lost Fairfax-Bodley, a codex containing at least 17 poems, can therefore be reconstructed with clearness, and its texts of the Minor Poems established; while the lost ancestor Oxford, containing at least 11 eutries, can also be reconstructed with a high degree of probability, unless proof of contamination with another type should be adduced.

For two poems by Chaucer this group-solidarity is very important, the *Book of the Duchess* and the *House of Fame*. The former poem remains to us in these three Oxford MSS. alone, the latter only in Fairfax, Bodley, and the degenerate Pepys 2006, see *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xix, 196. An editor of either of these poems or a student of Chaucer's four-beat verse should therefore reconstruct either Oxford or Fairfax-Bodley as his text; but when he has accomplished this, he has obtained the readings of only one type of MSS. Should emendation seem necessary, it must be made from knowledge of the usual trend of error in FB or in Oxford, and that knowledge can only be obtained from a reconstruction of all the texts contained in the lost codices.

The frequent procedure of editors has been a spring from the existing copies to a lost archetype "X"; but in this Oxford Group of MSS. we have material for another mode of treatment, the distinct conception of each individual copyist and his weaknesses. Were full noting of the scribe's peculiarities carried out also for the remarkable Cambridge MS. Gg iv 27, the direct antagonist of the Oxford type, we should have material for a final opinion on the text of one of the Minor Poems, the *Parlement of Foules*; at least, we should be better able to judge which type may have preserved Chaucer's retouchings. Cambridge's possession of the unique version of the prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* is balanced by Oxford's preservation of the *Book of the Duchess* and the *House of Fame*; Oxford's inclusion of non-Chaucerian poems is paralleled by Cambridge's inclusion of the *Temple of Glass*, etc.;

⁴I am indebted to Dr. Percy W. Long, formerly of Bryn Mawr College, for this explanation.

and if we assert Chaucerian retouchings of the *Parlement of Foules* for Cambridge, what shall we do with the peculiar *Anelida* readings of Oxford, part of which Skeat adopts and part of which he passes by, with a sureness of instinct especially his own?

The great value of the Oxford Group lies, then, in the clearness with which each step of its descent can be traced, and the certainty with which we can work back to a ms. two degrees nearer Chaucer than the existing volumes. The value of Cambridge is still unproven. It contains that version of the prologue to the *Legend* which according to much recent argument is the later, copies of the *Troilus* and of the *Canterbury Tales* which are not of the earlier type in either case (this I must elsewhere establish for the *Canterbury Tales*), a copy of Lydgate's *Temple of Glass* which Schick thinks has been altered by other hands, and a text of the *Parlement of Foules* which Koch treats as containing corrections direct from Chaucer. There is no parallelization of the two types, Oxford and Cambridge, except in this one poem; but an assertion such as Koch's is untenable until Cambridge as a personality has been conjured up before students and the contact of his ms. with Chaucer proved. Until the man Gg has been realized for us on the one hand and the ample material for the reconstruction of Oxford used on the other, we shall still speak in hypotheses regarding the text of the Minor Poems.

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SIREN-MERMAID.

In the twelfth book of the *Odyssey*, the Sirens are somewhat vaguely described as two creatures that sit in an island-meadow, and enchant men with their clear song. In Euripides, *Helena*, 172, they are "winged maidens" (πτεροφόροι νεάνιδες). In various other classical writers, and regularly in ancient Greek and Roman art, they are part woman, part bird. See Anaxilas, quoted in Athenaeus XIII, 558 C; Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.*, IV, 898-9; Ovid, *Metam.*, V, 553; Hera-

clitus, *De Incredibil.*, 14; Hyginus, *Fab.*, 125 and 141; Pliny, *N. H.*, X, 49, 70; Pausanias, IX, 343; Ansonius, *Griph. Tern. Num.*, 21; Servius, ad *Aen.*, V, 864; Claudian, *Rapt. Proserp.*, III, 254; Fulgentius, *Mythol.*, II, 8; Isidore, *Orig.*, XI, 3, 30; Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, III, 1642 ff.; J. E. Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey in Art and Literature*, pp. 146 ff.; G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst*, pp. 93 ff. In Plato's Vision of Er, *Rep.*, 617B, "upon each of the circles of the spindle is mounted a Siren" (ἐφ' ἐκάστου βεβηκέναι Σειρήνα). And the writers of the Septuagint felt free to substitute "siren" for "ostrich," *Micah*, I, 8, καὶ πένθος ὡς θυγατέρων σειρήνων.

In our earlier English poetry the Siren is regularly a mermaid. In his *Old English Miscellany* (EETS. 49), Dr. R. Morris prints a Bestiary which comes from a ms. of about the middle of the thirteenth century. Under the heading 'Natura Sirene,' it describes the "mereman" as "half man and half fis." See, also, the *Gest Historiale* of the Destruction of Troy, 13272-3,

firo the navell netherward noght but a fissehe
And made as a maidon fro the myddes vp;

Chancer, *Nonne Preestes Tale*, 450 ff.; *Romaunt of the Rose*, 682-4,

Though we mermaydens clepe hem here
In English, as in our usaunce,
Men clepen hem sereyns in Fraunce;

Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, I, 487-91,

Of body bothe and of visage
Lik unto wommen of yong age
Up fro the Navele on hih thei be,
And doun benethe, as men mai se,
Thei bere of fisses the figure;

Shakespeare, *Comedy of Errors*, III, 2. 45-47; Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II, 12, 31. Lyly's Syren, *Loves Metamorphosis*, IV, 2. 30, is "halfe fish, halfe flesh." In Boethius, *Consol.*, I, prosa I, Chaucer translates "sirenae" by "mermaids." In Alexander Barclay's third Egloge, "Mayrmaydes singing, abusing with their song," are mentioned among the dangers of the sea. Robert Greene speaks, in his *Mamillia*, of "Ulysses and the Mermaides," and so does Sir John Davies, in his *Soule of Man*. In William Browne's *Inner Temple Masque*, we have a return to classical au-

thority: "two Syrens, as they are described by Hyginus and Servius, with their upper parts like women to the navell, and the rest like a hen." But Shirley could still say, *Love's Cruelty*, iv, 2,

His mermaids cannot win me with their songs.

This shift of meaning—from "part woman, part bird" to "half woman, half fish"—is sometimes explained as being due to uniting the classical myth of the Sirens with the Teutonic and Northern superstition of the mermaid.¹ But it may not be necessary to assume any Teutonic influence. In French, Italian and Spanish literature, the Siren seems to have been always part fish.² So, for example, in Boiardo, *Orlando Innamorato*, II, 4. 36,

Una donzella è quel che sopra appare,
Ma quel che sotto l'acqua si dimena,
Tutto è di pesce;

in Gervaise, *Bestiaire*, 306-7,

Feme est par desus le lonhril,
Et poisons desoz la ce[i]nture ;³

and in Wace, *Li Romans de Brut*, 737,

Poisson sunt del nombril aval.

See, also, Boccaccio, *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*, VII, 20, "Has dicit Ovidius . . . et corpus ad umbilicum usque foemineum; abinde infra pisces existentia" (which is not at all what Ovid says); Guido delle Colonne, *Historia Troiana*, XXXII, "Sunt eis ab umbilico superius formae feminae virgineum vultum habentes. ab umbilico vero citra omuem formam piscis observant";⁴ Bartholomew Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, xcvi, "And Physiologus saith it is a beast of the sea, wonderly shapen as a maid from the navel upward and a fish from the navel downward";⁵

¹ So R. W. Bond, *Complete Works of John Lyly*, III, 568.

² Dante's Siren "sovra i piè distorta," *Purg.* XIX, 8, is hardly an exception; his description seems to have been affected by the story of Circe. For some modern stories of Sirens who are part fish see Paul Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France*, Paris, 1905, II, 31 ff.

³ *Romania*, vol. I, p. 430.

⁴ This is probably the source of Gowder's description "which in the tale of Troie I finde," and of the description in the *Gest Historiale* of the Destruction of Troy. Benoît de Sainte-Maure mentions the Sirens (28706 ff.), but does not describe their form.

⁵ R. Steele, *Medieval Lore*, London, 1893, p. 136.

and the *Liber Monstrorum*, published (from a Paris ms. of the tenth century) in M. Haupt's *Opuscula* (1876), II, 218 ff., "et a capite usque ad umbilicum sunt corpore virginali et humano generi simillimae, squamosas tamen piscium caudas habent."

We thus have the ancient tradition as to the form of the Sirens as late as the seventh century, while as early as the tenth century we find them described as part fish. The results so far obtained happen to agree with the result of Baumeister's study of the monuments, namely, that from the seventh century on the Sirens are represented with fish tails, after the manner of the Tritons, and still live on in popular imagination as mermaids.⁶ Whether the classical myth of the Tritons is sufficient to explain the transition, is perhaps uncertain. If it is not sufficient, possibly some "Germanist" can indicate just where any Teutonic or Northern influence came in.

In the passage already quoted from Bartholomew Anglicus, the statement that the Siren is a mermaid is given on the authority of 'Physiologus.' And the same authority is mentioned by Chaucer, *Nonne Preestes Tale*, 450-52:

Song merier than the mermayde in the see;
For Physiologus seith sikerly,
How that they singen wel and merily.⁷

But it should not be inferred from such passages that the original Greek treatise entitled 'Physiologus' described the Siren as part fish. The fourth century Greek version ("Epiphanius") does not mention the Sirens at all.⁸ Neither does the Armenian version published by Pitra⁹—a version based apparently on Greek mss. of the fourth and fifth centuries—nor the eighth century Latin version published by Cardinal Mai. And various later versions describe the Siren as part bird. The Greek version (thirteenth century)

⁶ "so sind sie im Mittelalter (vom 7. Jahrhundert ab) nach Art der Tritonweiber mit Fischschwänzen geildet worden, und leben so noch jetzt in der Vorstellung der europäischen Seevölker als Meerweibchen."

⁷ Dr. Morris, EETS. 49, p. vii, secs in this passage a quotation from a particular Bestiary, "probably from the Latin version (*mirie ge singeth this mere*). But this is at least doubtful.

⁸ Migne, *Patrol. Graec.*, 43, 517 ff.

⁹ *Spicilegium Solesmense*, III, 374-90.

given by Pitra, III, 350, has τὸ δὲ ἡμῖν, πεινῶν ἐχουσι μορφήν. The Latin version (eleventh century) edited by Heider, p. 22, has "extrema parte usque ad pedes volatilis imaginem tenent." And an O. H. G. version (twelfth century) published in Hoffmann's *Fundgruben*, I, 25, says "dannen unze an dic füzze nidine sint si gitan also uogile." Even the '*Fisiologus a Thetbaldo Italico compositus*' printed by Dr. Morris as the "original" of his Bestiary has

Ex umbilico sunt ut pulcherrima virgo,
Quodque facit monstrum volucres sunt inde deorsum.⁹

'Physiologus,' then, renders very little assistance toward tracing the literary tradition, being quoted, as we have seen, in support of two quite different opinions. Indeed, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the new opinion had not yet completely displaced the old, men could quote the same weighty authority for the statement that the Siren is at once part bird and part fish. Thus Hugo de S. Victore, *De Bestiis*, II, 32, has, "Syrenas tres fingunt fuisse ex parte virgines, et ex parte pisces, habentes squamas et caudam piscinam."¹⁰ Philippe de Thaün, *Bestiaire*, 1365, says,

E de feme at faiture
Entresqu'a la ceinture,
E les piez de falcun
E cue de peissun ;

and Pierre of Picardy, "iii manières de seraine sont, dont les ii sont moitié feme moitié poisson ; et l'autre moitié feme moitié oiseaux."¹¹ Compare, also, Guillaume le Clerc, *Le Bestiaire*, 1055-9 :

Car de la ceinture en amont
Est la plus bele ren del mont
A guise de femme formee.
L'autre partie est figuree
Come poisson ou com oisel,

and the thirteenth century *Image du Monde*,

⁹ Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, 171, 1217 ff., prints this same Bestiary from a different MS.

¹⁰ Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, 177, 78.

¹¹ Cahier et Martin, *Mélanges*, II, 172. Like Gervaise and Heider's Latin Physiologus, Pierre claims the authority of Johanz Boche d'or : "selon le latin dou livre que Phisiologes, uns bons clers d'Athenes, traita et Jehans Crisostomus en choisi, en les natures des bestes et des oisiaus." But he has in mind a quite different form of Siren.

Austres i a c'ont de puceles
Testes et cors, dusqu' as mameles ;
Detrez poissons, eles d'oisiaus,
Et est lors chans molt dous et bials.¹²

Brunetto Latini has, "Sereine, ce dient li autor, sont iii qui avoient semblance de feme dou chief jusque as cuisses ; mais de celui leu en aval avoient semblance de poisson, et avoient eles et ongles" (*Li Livres dou Trésor*, I, 5. 137). And there is another composite picture as late as Alciati's *Emblemata*,

Absque alis volucres, et cruribus absque puellas,
Rostro absque et pisces, qui tamen ore canant.¹³

Here it may be noted that another line in Alciati's description,

Illicitum est mulier, quae in piscem desinit atrum,
is a very clear echo of Horace, *Ars Poet.*, 3-4 :
ut turpiter atrum
desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne.

Another peculiarity of the modern Siren, which has suggested to some a Teutonic or Northern influence, is her golden hair. Lyly's Syren has "golden lockes," and sings, "with a Glasse in her hand and a Combe," *Loves Metamorphosis*, IV, 2. Compare Shakespeare, *Comedy of Errors*, III, 2. 48,

Spread o'er the silver waves thy golden hairs,

and Ben Jonson's Syrens, in *Neptune's Triumph*, "laying forth their tresses all along Upon the glassy waves." One thinks inevitably of the golden hair and sweet voice of Heine's Lorelei ; but the Lorelei herself seems to be a rather modern fancy.¹⁴ An older parallel is Boiardo's Siren, *Sonetti e Canzone*, CLXXIX, 41,

Con li ochii arguti e con le chiome bionde.

¹² G. Kastner, *Les Sirènes*, Paris, 1858, p. 42. On p. 66 Kastner quotes from another thirteenth century MS.: "Seraines sont uns monstres de mer qui ont cors de fame et coue de poison et ongles daigles."

¹³ Lyons edition, 1564, p. 132.

¹⁴ See H. Köchly's remark, quoted by Ameis-Hentze, *Anhang zu Homers Odysee* (1890): "Aus den süßen Stimmen der Seirenen ist, beiläufig bemerkt, erst in diesem Jahrhundert die angebliche Volkssage von der Loreley gemacht worden"; and Meyer's *Konversations-Lexikon*, XII, 712 (1905): "Die Sage von der Zauberin oder Nixe Lorelei . . . wurde von Kl. Brentano um 1800 erfunden."

And Sannazaro has "auricomae Sirenis," *Ecl.*, iv, 60. Perhaps it is worth mentioning that various classical sea-nymphs have golden hair:¹⁵ Philoxenus, 6 B., χρυσοβόστρυχε Γαλάτεια, Virgil, *Geor.*, iv, 339, "flava Lycorias," iv, 352, "(Arcithusae) flavum caput." In Bacchylides, xvi, 107, the daughters of Nereus wear "fillets of woven gold" (χρυσεόπλοκοι ταινίαι). In Tibullus, i, 5. 43-46, it is implied that Thetis was golden-haired:

Non facit hoc verbis, facie tenerisque lacertis
devovet et flavis nostra puella comis.
Talis ad Haemonium Nereis Pelea quondam
vectast frenato caerulea pisce Thetis.

Moreover, Virgil's sea-nymphs have flowing locks, "caesariem effusae nitidam," *Geor.*, iv, 337, and Ovid definitely mentions the combing of Galatea's hair, "pectendos praebet Galatea capillos," *Met.* xiii, 737. The poets of the Renaissance have helped to popularize such classical fancies. Sannazaro has "flavos resoluta capillos Cymodoce," *Ecl.*, i, 84, and even "flavicomae Amphitritae," i, 99. Pontanus applies Virgil's "flavum caput" to his water-nymph, *Meteororum Liber*,¹⁶ and Baif's Naiad has "beaux cheveux blonds," *Éclogue*, xix. So has Barahona de Soto's nymph, *Égloga*, i,

en las ondas cristalinas
Mostrastes tu cabeza orlada de oro.

In Garcilaso de la Vega's second sonnet, which is a paraphrase of Virgil, *Geor.*, iv, 345 ff., the nymphs have "rubias cabezas," and in Camoens, *Egloga* vii, Galatea has "cabellos louros."

The Homeric Sirens appeared to Odysseus in a "windless calm," (γαλήνη νημεΐη) *Od.* xii, 168; the Argonauts approached their home in a gentle breeze, νῆα δ' εὐκραῆς ἄνεμος φέρειν, Apollonius Rhodius, iv, 891; and so did Aeneas and his company, *Aen.*, v, 848, "salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos." And the most characteristic feature of the whole classical tradition is their sweet song. So Hesiod, as reported in Eustathius, 1710, 40, Ἡσίοδος ἐμυθεύσατο ὑπὸ Σειρήνων καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους θέλγεσθαι, a passage with which

¹⁵ Cp. G. Kastner, *Les Sirènes*, p. 43: "La plupart des familles aquatiques qui peuplent les légendes formées sous l'empire de l'odinisme et des autres cultes du Nord tenaient encore de plus près, à vrai dire, aux familles des Nymphes et des Tritons qu'au petit groupe isolé des Sirènes classiques."

¹⁶ Venice edition, 1518, p. 133.

we may compare Shakespeare, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, ii, 1. 150,

And heard a mermaid on a dolphin's back
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath
That the rude sea grew civil at her song,

and Milton, *Comus*, 252,

Who, as they sung, would take the prisoned soul
And lap it in Elysium: Scylla wept,
And chid her barking waves into attention,
And fell Charybdis murmured soft applause.

The modern Siren, however, is often regarded as a sign of storm,¹⁷ and she sometimes utters a doleful strain. Compare G. Pascoli, *La Sirena*,

dal mare nebbioso un lamento
si leva: il tuo canto, o Sirena,

Gil Vicente, *Triunfo del Invierno*,

Haré cantar las sirenas
Y peligrar á las naves, etc.,

and Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, Prosa 12, "una Sirena, la quale sovra uno scoglio amaramente piangeva."¹⁸ This double change was probably effected in the middle ages; certainly, the ancient story had been altered before the days of Bartholomew Anglicus, "and this wonderful beast is glad and merry in tempest, and sad and heavy in fair weather,"¹⁹ and Philippe de Thaün, *Bes-tiaire*, 1361,

Sirena en mer hante,
Cuntre tempeste chante
E plur en bel tens,
Itels est sis talenz.

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¹⁷ Cp. P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France*, ii, 35.

¹⁸ Shakespeare's "Siren tears," *Sonn.*, cxix, and perhaps the line at the beginning of T. Lodge's *Rosalynde*, "The Syrens teares doe threaten mickle griefe," may be due to the Euhemeristic interpretation of the ancient myth which made the Sirens hetairai or meretrices. Ben Jonson has, "The heathen man could stop his ears with wax against the harlot of the sea," *Bartholomew Fair*, iii, 1. St. Jerome says that this interpretation is as old as Palaephatus (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, 27, 319). It is repeated in Herodotus, *De Incredibil.*, 14, and often later, Servius, *Aen.*, v, 864, Fulgentius, *Mythol.*, ii, 8, Isidore, *Orig.*, xi, 3. 30, Boccaccio, *Geneal. Deor. Gentil.*, vii, 20, etc. One or two other classical passages (Euripides, *Hel.*, 169, Seneca, *Her. Oct.*, 190) and the sculptured Sirens on various Attic tombs suggest a still different conception of these creatures, or a different function. See G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Literatur und Kunst*, pp. 8 ff., 171 ff.

¹⁹ R. Steele, *Medieval Lore*, London, 1893, p. 136.

NOTES ON HEINE.

I.

The general Ossianic character of the passage, *Elster* III, 63-65, is self-evident. Commentators¹ have, however, universally taken the view that these ecstatic speeches represent a parody of the original, a sort of "Ossian travestiert." As a matter of fact, the whole apostrophe to the moon (*Elster* III, 64, ll. 20-40) is a literal² translation of the opening paragraphs of Ossian's *Dar-thula*, as will appear from the following exhibit in parallel columns of Macpherson's original edition (1762) and of the passage in Heine :

OSSIAN (London, 1762),
p. 155.

Daughter of heaven, fair art thou! the silence of thy face is pleasant. Thou comest forth in loveliness: the stars attend thy blue steps in the east. The clouds rejoice in thy presence, O moon, and brighten their dark-brown sides. Who is like thee in heaven, daughter of the night? The stars are ashamed in thy presence, and turn aside their green, sparkling eyes.—Whither dost thou retire from thy course, when the darkness of thy countenance grows? Hast thou thy hall like Ossian? Dwellst thou in the shadow of grief? Have thy sisters fallen from heaven? Are they who rejoiced with thee, at night, no more?—Yes! they have

HEINE, *Elster* III, 64.

„Schön bist du, Tochter des Himmels! Holdselig ist deines Antlitzes Ruhe! Du wandelst einher in Lieblichkeit! Die Sterne folgen deinen blauen Pfaden im Osten. Bei deinem Anblick erfreuen sich die Wolken, und es lichten sich ihre düstern Gestalten. Wer gleicht dir am Himmel, Erzeugte der Nacht? Beschämt in deiner Gegenwart sind die Sterne und wenden ah die grünfunkelnden Augen. Wohin, wenn des Morgens dein Antlitz erbleicht, entflehst du von deinem Pfade? Hast du gleich mir deine Halle? Wohnst du im Schatten der Wehmut? Sind deine Schwestern vom Himmel gefallen? Sie, die

fallen, fair light! and thou dost often retire to mourn.— But thou thyself shalt fail, one night; and leave thy blue path in heaven. The stars will then lift their green heads: they who were ashamed in thy presence, will rejoice.

Thou art now clothed with thy brightness: look from thy gates in the sky. Burst the cloud, O wind, that the daughter of night may look forth, that the shaggy mountains may brighten, and the ocean roll its blue waves, in light.

freudig mit dir die Nacht durchwallten, sind sie nicht mehr? Ja, sie fielen herab, o schönes Licht, und du verhirgt dich oft, sie zu betrauern. Doch einst wird kommen die Nacht, und du, auch du bist vergangen und hast deine hlaunen Pfade dort oben verlassen. Dann erheben die Sterne ihre grünen Häupter; die einst deine Gegenwart beschämt, sie werden sich freuen. Doch jetzt bist du gekleidet in deiner Strahlenpracht und schaut herab aus den Toren des Himmels. Zerreisst die Wolken, o Winde, damit die Erzeugte der Nacht hervorzuleuchten vermag, und die buschigen Berge erglänzen, und das Meer seine schäumenden Wogen rolle in Licht!"

The original edition of 1762 and that of 1773, reprinted also in the later issues, differ considerably, for *Dar-thula* at least, and it can readily be shown that the passage in Heine is based on an edition preceding 1773, i. e., on the text of 1762. The decisive variants in this connection are :

- (a) 1762. [rejoice in thy presence,] O moon, and brighten
1773. O moon! They brighten
- (b) 1762. daughter of the night
1773. light of the silent night
- (c) 1762. presence, and turn aside their green, sparkling eyes.
1773. presence. They turn away their sparkling eyes.
- (d) 1762. lift their green heads
1773. lift their heads

The question naturally presents itself whether Heine's version is his own or a transcription of some one of the published German translations of Ossian. Before attempting to answer this question it will be advisable to examine another part of the passage under consideration, *Elster* III, 65, ll. 13-19 :

[“Lebe wohl! Ich fühle, dass ich verblute.] Warum weckst du mich, Frühlingsluft? Du

¹Buchheim, p. 120: The speeches of the two romantic youths are, of course, nothing but a satire on the sentimental poetry of former days, which had a tinge of Ossianic eccentricity about it.—Burnett, p. 89: HALLE. Possibly a play upon the word is intended, with reference to the University of Halle. In these high-flown speeches Heine evidently means to parody the Ossianic style.—Gregor, pp. 168 and 169: 9 ff. A clever parody of Ossian, worth comparing with the original. . . . 7. HALLE: notice the play on the word.

²Hast du gleich mir deine Halle = *Hast thou thy hall like Ossian*, the ecstatic youth identifying himself with the poet.

buhlst und sprichst : ich betäue dich mit Tropfen des Himmels. Doch die Zeit meines Welkens ist nahe, nahe der Sturm, der meine Blätter herabstört ! Morgen wird der Wanderer kommen, kommen, der mich sah in meiner Schönheit, ringsum wird sein Auge im Felde mich suchen und wird mich nicht finden."

These lines are from Ossian's *Berrathon*, the original, in the edition of 1762, reading as follows:

"The flower hangs its heavy head, waving, at times, to the gale. Why dost thou awake me, O gale, it seems to say, I am covered with the drops of heaven? The time of my fading is near, and the blast that shall scatter my leaves. To-morrow shall the traveller come, he that saw me in my beauty shall come : his eyes will search the field, but they shall not find me?"

Heine did not, however, take these lines from Ossian, but from Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*,³ where they form the last of the fragments of Ossianic poetry that Werther reads to Lotte.⁴ It is more than likely that even the introductory *Lebe wohl!* which does not find a counterpart in *Berrathon*, is suggested by Werther's "*Lotte! Lotte! nur noch Ein Wort! ein Lebewohl!— . . . Lebe wohl! Lotte! auf ewig lebe wohl!*" In so far as the present passage is concerned, the parody, not of style but of situation, affects *Werthers Leiden* rather than Ossian.

³ Weimar edition, Vol. 19, pp. 175-6.

⁴ Tombo, in his scholarly monograph, *Ossian in Germany*, p. 21, calls attention to the fact that Petersen's translation of Ossian (Tübingen, 1782 and 1808), here as in the *Songs of Selma*, likewise follows Goethe's *Werther*. That Heine's text is not, however, based on Petersen, is shown by a number of slight differences between them, differences that become intelligible by a reference to the body of variants given in the Weimar Edition. Petersen's text is that of E¹⁻², Leipzig, 1774; Heine's that of the later redaction of 1786. The only exception in the case of Petersen, "aber wird mich nicht finden" for the Goethean "und wird mich nicht finden," is clearly due to an effort to approximate more closely to Macpherson's "but they shall not find me," a natural tendency—observable also in the *Songs of Selma*—on the part of a translator who had the English Ossian before him. Heine's change of "ich betäue" to "ich betäue dich" is doubtless meant to remove what seemed a stylistic blemish, and the substitution of *doch* for *aber* in "Aber die Zeit meines Welkens ist nah" is perhaps to be explained on similar grounds.

In the case of the quotation from *Dar-thula*, no such Goethean origin can be traced. It remains, therefore, to compare the German translations of Ossian. The following have been examined :

1^a. Denis, 1st ed. (1768-69), as quoted by Herder in *Fragmente zu einer Archäologie des Morgenlandes*, Suphan, vi, 20.

1^b. Denis, 2nd ed. (1791-92).

2^a. Harold, 1st ed. (1775).

2^b. Harold, 2nd ed. (1782).

3. An anonymous edition, Wien (Wappler), 1784, a revision of Denis with reference to the English edition of 1773, as noted by Tombo, *Ossian in Germany*, p. 24.

4. Stollberg (1806).

5. Petersen, 2nd ed. (1808).

6. Ahlwardt (1811).

Apart from his citation of Denis noted above, Herder has himself twice tried his hand at these lines.

7. *Silbernes Buch*, p. 105 (1770), Suphan, xxv, 550.

8. *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie* (1782), Suphan, xi, 298.

Of these eight, or, counting the separate editions, ten different translations, Nos. 1^b, 2^a, 2^b, 3, 5, 6, are based⁵ on the text as found in the English edition of 1773, and are therefore ruled out as possible sources for Heine. Denis (1^a) bears not the remotest resemblance to Heine. Stollberg states⁶ that for *Dar-thula* he has based his rendering on Macpherson's earlier version, but in the case of at least one reading, *Tochter der schweigenden Nacht*, he follows the later text and this alone excludes him as a possible source for

⁵ In the case of Ahlwardt a curious, though probably accidental agreement with Heine is found in the phrase *seine schäumenden Wogen*. The correspondence is the more striking as Heine's English original had *blue waves*, whereas Ahlwardt's text had *white waves*, and it is the latter, rather than the former that would suggest *schäumend* to a translator.

⁶ Vol. II, p. 167, footnote: Ich habe Darthula früher als die andern ossianischen Gedichte, nach der englischen Ausgabe des Herrn Macpherson von 1765 übersetzt. Alle andern nach der spätern von 1796. Nach Vergleichung beyder Ausgaben, kann ich mich nicht entschliessen, die neuere in Darthula vorzuziehen. Die ältere scheint mir einfältiger, kühner dithyrambischer, d. h. ossianischer.

the passage in question. Herder's earlier version (7) was not accessible to Heine, being first printed in Suphan. His later version (8), while also based on Macpherson's earlier text, has nothing in common with the lines in Heine.⁷

The result of the examination of the above named translations is accordingly wholly negative. Whether a comparison of the remaining translations,⁸ when they shall have become accessible, will prove more fruitful, seems open to serious doubt. If not, then Heine has either translated directly from an early English edition, or borrowed the passage, as in the case of the Berrathon lines, from a literary source that remains to be ascertained.

The remainder of the passage in Heine (*Elster* III, 63, l. 35—64, l. 16) is not Ossianic. While some Ossianic phrases are used, these are relatively unimportant, and the general tone, as *e. g.* in such an expression as "die schlafenden Städte der Menschen," is decidedly foreign to Ossian.

II.

While surveying (*Elster* III, 73) the various traditions that cluster around the figure of Ilse, Heine remarks:

Andere erzählen von der Liebe des Fräuleins Ilse und des Ritters von Westenberg eine hübsche Geschichte, die einer unserer bekanntesten Dichter in der "Abendzeitung" hesungen hat.

All the editors maintain a discreet silence on the question of the identity of this "einer unserer bekanntesten Dichter," and it would be difficult to pick him out from the list of the contributors to the *Abendzeitung* as given by Goedeke VIII,

⁷The version of 1782 shows an acquaintance with the later text in "Sie wenden schnell ihr funkelnd Auge weg," where the version of 1771 has *dämmerndfunkelnd*. For the latter as a translation of *green, sparkling* compare the rendering of *lift their green heads by ihr dunkles Haupt erheben* in the version of 1782.

⁸Engelbrecht (1764), Wittenberg (1764), Anonymous (Bremen, 1766), Rhode (1st ed. 1800; 2nd ed. 1817-18), Jung (1808), Schubart (1st ed. 1808; 2nd ed. 1824) de la Perrière (1817-19). See Tombo, *op. cit.* [Since the above was written the 1st ed. of Schubart and the 2d ed. of Rhode have been examined, in both cases with negative result.]

28. It now appears¹ that Theodor Hell, one of the two editors of this journal, is meant. The poem appeared in Nos. 216 and 217 (September 8 and 9, 1824) and is entitled: *Der Ilsestein und Westenberg im Ilseenthale*. The form *Westenberg* is doubtless a slip on Heine's part. Gottschalck's *Taschenbuch für Reisende in den Harz*, from which Heine quotes the passage immediately preceding the above, likewise has *Westenberg*.

III.

Elster III, 20-21, has the following paragraph:

Hinter Nordheim wird es schon gehirgig und hier und da treten schöne Anhöhen hervor. Auf dem Wege traf ich meistens Krämer, die nach der Braunschweiger Messe zogen, auch einen Schwarm Frauenzimmer, deren jede ein grosses, fast häuserhohes, mit weissem Leinen überzogenes Behältnis auf dem Rücken trug. Darin sassen allerlei eingefangene Singvögel, die beständig piepsten und zwitscherten, während ihre Trägerinnen lustig dahinhüpften und schwatzten. Mir kam es gar nährisch vor, wie so ein Vogel den andern zu Markte trägt.

The passage is interesting from the point of view of the "Dichtung und Wahrheit" of the *Harzreise*. It can be conclusively shown that these lines owe their existence to the author's desire to give an effective setting to the jest "wie so ein Vogel den andern zu Markte trägt." The present autumn-fair at Brunswick is a "Laurentiusmesse," *i. e.*, it begins on Thursday of the week of August 10. That such was also the case in Heine's day may be seen from the article "Braunschweig" in Ersch und Gruher's *Encyclopädie*, the date of the volume in question being 1823. Now Heine's foot-tour, as is well known, was made during the month of September.⁹ Presum-

⁸My informant is Archivrat Eduard Jacobs at Wernigerode.

⁹In this connection Professor Wood calls my attention to the fact that the entire nature-setting of the *Harzreise* is distinctly that of the spring, not the autumn. In the same category of fiction may perhaps be placed Heine's interpretation of "doppelte Poesie" (*Elster* III, 25), as compared with the authentic explanation (*Elster* III, 9). While this latter is actually turned to account elsewhere (*Elster* III, 53), the real cause of the perversion is doubtless to be sought in the fact that the "Schneidergesell" is

ably the rather clever observation was made on some other occasion, held in reserve and worked in as soon a favorable opportunity presented itself.

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Studies in English Syntax. By C. ALPHONSO SMITH . . . Boston: Ginn & Co., [1906]. 8vo, pp. 92.

Of the three studies contained in this book the first two have been published before,¹ but are now revised and augmented. The third, entitled 'The Position of Words as a Factor in English Syntax,' appears now for the first time. In originality and suggestiveness it is a fitting counterpart to the first two in continuing the author's method of interpreting syntax. His point of view may be inferred from his confession in the preface, that since he regards syntax as "the autobiography of language, he believes more in weighing than in counting, and less in tabulation than in correlation."

In the first chapter Dr. Smith, with abundant wealth of illustration, fortifies his conviction that "there are literary effects both subtle and far-reaching that find expression in none of the tradi-

throughout conceived in a vein of caricature. To show that the "Osterode Dream" (Elster III, 21-23) is also not to be looked upon as an actuality, it is only necessary to call attention to its symbolic value: the Göttingen *studiosus juris*, turning aside from the "Tollhauslärm" of legal quibbles, takes sanctuary with the god and goddess that typify eternal beauty, i. e., once more views the world through the eyes of a poet. The typical character of the close of this dream may be brought out by comparing it with the *Nachwort zum Romanzero*, Elster I, 487: Nur mit Mühe schleppte ich mich bis zum Louvre, und ich brach fast zusammen, als ich in den erhabenen Saal trat, wo die hochgehenedeite Göttin der Schönheit, Unsere liebe Frau von Milo, auf ihrem Postamente steht. Zu ihren Füßen lag ich lange und ich weinte so heftig, dass sich dessen ein Stein erbarmen musste. Auch schaute die Göttin mitleidig auf mich herab, doch zugleich so trostlos als wollte sie sagen: siehst du denn nicht, dass ich keine Arme habe und also nicht helfen kann?

¹ Chapter I, on 'Interpretative Syntax,' appeared originally in *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Ass'n of America*, xv; chapter II, on 'The Short Circuit in English Syntax,' was published in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xix.

tional canons of rhetoric or literary criticism, but in the phenomena of syntax and of syntax alone." Aptness in illustration proves of good service when, after interpreting what he calls 'the syntax of omission,' he proceeds to distinguish in terms of syntax between imagination and fancy, asserting that imagination is shown in a writer's choice of subjects and predicates, fancy in his choice of adjectives and adverbs. Plausibility is given to this seemingly far-fetched theory by appealing to Browning, Tennyson, Swinburne, and Shakespeare, who corroborate it in their unconscious practise. The significance of this deduction is realized only when its application to English literature is made in this suggestive generalization: "The difference between the literature of Elizabeth's reign and the literature produced by the Caroline and Metaphysical poets who followed, is that in the first a full and splendid stream of imaginative thought flows from subject to predicate; in the second this current is diverted and dissipated among adjectives and adverbs: what should have been tributaries have become bayous, and drain rather than swell the central flow."

It is in the second chapter on 'The Short Circuit in English Syntax' that one, while admitting in the main the justness of Dr. Smith's reasoning, feels prompted to differ with him on points of detail. For instance, he writes (p. 33): "Take, for example, the clumsy periphrastic tenses, *I am studying, I was studying, I shall be studying*, instead of the older and more compact *I study, I studied, I shall study*. The difference in meaning hardly seems to justify the existence of the periphrastic forms." On the contrary, this very difference is a valuable asset of the English in comparison with other modern languages. The gain in definiteness caused by the choice between *He dines at the hotel* and *He is dining at the hotel* is sufficient justification for the existence of both. After all the strictures laid upon Professor Münch, one feels that his contention that the English more than any other language tends toward definiteness, brevity, and directness is a useful induction and a valuable comment on the characteristics of English-speaking people. It is true that the importance of Professor Münch's citations is not to be estimated by their number, yet they gain in value because of their variety.

Dr. Smith's development of his fundamental thesis that syntactical relations do not span wide spaces in English is thoroughgoing and conclusive. His constructively cumulative method again leads him to adduce numerous corroborative citations, happily chosen from a wide range of English literature. In the paragraph on the influence of distance on the concord of subject and predicate in such Northern phrases as *ye mak and bindis*, Dr. Smith concludes with the felicitous conceit, "The *is* ending is the alimony that the pronoun demands of the predicate for maintenance during separation." However in this very phrase the alimony of the *is* ending is demanded and obtained not by the masculine subject but by the feminine predicate.

In the third chapter the author traces the genesis of the so-called 'retained object,' *I was given a book*, from the passive *Mē was gegiefen ān bōc* (= 'To me was given a book'), in which the Old English pronominal dative retained the pre-verbal position of the active voice. "Thus *Me*," he writes, "by retaining its position in front of the verb, came to be the first word in the sentence; that is, it occupied the normal position of the subject. Once in the initial position the dative could not resist the subjectifying influences of its environment." By recalling such analogies as the relation of *I think* to *methinks*, Dr. Smith establishes historically a justification of this 'preposterous locution,' *I was given a book*, which, he points out, is included in the 'Don't' column of many of our best journals. The 'subjectifying influence of the pre-verbal position' is further shown by *Who did you see?* now the usual construction in colloquial English.

After considering the 'objectifying influence of the post-verbal position,' illustrated by *Woe is me* for the older *I am wo* and *Shall's* (= *Shall us*) instead of *Shall we*, Dr. Smith advances to the explanation of the idiom, *It is me*. He discovers four stages of evolution: (1) *Ic hit eom* (to 1300 A. D.); (2) *It am I* (1300 to 1400); (3) *It is I* (1400 to 1500); (4) *It is me* (1500 to 1600). Rejecting the theory of Lounsbury that this last stage is due to an imitation of the French *c'est moi*; of Einkenkel that emphasis has caused the predominance of *It is me* over *It is I*; of Jespersen that similarity in sound with *we, ye, he, she*,

caused the use of the accusative *me, thee*; Dr. Smith rightly sees in the choice of *me* a testimony to the objectifying influence of the post-verbal position. In this explanation he is in accord with the last view of Sweet (*New English Grammar*, § 1085), which is quoted in a footnote: "When a pronoun follows a verb, it generally stands in the objective relation; hence, on the analogy of *He saw me, Tell me*, etc., the literary *It is I* is made into *It is me* in the spoken language."

The introduction to the third chapter contains several trenchant illustrations of popular errors in construing English syntax. The line in the hymn, 'The Banner of the Cross' (p. 63), should read "For Christ count everything but *loss*" instead of *lost*, a mistake repeated two lines below.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

A POSSIBLE LOWELL ORIGIN.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—The first two stanzas of one of Lowell's best-known poems, *In the Twilight*, have a remarkable parallel in a passage in *The Story of Ali Nouredin and the Frank King's Daughter* in *The Thousand and One Nights*, tr. Payne, vol. VIII, pp. 63–80. There are few traces of oriental influence in Lowell, if by the oriental we mean the sensuous, though he has treated several oriental subjects. It is impossible to trace between these two passages any very convincing similarity of phrase, but the similarity of thought is, it will be seen, very marked. I recall that there are a few other passages in various authors where this same idea is touched upon, but nowhere, so far as I know, has it been so elaborately developed as in the two passages here compared. I italicise the passages most similar.

In the Twilight.

Men say the sullen instrument
That, from the Master's bow,
With songs of joy or woe,

Feels music's soul through every fibre sent,
 Whispers the ravished strings
 More than he knew or meant ;
*Old summers in its memory glow ;
 The secrets of the wind it sings ;
 It hears the April-loosened springs ;
 And mixes with its mood
 All it dreamed when it stood
 In the murmurous pine-wood,
 Long ago !*

The magical moonlight then
 Steeped every bough and cone ;
 The roar of the brook in the glen
 Came dim from the distance hlow ;
 The winds through its glooms sang low,
 And it swayed to and fro,
 With delight as it stood
 In the wonderful wood,
 Long ago.

"Then she uncovered her wrist, and laying the lute in her lap, bent over it, as the mother bends over her child, and swept the strings with the tips of her fingers, whereupon it *moaned and resounded and yearned after its former habitations ; and it remembered the waters that gave it to drink, whilst yet in the tree, and the earth whence it sprang and wherein it grew up, and the carpenters who cut it and the polishers who polished it, and the merchants who exported it and the ships that carried it ; and it cried out and wailed and lamented ; and it was as if she questioned it of all these things, and it answered her.*

Whilom I was a tree wherein the nightingales did nest ;
 Whilst green my head, I swayed for them my longing and unrest.
 They made melodious moan on me, and I their plaining learnt ;
 And so my secret was by this lament made manifest.
 The woodman felled me to the earth, though guiltless of offense
 And wrought of me a slender lute, by singer's hands carest ;
 But when their fingers sweep my strings,
 They tell that I am slain,
 One with duress among'st mankind afflicted and oppress."

If this was the source of Lowell's stanzas, it will be conceded that it was not bettered under his hands.

HERMAN SPENCER.

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A GREEK SOURCE FOR *Comus* 30.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—The lines from *Comus* (27–32),

but this Ile
 The greatest and the best of all the main
 He quarters to his hlu-hair'd deities
And all this tract that fronts the falling Sun
 A noble peer of mickle trust and power
 Has in his charge,

but especially the line underscored, have a parallel in Aesch. *Supp.* 254–5,

Καὶ πᾶσαν αἶαν ἥς δὲ ἄγνός ἐρχεται
 Στρυμῶν, τὸ πρὸς δύνοντος ἡλίου, κρατῶ.

And all the land through which clear Strymon goes,
 That toward the setting sun, I rule.

It seems improbable that this similarity has not been noted before, but I do not find it in any of the annotated editions.

HERMAN SPENCER.

High School, Bellevue, Pa.

A REPLY.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—In Mr. Onions's review of my *Studies in English Syntax*, published in *Englische Studien*, xxxvii, 217–220, certain statements are made to which I wish briefly to reply. It is understood that I do not charge Mr. Onions with purposely misrepresenting my views.

1. Mr. Onions says : "Professor Smith maintains, and rightly, that there is too much 'counting' in the syntactical research of to-day, and too little weighing, but he unfortunately makes this an excuse for ceasing to count altogether."

By no means. My little book, even in the preface, makes it perfectly clear that I believe in counting. No day goes by that I do not collect and record syntactical *data*. But counting is only a means to an end. The *data* collected must serve as the basis of constructive generalization. I cannot better express my own views than by a citation from Darwin. On December 21, 1859, he wrote to J. D. Hooker as follows¹ : "It is an old and firm conviction of mine that the Naturalists who accumulate facts and make many partial generalizations are the *real* benefactors of science. Those who merely accumulate facts I cannot very much respect."

2. "The peculiarities in nearly all the Biblical examples that he quotes," says Mr. Onions, "can be traced to the originals."

This makes no difference. The language of the Authorized Version of the Bible has a unity and consistency of its own. The translators were not slavish copyists. They made English idiom supreme. They adopted the Hebrew or Greek idiom only when in their judgment such idiom was in accord with the genius of their own language, the English. The sentences that I cite from the Bible are characteristic not only of the

¹ *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, edited by his son, vol. ii, p. 21.

King James Version but of the English language of that time. In his *Advanced English Syntax*,³ p. 77, Mr. Onions quotes one of these same sentences (*Luke* 13:25) to illustrate a former use of the English language, and says not a word about the Greek original. The sentence is: "I know you not whence ye are." Though an exact translation of the Greek, this sentence is nevertheless good Elizabethan English.

3. On p. 29 of my *Studies*, I say: "A man does not call his wife Miss Mary (or Mrs. Jenkins)."

Mr. Onions finds this a dark saying: "This," says he, "is very puzzling. . . . No man either speaks of or addresses his wife as 'Miss' anything." I leave the reader to draw his own inferences.

4. Of a certain idiom I say on p. 42: "It has not, however, entirely fallen into disuse. It may be heard in *I had rather stay than to go with you* and similar sentences." The point to be observed in this sentence is that *to* is of course omitted immediately after *had rather* but emerges before *go*. I did not defend the idiom, but declared that it had survived to the present time.

"Such a sentence," says Mr. Onions, "is possibly ordinary North-Carolinense, but it is not English."

Is it possible that Mr. Onions does not read or hear read the English Bible? The following sentences are submitted for his consideration, only Modern English examples being cited:

(1) "I had rather die than *to* tarrie upon the same" (Nicholas Lichfield, *The First Booke of the Historie*, etc., 1582, fol. 40 v.).

(2) "Brutus had rather be a villager
Than *to* repute himself a son of Rome."
(*Julius Caesar*, 1, 2, 172.)

(3) "By heaven, I had rather coin my heart,
And drop my blood for drachmas, than *to* wring
From the hard hands of peasants their vile trash."
(*Julius Caesar*, 4, 3, 72.)

(4) "I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than *to* dwell in the tents of wickedness forever." (*Psalms* 84:10. No change is made in the Revised Version of 1884.)

(5) "The Israelites had better have wanted their quails, than *to* have eaten them with such sauce." (Bishop Joseph Hall, *Works*, ed. 1648, p. 45.)

(6) "There is not a man amongst them who had not rather be killed and eaten, than so much as *to* open his mouth." (Charles Cotton, *Translation of Montaigne's Essays*, 1700, chap. xxiv, p. 137.)

(7) "I had rather oppose prejudices, than *to* contend against facts." (Philip Withers, D. D., *Aristarchus*, ed. 1822, p. 197.)

(8) "I would rather be defeated with this ex-

pression in the speech,⁴ and have it held up and discussed before the people, than *to* be victorious without it." (Abraham Lincoln in Morse's *Life of Lincoln*, vol. 1, p. 117. See also Shurter's *Masterpieces of Modern Oratory*, 1906, p. 132.)

(9) "Rutherford B. Hayes, when this war commenced, did not say with Tilden, 'I never will contribute to the prosecution of this war.' But he did say this: 'I would go into this war if I knew I would be killed in the course of it, rather than *to* live through it and *to* take no part in it.'" (Robert G. Ingersoll, *The Situation*, an address delivered in Chicago, October 21, 1876. See Ingersoll's *Great Speeches*, edited by J. B. McClure, Chicago, 1898, p. 172.)

(10) "I had rather see my people render back this question rightly solved than *to* see them gather all the spoils over which faction has contended since Catiline conspired and Cæsar fought." (Henry W. Grady⁵ in Shurter's *Masterpieces of Modern Oratory*, 1906, p. 229.)

4. Mr. Onions's attack on my discussion of *Wo is me* is prompted by his conviction that *wo* could not be used as an adjective in Middle English. In his *Advanced English Syntax*, p. 91, he says: "The form of the phrase (*I am woe for 't*, *woe are we*) seems to demand that *woe* should be taken as an adjective; but this is, of course, impossible."

It is impossible only to him who is unfamiliar with the Middle English history of the idiom. Mr. Mark H. Liddell, Associate Editor of the *Globe* Chaucer, in his discussion of *Wo was his cook*,⁶ says and says rightly: "This, and such phrases as *wo is me*, show the original dative construction. But all feeling for it was lost in M. E., and in Chaucer we have *wo* used as an adjective."

Mr. Onions asserts also that I consider *I am wo* as the original form of the phrase. This is not my view, nor has it ever been.

5. Mr. Onions complains of my "elaborate treatment of the processes by which *Ic hit eom* became *It is I*—which are so well known that they might have been dispatched in a single page."

On the contrary, these processes are not so well known as they ought to be. In his *Advanced English Syntax*, p. 34, Mr. Onions commits a serious blunder in his first remark about *It is I*. "In Old English," he says, "this sentence had the form *Ic eom hit*." If Mr. Onions has even an elementary knowledge of the language of King Alfred, he must know that *Ic eom hit* does not occur in Old English.

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³ The reference is to the famous "Divided House" Speech, delivered in Springfield, Illinois, April 17, 1858.

⁴ The sentence is taken from Grady's address on *The Race Problem in the South*, delivered in Boston, Dec., 1889.

⁵ See his edition of Chaucer's *Prologue, Knights Tale, and the Nonne Preestes Tale*, 1901, p. 148.

⁶ I quote from the edition of 1904, the only one known to me.

NOTE ON *Christabel*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The following extract from *Anecdotes and Traditions Illustrative of Early English History and Literature*, edited by W. J. Thoms, Camden Society, 1839, p. 100, is of interest as apparently throwing light upon the behavior of the bitch in *Christabel*. The extract was transcribed by Thoms from Lansdowne ms. No. 231, containing materials collected by the antiquarian Aubrey for a contemplated work on popular superstitions, *Remains of Gentilism and Judaism*:

CLXIX.—SPAID BITCH.

I believe all over England a Spaid Bitch is accounted wholesome in a house; that is to say they have a strong belief that it *keeps away evil spirits* from haunting of a house. Amongst many other instances, in Dorset, about 1686, a house was haunted and two tenants successively left the house for that reason; a third came and brought his spaid bitch and was never troubled.

Aubrey, 130 v°.

The italics are apparently Aubrey's.

W. STRUNK, JR.

THE *Phoenix* AND THE *Guthlac*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In a communication to *Mod. Lang. Notes*, December, 1907, page 263, Hubert G. Shearin offers some "recently noted parallels" between the *Phoenix* and the *Guthlac*. Kindly permit me to call attention to the fact that, on page 27 of my pamphlet on *Old English Poetical Motives derived from the Doctrine of Sin*, published in 1903, the same verbal correspondences between the two poems are pointed out. In fact, I gave (pages 23–28) a somewhat extended analysis and comparison of the poems treating the "Fall of Man" motive, embracing under the "homiletical group" not only *Phoenix* 393–423 and *Guthlac* B 791–850, 947 s., 953–969, but also *Christ and Satan* 410–421, 478–488, *Juliana* 494–505, and, especially, *Christ* 1380–1419. I am pleased, of course, to see that another also has found, at least in part, the parallels I pointed out.

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PEGASUS AS THE POET'S STEED.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In many of our best books of reference—English, French and German—we are told that the conception of Pegasus as the "poet's steed" is found first in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*. So, for example, in recent instalments of Roscher's *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* and the Oxford *New English Dictionary*. This bit of traditional information seems to come, through the old edition of Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie* (1848) or Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie* (1840), from a statement printed in the *Neuer deutscher Mercur*, in 1796. The original statement of 1796 neglected to add any definite reference to canto and stanza, and it is perhaps significant that out of all the people who have glibly repeated it since no one has happened to supply this little detail. I have read that endless—literally, endless—Italian poem, and I am almost prepared to say that it contains no allusion whatever to the "poet's steed." Nor is it easy to find this fancy in either of the *Rifacimenti*, by Berni and Domenichi. I am encouraged in my skepticism by the experience of Dr. F. Hannig, who says in his exhaustive treatise, *De Pegaso*, that he too has been unable to find the passage which was alluded to in the *Neuer deutscher Mercur*: "Poetarum equus hac demum aetate Pegasus factus est. Quam vim primum Boiardium quodam loco carminis quod Orlando Innamorato inscribitur, Pegaso subiecisse Lenzius dicit. Talem tamen locum cum invenire non potuerim, is quem Lenzius sequitur, in errore versari videtur" (*Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen*, volume VIII, pt. iv, p. 131). Moreover, Dr. W. Tappert's careful study of Boiardo's poetical imagery fails to record any such fancy about Pegasus (*Bilder und Vergleiche aus dem Orlando Innamorato*, etc., Marburg, 1886). Certainly, the next writer who repeats our time-honored statement should add a definite reference to canto and verse. Dr. Hannig is probably right in rejecting the traditional reference to Boiardo, but his "hac demum aetate" seems to make the fancy altogether too modern. It is certainly as old as the fifteenth century, and probably older. I happen to have found it lately in a quotation from a poem of the year 1497, Juan del Euzina's *Tragedia trovada á la dolorosa muerte del príncipe Don Juan*:

Despierta, despierta tus fuerzas, Pegaso,
Tú que llevabas á Belerofonte;
Llévame á ver aquel alto monte,
Muéstrame el agua mejor del Parnaso, etc.

See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, vol. VII, p. xliii.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THE MIGRATIONS OF A SONNET.

However boresome to the casual reader may be the English literature of the sixteenth century, to the scholar it offers a fascinating study. In an age without copy-right "Je prends mon bien là où je le trouve" was the literary credo, and every poem becomes a problem. Today no one would consider appropriating Carducci's poems; then Petrarch was rewritten for the English public,—and it was not thought necessary to allude to Petrarch. Nor was Petrarch the only victim. The whole body of contemporary Italian poetry was laid under contribution. When one remembers this, æsthetic comments on a poem are accompanied with paralyzing doubts whether the English writer be the author of the poetic idea, or only of the English expression of that idea; when one forgets this, internal criticism becomes truly creative, and biographical inference more startling than true. The romantic love of Wyatt for Queen Anne, or of Surrey for his Geraldine, are showing signs of wear. When the impassioned lament is proved to be nothing but a mediocre translation from a foreign original, a damper falls on the eager theorist. But the number of Italian poets is legion, and the English readers but few. Let the theorist now rejoice since only here and there are we able as yet to show conclusively the mode of procedure.

Fortunately in the following sequence of sonnets the way is comparatively simple. In Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557), fifteen years after Wyatt's death, credited to Wyatt this sonnet appeared:

"Like to these unmesurable montayns
is my painful lyff, the burden of ire;
for of great height be they, & high is my desire;
and I, of teres, and they be full of fontayns.
Under craggy roekes they have full barren playns;
herd thoughtes in me my wofull mynde doeth tyre.

Small fruyt & many leves their toppes do atyre;
small effect with great trust in me remayns.
The boysteus wyndes oft their high bowghes do blast;
hote sighes from me continually be shed.
Cattell, in theim; and in me, love is fed.
Immoveable ame I; and they are full stedfast.
Of the restless birdes they have the tone and note;
and I, alwayes plaintes that passe thorough my throte."¹

The heading,² "The louers life compared to the Alpes," seems to indicate a foreign origin. Still more so is the comment in the *Arte of English Poetry*, commonly attributed to Puttenham;³ "and specially in the rimes of Sir Thomas Wiatt, strained perchaunce out of their originall, made first by Francis Petrarcha; as these . . ." and the first lines of this sonnet are quoted. But the ambiguity lies in the phrase "as these." If these lines serve only as an illustration to his previous remarks on scansion,—and this seems to be indicated by the punctuation,—the statement remains true that many of Wyatt's verses are imitated from Petrarch. If on the other hand the author means that this sonnet is imitated from Petrarch, he is in error as was pointed out as long ago as 1816 by Nott:⁴ "He speaks of it as if he considered it translated from Petrarch. This is, I believe, a mistake; though it was probably borrowed from some Italian writer Tibaldeo or Accolti." Prof. Koeppl⁵ on his side finds the original in a similar sonnet by Melin de Saint-Gelais (1487-1558). In thus attributing it he is followed by Mr. Sidney Lee⁶

¹ This reading is drawn from Padelford's *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, Heath & Co., 1907. Collated with Wyatt's own manuscript, it varies widely from the Tottel version. In thus giving us the actual text, Prof. Padelford has made all students of this period his debtors.

² Tottel's *Miscellany*, Arber's Reprints, p. 70.

³ Puttenham's *Arte of English Poetrie*, Arber's Reprints, p. 142.

⁴ *Works of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, London, 1816, p. 543.

⁵ Emil Koeppl, "Sir Thomas Wyatt und Melin de Saint-Gelais," *Anglia*, XIII, 17.

⁶ *An English Garner. Elizabethan Sonnets*. Introduction by Sidney Lee. New York, n. d. vol. 1, p. xxxii.

and, with some reservations, by Prof. Padelford (pp. 111-112).

Actually, however, Wyatt's sonnet is a literal translation from one by Sannazaro (1458-1530):⁷

"Simile a questi smisurati monti
E l'aspra vita mia colma di doglie,
Alti sone questi, ed alte le mie voglie:
Di lagrime abboud'io, questi di fonti.
Lor han di scogli le superbe fronti,
In me duri pensier l'anima accoglie;
Lor son pochi frutti, e molti foglie,
L'ho pochi effetti a gran speranza aggiunti.
Soffian sempre fra lor rabbiosi venti,
In me gravi sospiri esito fanno;
In me si pasce Amore, in lor armenti.
Immobile son io, lor fermi attonno:
Lor han di vaghi augelli dolci accenti,
Ed io lamenti di soverchio affanno."

Fortunately here we have definite dates. It first appears in 1531.⁸ There are, then, three

⁷ *Le Opere Volgari di M. Jacopo Sannazaro*. In Padova, 1723, Pt. 3, Son. 3. I take pleasure in acknowledging the courtesy of the Harvard Librarians who gave me access to this copy. Thru the kindness of Prof. J. G. Robertson of Harrow, as this article goes to press, I am enabled to acknowledge the priority of Mr. Arthur Tilley on this point. *Mod. Lang. Quarterly*, Vol. 5, p. 149.

⁸ This sonnet is to be found in the third part "aggiunta, dal suo proprio originale cauata, con somma diligenza corretta, & stampata" per Nicolo d'Aristotle detto Zoppino, MDXXXI.

In the following bibliography of the Rime this distinguishing feature, the third part, is omitted unless otherwise stated.

In Napoli per Maestro Johannes Sultzbach, 1530.

In Roma per Antonio Blado d'Asola, 1530. (Taken from Vaganay.)

In Venetia per Alexandro Paganino, 1531. (Not in Vaganay.)

No place, per Nicolo d'Aristotle detto Zoppino; third part, 1531. (Not in Vaganay.)

No place, per Marchio Sessa, 1532; third part.

No place, per Bern. Giunto, 1533 (reprinted 1723); third part.

In Vincgia, nelle case delli heredi d'Aldo Romano, 1534. (Taken from Vaganay.)

In Venetia appresso Gabriel Gioli di Ferrarii, 1543. (Third part specifically omitted.)

In Venetia, no publisher, 1544. (Third part specifically omitted. Not in Vaganay.)

In Vinegia appresso Gabriele Giolito de Ferrari, 1549. (Not in Vaganay.)

assumptions open to us. First, as we know nothing of the dates of composition, Wyatt's sonnet may be the original. This, I think, is disproved by the superior workmanship of the Italian. Secondly, as we know that Wyatt was in Rome probably in 1526,⁹ there he may have seen the sonnet circulating in manuscript, or in the hands of its author who had come up from Naples, or he may have gone down to Naples to see Sannazaro. While this is possible, there are too many unsupported assertions to make it probable. Or thirdly, Wyatt may have seen the Zoppino edition, or some commonplace book, or compilation, in which it was copied. This last is the most probable solution. But in this case, then, Wyatt must have been almost thirty years old, and as he only lived to be thirty-nine, Prof. Padelford's comment (p. 112), "the rough metre of Wyatt's poem shows that it was one of his early compositions," should be modified. As the matter stands now, the dating is probably after 1531.

The importance of the dating of the Wyatt sonnet becomes apparent when the Saint-Gelais¹⁰ poem is considered.

"Voyant ces monts de veue ainsi lointaine,
Je les compare à mon long déplaisir:
Haut est leur chef, et haut est mon désir:
Leur pied est ferme, et ma foy est certaine.
D'eux maint ruisseau coule, et mainte fontaine:
De mes deux yeux sortent pleurs à loisir;
De forts souspirs ne me puis dessaisir,
Et de grands vents leur cime est toute plaine,
Mille troupeaux s'y promènent et paissent,
Autant d'Amours se couvent et renaissent
Dedans mon cœur, qui seul est leur pasture.
Ils sont sans fruit, mon bien n'est qu'apparence,
Et d'eux à moy n'a qu'une difference,
Qu'en eux la neige, en moy la flamme dure."

As this is obviously a translation, Blanche-

In Vinegia ed. by Dolce, Giolito de'Ferrari. (Taken from Vaganay.)

In Venetia ed. Dolce, appresso Christoforo Zanetti, 1574.

In Venetia, Appresso Nicolo Moretti, 1597. (Taken from Vaganay.)

⁹ John Bruce, *Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1850, p. 258.

¹⁰ *Oeuvres Complètes de Melin de Saint-Gelais*, par Prosper Blanchemain, Paris, 1873, p. 78.

main's note stating from internal evidence that the date is 1536 may be disregarded. But according to him,¹¹ it appears in a volume published in 1547, five years after Wyatt's death and ten years before the first publication of his poems. Consequently the question at once arises, from which one is it a translation? Sig. Torraca,¹² not knowing the Wyatt, thinks it a modification of the Italian. Prof. Koeppl, Mr. Lee, and Prof. Padelford, not knowing the Italian, think it the original. Mr. Lee, in particular, states the case clearly; "Nor did Wyatt altogether neglect French literature. He translated with verbal accuracy a popular sonnet of Melin de Saint-Gelais." A footnote refers to this sonnet. But on either side there is no verbal accuracy here. Nor did Wyatt translate from the French because his version is far more accurate a rendition of the Italian than the Saint-Gelais. Nor did the Italian translate from the French as it is more condensed. To account for the Saint-Gelais, there are two possibilities. The first is that both poets translated it independently; the second, that Saint-Gelais translated from Wyatt. But with the three poems before us, a decision is possible. Owing to the difficulty of the rime-scheme, it was impossible for Wyatt to render the Italian absolutely literally, in as condensed a form. But then if his additions are followed by Saint-Gelais, the latter is the translator. On comparing the two, the first peculiarity is that in the octave the riming sounds are similar. Whereas the Italian runs *monti-doglie-voglie-fonti*, Wyatt has *montayns-ire-desire-fontayns*, and Saint-Gelais, *lointaine-deplaisir-désir-certainc*. If a coincidence, it is surely a curious one. The last half of the third line of the Wyatt reads "& high is my desire"; of the Saint-Gelais, "*et haut est mon désir*." The "*fra lor*" in the ninth line of the Sannazaro is ambiguous; it may refer to either the mountains or the trees. Wyatt takes the latter: "The boysteous wyndes of their high bowghs do blast." With this line in mind, Saint-Ge-

lais translates "high bowghs" accurately by "*cime*," but his "*leur*" then has no noun on which to depend except "*monts*." Consequently his line is almost nonsense, because a mountain top cannot be very full of strong winds. In the tenth line to fill up the measure, Wyatt inserts "continually." This idea is given by Saint-Gelais, "*De forts souspirs ne me puis dessaisir*." However trifling these examples may seem, the great fact is that there is not one word common to the Italian and the French which is not in the English, and that some of the English variants are followed by the French. The supposition then is that when Wyatt was at the Court of Francis the First in December, 1539 and January, 1540, he there met Saint-Gelais who was attached to the Court. And the deduction from all this is not trifling. The unbiased assumption that much of our early sixteenth century literature has been translated from the French is so common that it is time to call a halt. At least definite proof should be offered.

But that this position is not tenable with the literature of the last half of the sixteenth century may be shown by a further example drawn from the history of this same sonnet. With every translation so far there has been a steady progress away from the original. The exigencies of the rime-scheme forced even Wyatt to additions; his last phrase is pitifully weak. But the last verses of the Saint-Gelais,

"Et d'eux à moy n'a qu'une difference,
Qu'en eux la neige, en moy la flamme dure."

however Petrarchistic may be the antithesis, have no parallel in either of the others. But this conceit, admired by Barnes, indicates the source of his twelfth madrigal.¹³

"Like to the mountains, are my high desires;
Level to thy love's highest point:
Grounded on faith, which thy sweet grace requires,
For Springs, tears rise in endless source.
For Summer's flowers, Love's fancies I appoint.
The Trees, with storms tossed out of course,
Figure my thoughts, still blasted with Despair.
Thunder, lightning, and hail
Make his trees mourn: thy frowns make me bewail!
This only difference! Here, fire; there, snows are!"

¹¹ This edition, however, is ignored by Vaganay, *Le Sonnet en Italie et en France au XVI^e Siècle*, Lyon, 1902.

¹² Cf. *Imitatori Stranieri di Jacopo Sannazaro, di Francesco Torraca*, Roma, 1882.

¹³ *Elizabethan Sonnets*, vol. I, p. 201.

Here there is nothing save the first comparison to suggest the remote Sannazaro. There has been a gradual progress from the precise epithet to the general one. Rabbiosi venti—boysteuous wyndes—grands vents—storms. The interval between the two still recognizable comparisons of the first and last lines is filled with the refuse from a sonneteer's note book. Such work as this explains Shakespeare's contemptuous references to "sonnets."

After this there is no need of following it further. Torraca cites a verse from Desportes where there is some similarity. But in the verse from the *Phoenix Nest* quoted by Nott and the stanzas from Tofte's *Alba* quoted by Prof. Koepfel, the adulteration has passed into the stage of Petrarchismo. Sannazaro's sonnet has been absorbed into general literature. Thus this sonnet sequence forms a curious chapter in literary history. One is tempted to ask the Sadducees' question, "whose wife shall she be of the seven? for they all had her." And thus Barnes' poem, an English translation of a French translation of an English translation of an Italian original, shows in a marked degree the intermingling of the three literatures.

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GRAISSER LA PATTE.

The locution *oindre la paume* appears in a fabliau *La vielle qui oint la paume au chevalier*¹ and in the many variations of this or similar stories current in the XIIIth-XIVth centuries.² An example occurs in the *Roman de Carité*³ str.

¹ Montaiglon et Raynaud, *Recueil gén. des Fabl.*, v, 157-159; *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xxiii, 168-169.

² For bibliography see Oesterley, *Schimpf und Ernst* (Pauli) 124, note; Crane, *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, xxxviii, note; Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, 283, and sub *La Vielle qui oint*. I can add only *Carité*, XIII-XIX, cited below. For the locution cf. Grimm s. v. *schmieren*; Alberti, *Voc. della Ling. It.*, s. v. *ugnere*; Salva, s. v. *untar*.

³ Renclus de Moliens, ed. Van Hamel, Paris, 1885.

XIII-XIX: an old woman with a case in court is unable to secure counsel. She is told that to obtain a lawyer's assistance she must 'anoint his palm.' Interpreting to the letter, she procures lard, approaches a *plaideour* and surprises him with the unexpected revenue. This version by the Renclus is interesting because the language in which it is cast throws light on the semasiological development of the locution. The passages showing the phrase read:

XIII, vv. 10-12: Chil sont de conseil assené
Ki font a lor mains oignement;
Et chil ki nes oignent noient.

XVI, vv. 8-11: Chil hom aidier pas ne s'aloigne
Chelui ki le paume li oint.
Il a apris ke on li oigne;
Oing li, si fera te besoigne.

XVII, vv. 11-12: Car vous m'aideriez chou dist
Se jc le paume vous oignoie.

The idiom here appears in three forms: *faire oignement aus mains de*, *oindre le (la) paume* and *oindre*. It is a question, therefore, of the semantics of *oindre* (cf. Ger. *schmieren*); *main* and *paume* are purely expletive designating the part 'anoointed' in receiving the bribe.

The Spanish use the expression *no andar el carro* indicating delay in the execution of a project. Accordingly they say *untar el carro*,⁴ 'to expedite an affair,' 'to bribe.' A similar mental process existed we think in *oindre (la paume)*. We are close to this development in *Car.* XVI, v. 11: "Oing li, si fera te besoigne."⁵ But going on it becomes clearer that we are dealing with this tacitly understood analogy. For the Renclus in applying the story of the old woman to the Romans says in XVIII-XIX:

Romains a langue seke et dure,
Ne puet parler sans oignement;
Et ses huis siet tant sekement⁶

⁴ Salva, s. v. *carro*.

⁵ A similar sense of *oindre* appears in Montaigne (*Litré*), *Essais*, 11, 85: "Heureux qui se trouve à point pour oindre leur volonté sur ce passage."

⁶ Grimm cites Logau, III, 45-47:

Man muss mit *schmieren*
Wie dürrer thüren
So advocaten
Zum meisten rathen.
Sollen schweigen thüren
Sie reden führen.

⁷ Grease persuades a door to be silent, a lawyer to talk.'

K'il ne puet ouvrir sans ointure.
 Romain a le langue legiere,
 Quant ele est ointe est bien parliere⁷
 Et a langue desointe est mus;
 Et ki hien li oint se carniere
 Entre ens; se non voit s'ent arriere.

That is, there are here two analogies between the lawyer and the Roman: the lawyer will not work without oiling (*oindre le paume*); the Roman will not talk without oiling (*oindre le langue*); nor will he admit you to his presence without a fee (*oindre les huis, le carniere*). The sense of the first locution is clearly mechanical, referring to the use of oil on machinery. *Oindre le langue* may be felt in three ways: mechanically, comparing the lawyer to a machine; or chemically, as it were, comparing him to dry leather which

There are also two fine examples in unedited poems in the Venetian dialect by Gian Francesco Businello (written circa 1640): Cod. Cicogna 630-1082 (Museo Civico, Venice) in poem beginning "Che niole in ciel seren, che al improvviso," ff. 269-328, st. 30:

Pari spirituali e confessori
 No aceterà presenti da cietine;
 Anderà l'impolet no le tine ('collection plates')
 A onzer le lenguele ai sagiaori.

The *lenguele* are the leather handles to the latches (*sagiaori*). Again, in "Che grizoli che grili che vorave" (*ibid.* cod. 632-1084, ff. 9-27, st. 33:

Slanzava sasi, e po scondeva el brazo,
 Desmisiavo la note i batari;
 Onzeva le lenguele ai sagiaori,
 Tirava la bareta sul mustazo.

The author is telling the debaucheries of his youth, and here refers to the moneyspent for entrance to disreputable places of amusement. Cf. then this "grease the latch" with "to grease the hinges" of the *Carité*, and the "to grease the knocker" of Racine (v. infra). The fact that the *lenguele* were leather thongs may have here introduced the semantic confusion discussed below under Grimm's "to grease the leather."

Is *oindre la langue* possibly an early reference to the custom of giving the "Espices" (Et. Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, I, 64)? The citations from the *Carité* do not establish this connection but the hypothesis, beside *den kehl schmieren* and *unger la dente*, seems inviting. It is quite probable that beside *oindre le paume* for bribes in money, there existed the equivalent *oindre la langue* for payments in the "dragées"; in both cases the idea development for *oindre* would be the same.

⁷ So Grimm from Rehun, *Susanne*, v, 5, v. 454:

Ihr vollt in ire zungen schmirn,
 Sie sollen's in drein tagen nicht riirn.

needs oiling for flexibility⁸; or finally, in the sense of the Ger. *den kehl schmieren* and It. *ungere la dente*, 'to feed well.' The last interpretation is excluded by the context in the *Carité*, where it is clearly a case of money. But the other two conceptions presented themselves to the author almost simultaneously; for clearly the ointment is considered the remedy for say a parched tongue; but the mechanical idea at once recurred in "Ne puet parler sans oignement" and in *oindre le carniere*.

Further in *Car.* XIX, vv. 11-12:

Quant plus est d'oint d'argent emplus
 Li Romain, tant seke il plus.

And XX, vv. 5-8:

Romain, tu as trop caudes mains:
 Li oins est lues a nient menés;
 Quant a tes mains est amenés,
 Lues est fondus, lues est finés.

Here also the comparison seems to be with a hinge or bearing, which heated requires a great deal of oil for successful operation.

The passages cited offer three facts: the suggested analogy between a lawyer and a dry bearing fits the form of statement in *Car.*, XVI, v. 11; the locution is associated with idioms which obviously involve this analogy; this thought process must be adduced to explain the figures in XIX and XX. Corroboratory expressions are not wanting: Grimm cites⁹: "Man muss der welt nicht allein die hände sondern auch den kehl schmieren; so geht es dann sprich ich so man beide räder schmiert." Here *die hände schmieren* is definitely equivalent to *die räder schmieren*. The English offers likewise to grease the wheels, 'to bribe': Elton, *Below the Surface*, p. 327¹⁰: "The party I mean is a glutton for money, but I think an hundred pounds will grease his wheels." It. *ungere le carrucole*¹¹ parallels Sp. *untar el carro*,

⁸ The meaning 'to anoint = to soften,' for *oindre* is implied by *Car.*, XXXV, v. 12: "Cose ointe doit estre molle." Cf. Du Cange s. v. *ungere*, "molindinis ad unguendum coria."

⁹ *Agr. Sprch.*, 384 b, 60.

¹⁰ *New Eng. Dict.*, s. v. *grease*.

¹¹ Rigutini, etc., s. v. *ungere*. Cf. Businello, "Do brazolari in man ha la natura," st. 69: "Musa che ha el molinelo onto"; *molinelo* is 'filatoio': 'facile Musc.' Elsewhere, "Che grizoli che grili," st. 41, he speaks of a vain *onzer coi odori* in an unsuccessful career in a "bottega de mustier."

'to bribe'; also *unger la rota* in the proverb "Bisogna unger la rota, se no non gira," and *aver da che ungere*,¹¹ *c'è che ungere*,¹² 'to be obliged to make great effort,' which shows the fundamental thought from which the extension 'to bribe' proceeded. Furetière mentions, s. v. *graisser*, the *graisser le marteau* of Racine, *Plaideurs*, v. 14, whose ancestor *oindre le carniere* appears in the *Car.*, xix. Finally, *à graisse d'argent*: Richelieu, *Correspondence*, vi, p. 389½ (Littré): "Je conjure M. le grand maître de faire faire ce que dessus et le clayonnage et promptement à *graisse d'argent*, car à quelque prix que ce soit nous voulons . . . prendre Hesdin, etc.": i. e., progress will be facilitated by copious 'oil,' money (cf. It. *se n'andò unto*, *unto*,¹³ 'very smoothly'). The extension from this use, purely mechanical, to bribery, a parallel therefore to the development suggested for *oindre le paume*, appears in D'Aubigné, *Foen.*, iv, 5 (Littré): "L'Estrancards faisoit ses affaires à *graisse d'argent*; l'autre gagnait ses juges par plusieurs gentilleses." The explicative *d'argent* here present has parallels in It. *unguento di zecca*,¹⁴ Sp. *unto de Mejico*¹⁵ and O. Fr. *oint d'argent* (*Car.*, xix, v. 11). Throughout these locutions an affair is compared with a wheel or machine: if the wheel

does not turn, use oil; if the affair does not progress, use 'grease'; if a lawyer will not work, he must be 'anointed' and naturally on the palm, which receives his preferred 'ointment,' money.

It is probable that other senses of *oindre* ultimately affected the connotation of the locution: *oindre la langue*, for example, as used in *Car.*, xviii-xix, mingles the senses of *oindre (la paume)*, 'to bribe,' i. e., with money and *den Kehl schmieren*, i. e., with wine or food—a play on the double sense of *graisse*, 'boodle' (= Ger. 'Schmir'), and 'condiment,' 'richness' (cf. *mets de haute graisse*). A similar confusion between *ungere la dente* and *unger la rota* occurs in "L'arrosto più gli è unto, e meglio gira."¹⁶ These all rest on the use of ointment as a softening agency: Grimm cites the proverbs "Geschmiert leder wird gern weich," "Schmieren macht linde hände," where *schmieren* is 'to bribe.' Here *oindre* would connote the bending of a stiff, unyielding lawyer (cf. *fléchir*, 'to persuade'). Cf. also in *Car.*, xx, v. 5, the locution *avoir les mains caudes*, 'to be avaricious.' The form of the expression is probably original with the Renclous; yet the metaphor is common: Eus. Deschamps, vii, p. 248¹⁴: "D'argent avoir sont en ardure," though *ardure*, 'burning desire' is by no means limited to a longing for money (cf. Godefroy, s. v.). The Italian offers *bruciare*, 'to be dry' (i. e., 'to burn easily'), 'to be without money,' in the expression *bruciare come l'esca*.¹⁵ Closely allied also in sense is Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, iv, sc. 3: "Cassius you yourself are much condemned to have an itching palm." As 'ointment' is the remedy for this physical condition, *oindre*, 'to bribe,' naturally becomes associated with the very frequent *oindre*, 'to please,' 'to flatter.' This is the point of contact between the ancient and modern forms of the locutions. For here *oindre*, 'to bribe,' connoting 'to please,' blends with *engraisser*, 'to grease,' 'to fatten' also connoting 'to please.'

Engraisser (Littré, xiiith century) was the older form of *graisser*, 'to grease' (*Dict. Gén.*,

¹² Petrocchi, s. vv. *ungere* and *unguento*.

¹³ Salva, s. v. *unto*. Most interesting of these is the Spanish *unto de rana*, 'dinero, especialmente el que se emplea en el suborno' (*Dict. Acad.*). Businello used this in Venetian, "Che niole in ciel seren," st. 162:

No crede tetarme en le r . . .
Col darne aqua de vita, ogio de rane,
Da onzer dove el mal me da la streta, . . .

showing his contempt for the corruption of the Venetian Drogio. The semantics of *rana* in this expression require special treatment. Difficult also is the Venetian *unguento de maderni*, used by Giacomo Badoer in his unedited "Compare chi non usa alfin desusa," st. 73:

Per lasar star i santi e i calendari
Me onzo col unguento de maderni;
E se altri ride de sti mi governi,
Anca mi rido dei so romatari.

Maderni is, however, probably an error for *moderni*; for in Businello's reply to this poem, "Quel proverbio signor che molto s'usa," imitating rhyme for rhyme and often word for word, we find for this stanza the sequence *calendari-moderni-governi-aromatari*. Cf. also Boccaccio's *grascia di San Giovanni*, Alberti, l. c.

¹⁴ Ed. by Gast. Raynaud, Soc. des Anc. Textes Fr.

¹⁵ Rigutini, Petrocchi, s. vv. *bruciare* and *esca*.

¹⁶ *Esconfle*, v. 5642: "Or l'a de parole bien ointe." Cf. further Godefroy and Littré, s. v. *oindre*, and It. *dar del l'unguento*, 'adulare' (Petrocchi).

1539, citing R. Estienne). But *engraisser* also meant 'to fatten' (*Dict. Gén.*, xith century, citing *St. Alexis*), hence transferred 'to enrich'; cf. *s'engraisser* (Littré) and Sp. *untarse*, 'quedarse con algo en las cosas que se manejan, especialmente dinero.'¹⁷ It was natural thus that *oindre* should alternate in the old language with *engraisser* in the expression *oindre la paume, les mains*. An example occurs in Altmeyer, *Archives judiciaires de Hainaut*, p. 125: "Vous avé veu la collere de Monseigneur, disant que se ne nous cognoissoit gens de bien, auroit opinion qu'avions heu les mains engraisées."

Engraisser les mains must, therefore, be regarded as a form intermediate between *oindre la paume* and *graisser la patte*. *Graisser la patte* replaced *engraisser les mains* at the time of specialization in the meaning of *engraisser* from 'anoint' to 'fatten.' The determining influence was the noun *graisse*, which, itself associated with illegitimate money (cf. the expression *il n'y a pas grand'graisse*, 'there is not much in it' [?])¹⁸ and being at the same time the stem of the verb *graisser*, crowded out the older and more stilted form. In *patte* for *main* we have a humorous degeneration, possibly due to the use of the locution in folk-tales involving animals, such as were at the base of La Fontaine's fables.¹⁹ This tendency is prominently set forth in other locutions involving *patte* under that word in Littré.

We conclude, therefore, that *oindre la paume* is an extension of the idea appearing in *to grease the wheels*; noting the unrecorded synonyms *oindre la carniere*, *oindre les huis*, *oindre la langue*, which show that *oindre* alone contained the essen-

tial idea. This meaning deserves accordingly a separate treatment in dictionaries. The old locution develops into *graisser la patte* through *engraisser les mains*, unnoted, so far as we have found, by lexicographers. We indicate further the importance of the *Carité* as the basis for study of the locution and of the fabliau *La vieille qui oint*, to the bibliography of which it should be added.

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NOTES ON HEINE.¹

IV.

In the Osterode Dream, *Elster*, III, 22, ll. 20-24, occur the lines:

"Schweigt! schweigt! ich höre die Stimme des teuren Prometheus, die höhrende Kraft und die stumme Gewalt schmieden den Schuldlosen an den Marterfelsen, und all euer Geschwätz und Gezänke kann nicht seine Wunden kühlen und seine Fesseln zerbrechen!"

On this passage Buchheim (p. 91) has the following note: "This passage is an allusion to the so-called 'Holy Alliance,' which was formed after the final overthrow of Napoleon by the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, with the object of suppressing the liberal movements on the Continent; so that *Prometheus* would seem to stand here for the 'spirit of liberty': but according to the Fr. version, which runs, '*La force insultante et la violence muette de la sainte alliance ont enchaîné le héros sur un rocher dans l'Océan*,' *Prometheus* stands here for Napoleon."

All the other English editors² adopt this latter view, and in terms far less guarded. It would seem, however, that this identification of Prome-

¹⁷ Salva, s. v. *untar*. I am told that the Czech language also possesses a phrase *na mazal*, 'to butter one's self,' 'to get rich illegitimately.'

¹⁸ Jamieson: *Dict. Scott. Lang.*, s. v. *creish*. It is probable also that the extension of *oindre la paume* to *engraisser les mains* was assisted by the sense of 'to soil' in *engraisser*.

¹⁹ Professor Adolph Cohn makes the interesting suggestion that the transference to *patte* he due to the fact that the latch-strings and knockers of doors were frequently ornamented with the metal paws of animals, and observes that *graisser la patte* is now especially used in reference to the tipping of janitors. If this plausible theory be true, the modern locution is a fusion of *engraisser les mains* (*la main*) with *graisser le marteau* in the pun *patte* = *main* and *marteau*.

¹ Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. XXIII, pp. 25-28.

² Elster does not comment. The passage is not claimed as a reference to Napoleon by Holzhausen in his *Heinrich Heine und Napoleon I.*, Frankfurt a. M., 1903. Cf. p. 109: In der 1824 geschriebenen "Harzreise," dieser reinsten und anmutigsten seiner Prosadichtungen, geschieht des grossen Mannes, dessen Namen der Dichter im Herzen trug, auch nicht mit einer Silbe Erwähnung.

theus with Napoleon is for the German *Harzreise* out of question. Apart from the consideration that Napoleon had at the time of writing been dead for some years, it is inconceivable that Heine should have here employed the epithet *der Schuldlose* as descriptive of Napoleon. To him he is *imperator*³ and *triumphator*,⁴ not *der Schuldlose*.

Nor does Buchheim's statement as to the reading of the French version hold good upon a closer examination. Although Elster in his critical apparatus (III, 511) has in this case overlooked the variation, a distinction must be made between the reading of the first French version, F₁ (1834), and the second French version, F₂ (1858). F₁, a copy of which is in the New York Public Library, Astor Foundation, correctly reads *l'innocent* = *den Schuldlosen*. Whoever in 1858, two years after the poet's death, was responsible for this change from *l'innocent* to *le héros* correctly felt that the former designation was inappropriate, and, as a descriptive epithet, inapplicable to Napoleon.⁵ If the alteration goes back to Heine himself, and this is a possibility that has to be reckoned with, then it is probably to be accounted another instance of his opportunism, of a kind with the changes which, to meet the exigencies of the changed political situation under the second empire, he made in his earlier letters from Paris.⁶

In the passage under consideration, therefore, the figure of Prometheus doubtless symbolizes liberal Germany under the heel of the Metternich régime. The veiled character of the allusion is characteristic of the period and may itself have been a factor in the foisting of the Napolconic interpretation upon the French version of 1858. Such a parallel, Prometheus : Napoleon, lay close at hand and not only was familiar from contem-

porary literature⁷ but occurs in Heine as well. In the *Reise von München nach Genua*, Elster, III, 273, we read :

Vielleicht, nach Jahrtausenden, wird ein spitzfindiger Schulmeister in einer grundgelehrten Dissertation unumstösslich beweisen : dass der Napoleon Bonaparte ganz identisch sei mit jenem andern Titane, der den Göttern das Licht raubte und für dieses Vergehen auf einem einsamen Felsen, mitten im Meere, angeschmiedet wurde, preisgegeben einem Geier, der täglich sein Herz zerfleischte.

On the other hand, a "Volk-Prometheus" is reflected, even if indirectly, in such a passage⁸ as the following :

Von dem Augenblick an, wo eine Religion bei der Philosophie Hülfe begehrt, ist ihr Untergang unabwendlich. Sie sucht sich zu verteidigen und schwatzt sich immer tiefer ins Verderben hinein. Die Religion, wie jeder Absolutismus, darf sich nicht justifyieren. Prometheus wird an den Felsen gefesselt von der schweigenden Gewalt. Ja, Äschylus lässt die personifizierte Gewalt kein einziges Wort reden. Sie muss stumm sein.

It is characteristic of Heine's self-consciousness as man and poet that an identification of himself with the Titan Prometheus is likewise not uncommon in his works. Thus we find it, without any special coloring, in the *Gesang der Okeaniden*.⁹

O Tor, du Tor, du prahlender Tor !
Halsstarrig bist du wie dein Ahnherr,
Der hohe Titane, der himmlisches Feuer
Den Göttern stahl und den Menschen gab, . . .

Two other passages, *Geständnisse*, Elster, VI, 33, and *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen*, Elster, II, 469, show the same identification. Both of these passages bear a marked resemblance to the sentences from the *Harzreise*, not only in that they make use of the "Traummotiv," but that, in so far as Heine feels himself representative of his nation or of liberal Germany, they show an approach to a "deutsches Volk-Prometheus."

In Heine's *Gedanken und Einfälle*, in a passage

⁷ Compare e. g. for Byron the *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*, stanza xvi, and *The Age of Bronze*, ll. 226 ff.

⁸ *Zur Geschichte der Religion u. Philosophie in Deutschland*, Elster, IV, 232.

⁹ Elster, I, 186.

³ Elster, V, 87; VI, 242, 249.

⁴ Elster, VI, 242.

⁵ A discussion of the guilt or innocence of Napoleon, such as found in Elster, IV, 64, is, of course, without bearing upon this question.

⁶ Cf. R. F. Arnold in his review of Holzhausen's *Heinrich Heine und Napoleon I.*, Euphorion, XIII, 241. According to Strodtmann (II, 395) Heine's work upon the *Oeuvres Complètes* dates from this very period: Mit besonderer Sorgfalt unterzog Heine sich seit dem Ende des Jahres 1852 der Redaktion einer französischen Gesamtausgabe seiner Schriften.

that is perhaps reminiscent of Byron,¹⁰ this symbolism reaches its highest potency, Prometheus there becoming synonymous with humanity, humanity rent by the vulture of despair :

Die Erde ist der grosse Felsen, woran die Menschheit, der eigentliche Prometheus, gefesselt ist und vom Geier des Zweifels zerfleischt wird. Sie hat das Licht gestohlen und leidet nun Martern dafür.

V.

Towards the close of the *Harzreise*, Elster, III, 69, Heine makes the following observation :

Es ärgert mich jedesmal, wenn ich sehe, dass man auch Gottes liebe Blumen, ebenso wie uns, in Kasten geteilt hat, und nach ähnlichen Äusserlichkeiten, nämlich nach Staubfädenverschiedenheit. Soll doch mal eine Einteilung stattfinden, so folge man dem Vorschlage Theophrasts, der die Blumen mehr nach dem Geiste, nämlich nach ihrem Geruch, einteilen wollte.

On this Elster has the following footnote :

Theophrastus, geboren um 390 v. Chr. zu Eresos auf Lesbos, Schüler von Plato und Aristoteles und des letztern Nachfolger in der Leitung der peripatetischen Schule, schrieb eine "Historia plantarum" und ein Werk "De causis plantarum," dessen 6. Buch über den Geruch und Geschmack der Pflanzen handelt.

All English editors subsequent to Elster copy this note in substance. As stated by Elster, the sixth book of *De causis plantarum* (περὶ φνῶν αἰτῶν) does, in 20 chapters, treat *De saporibus odoribusque plantarum* (περὶ δὲ χυλῶν καὶ ὀσμῶν), but a careful examination of the edition by Wim-

¹⁰ Byron's *Prometheus*:

Thou art a symbol and a sign
To mortals of their fate and force ;
Like thee, Man is in part divine,
A troubled stream from a pure source ;
And man in portions can foresee
His own funereal destiny ;
His wretchedness, and his resistance,
And his sad unallied existence :

Heine also resembles the English poet in the large use made of Prometheus as a poetic symbolic figure. For the fascination the character of Prometheus exerted upon Byron, see the edition of E. H. Coleridge (London, 1901), *Poetry*, IV, p. 48, note 3.

mer (Paris, 1866) fails to disclose any observation, however remote, on which such a statement can reasonably be based. A scrutiny of the *Differentiae florum* (i. e. Bk. 1, ch. 13 of the *Historia Plantarum*) and of the fragment *De Odoribus*, led to similar negative results. In fact, the whole attitude of Theophrastus toward nature is such as almost to preclude the supposition that it was he who made the fantastic suggestion that smell might properly be made the basis of a classification of flowers. Nor is any mention made of the Greek Theophrastus anywhere else in Heine's published works.

It seems likely, therefore, that Heine had in mind, not the Greek Theophrastus, but Theophrastus Paracelsus, of Hohenheim, the celebrated scholar and physician of the Renaissance. A reference to Heine's commonplace-book, *Gedanken und Einfälle*, Elster, VII, 414, proves this to have been actually the case. We there read :

Philarète Chasles ordnet als Litterarhistoriker die Schriftsteller nicht nach Äusserlichkeiten . . . , sondern nach dem inneren geistigen Prinzip, nach Wahlverwandschaft. So will Paracelsus die Blumen nach dem Geruch klassifizieren—wie viel sinnreicher als Linné nach Staubfäden ! . . .

It may be regarded as fairly certain that we here have the source of the remark in the *Harzreise*: the entry in the commonplace book was in the *Harzreise* turned to good account. Unlike the Grecian, Paracelsus is twice mentioned elsewhere by Heine, in *Der Salon* (Elster, IV, 226) and the *Elementargeister* (Elster, IV, 382). Both as a personality and as scientist Paracelsus possessed qualities that made him distinctly akin to the Romantic spirit.¹¹

But while the fact that Heine in the passage under consideration had in mind, not the peripatetic philosopher, but the "Naturphilosoph" of the Renaissance, seems clearly established, it is quite another matter to find authority for the statement in the published works of Paracelsus, be they Latin or German. The Geneva edition (3 vols., 1658) especially has been carefully

¹¹ See the chapter *Romantische Ärzte* in Ricarda Huch's *Ausbreitung und Verfall der Romantik*. The connection of the plot of Fouqué's *Undine* with Paracelsus is also well known.

examined, not a difficult undertaking in view of the admirable indices with which these seventeenth century tomes are equipped. The search was utterly fruitless. I do not think it likely that Heine got his information direct from Paracelsus or that the statement in question can actually be traced to that author. It is, however, possible that the conceit is based on some perversion of a doctrine of Paracelsus, such as *e. g.* that of the quintessences.

VI.

Gottschalck's *Taschenbuch für Reisende in den Harz* is mentioned three times by Heine, Elster, III, 23, 36, 73. The edition that immediately preceded Heine's tour is the third, Magdeburg, 1823, but notwithstanding Elster's note on III, 23, it remains somewhat doubtful whether this third edition was the one actually used by Heine. The passage that gives rise to this doubt, and which may also be not without bearing on the subject of the "Dichtung und Wahrheit" of the *Harzreise*, reads as follows (Elster, III, 36):

In Gottschalks "Handbuch" hatte ich von dem uralten Dom und von dem berühmten Kaiserstuhl zu Goslar viel gelesen. Als ich aber beides besehen wollte, sagte man mir: der Dom sei niedergerissen und der Kaiserstuhl nach Berlin gebracht worden.

Now the third edition of Gottschalck (p. 158) states definitely: "Im Jahre 1820 ward der Dom abgebrochen, und mit ihm Goslars erste Merkwürdigkeit vernichtet." The second edition (1817), on the other hand, had contained a detailed description: "In den früheren Ausgaben dieses Taschenbuchs wurde ihre Reihe (d. h. der interessanten Gegenstände) mit dem vom dritten Kaiser Heinrich gegründeten Dom eröffnet." Under the circumstances one is tempted to ask whether Heine's clever phrase "des seligen Doms" in "Einige Merkwürdigkeiten des seligen Doms sind jetzt in der Stephanskirche aufgestellt" may not represent a reminiscence, conscious or unconscious, of Gottschalck's "Nur ein unbedeutendes Theilchen des Ganzen steht noch, als grosser Leichenstein, am Grabe des Gefallenen." If this surmise be correct, then the whole setting of the paragraph as cited above "In Gottschalks 'Handbuch' hatte ich," etc., is clearly a bit of fiction.

In any case, it should be pointed out that the sentence: "Dieser Christuskopf mit natürlichen Haaren und Dörnen und blutbeschmiertem Gesichte zeigt freilich höchst meisterhaft das Hinsterben eines Menschen, aber nicht eines gottgebornen Heilands" is obviously intended as a criticism of Gottschalck's observation: "Ferner einen Christus am Kreutz, aus Holz geschnitzt, auf dessen Gesicht das Hinsterben meisterhaft ausgedrückt ist."

That the *Harzreise* shows the influence of the *Taschenbuch* in a number of other details will appear from the following parallel¹² passages, which do not require further comment:

HEINE.

Elster, III, 35.

Der Markt ist klein, in der Mitte steht ein Springbrunnen, dessen Wasser sich in ein grosses Metallbecken ergiesst. Bei Feuerbrünsten wird einigemal daran geschlagen; es gibt dann einen weitschallenden Ton. Man weiss nichts vom Ursprunge dieses Beckens. Einige sagen, der Teufel habe es einst zur Nachtzeit dort auf den Markt hingestellt.

Elster, III, 54.

Der Brocken ist ein Deutscher. Mit deutscher Gründlichkeit zeigt er uns, klar und deutlich, wie ein Riesenpanorama, die vielen hundert Städte, Städtchen und Dörfer, die meistens nördlich liegen, und ringsum alle Berge, Wälder, Flüsse, Flächen, unendlich weit. Aber eben dadurch erscheint alles wie eine scharf gezeichnete, rein illuminierte Spezialkarte, nirgends wird das Auge durch eigentlich schöne Landschaften erfreut;

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pp. 164-5.

wie das grosse eherne Becken auf dem Markte, welches durch Röhren mit Wassergefüllt wird. Wenn Feuer in der Stadt entsteht, so wird einige Mal daran geschlagen, welches einen sehr starken weitschallenden Ton giebt. Man besitzt keine Nachrichten, wann es hierher gekommen, und darf ihm daher ein sehr hohes Alter zuschreiben. Die Sage will, dass es der Teufel zur Nachtzeit hingestellt habe.

p. 113.

Wer schöne mahlerische Landschaften vom Brocken zu erblicken hofft, wird sich getäuscht finden. . . . Aber eben darin besteht das Eigenthümliche dieses Umsehens, dass man hier nicht . . . eine schöne Landschaft nahe vor sich hat, sondern über Alles um sich her erhaben ist, . . . eine ungeheure Fläche Land und Gebirge überblickt, die gleich einer Landkarte ausgebreitet ist, und ein natürliches Panorama genannt werden kann.

¹²With the "999 Feuerstellen" with which Heine (Elster, III, 15) credits Göttingen, compare the use of the word *Feuerstelle* in Gottschalck, pp. 151, 185, 375, 382, etc., and, for the collocation especially, p. 370: "Es (Werna) zählt 53 Feuerstellen und viele Juden."

Elster, III, 74.

Nicht umsonst hingen die
altsächsischen Kaiser so
sehr an ihrem heimischen
Harze.

p. 16.

Nur alsdann, wenn man
die Schönheit, die Frucht-
barkeit, und die übrigen
natürlichen Vortheile des
Unterharzes durch den
Augenschein kennen ge-
lernt hat, kann man es sich
erklären, warum die säch-
sischen Kaiser so gern in
diesen Gegenden lebten,
sich so lange hier aufhiel-
ten, und überall Wohnsitze
hatten, deren Trümmer
noch jetzt eine Zierde der
Gegenden sind.

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NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF JONSON'S DISCOVERIES.

The old notion that the *Discoveries* were "a production of original English prose" was once for all laid to rest in Professor Schelling's excellent edition of them.¹ As he confessed, however, and as Gifford confessed before him, the industry and learning of no one man are equal to the task of checking up Jonson's reading, even his high-handed borrowings. In the following pages I have, I think, made some contribution to the gradually accumulating mass of knowledge concerning the sources of one of the most interesting and important of Jonson's works.²

I.

Fortuna (p. 3). "Ill fortune never crushed that man whom good fortune deceived not. I therefore have counselled my friends never to trust to her fairer side, though she seemed to make peace with them; but to place all things she gave them so, as she might ask them again without their trouble; she might take from them,

¹ 1892. See page xviii.

² The page references are to Schelling's edition. *De Tr.* = *De Tranquillitate Animi* of Seneca; *De Ben.* = *De Beneficiis*; *De Cl.* = *De Clementia*; the text used is the Teubner text of Haase, 1887; the references to it are self-explanatory.

not pull them: to keep always a distance between her and themselves." *De Tr.*, 11, 1: "nec habet [sapiens], ubi illam [fortunam] timeat, quia non mancipia tantum possessionesque et dignitatem, sed corpus quoque suum et oculos et manum et quicquid cاريorem vitam facturum est, seque ipsum inter precaria numerat vivitque ut commodatus sibi et reposcentibus sine tristitia redditurus. . . . Quandocumque autem reddere iubebitur, non queretur cum fortuna, sed dicit: 'gratias ago pro eo quod possedi habuique.'"

"Yet that which happens to any man may to every man." *De Tr.*, 11, 8: "Publius, et hoc ait:

cuius potest accidere quod cuiquam potest.

. Scito ergo omnem condicionem versabilem esse et quicquid in ullum incurrit, posse in te quoque incurere."

"But it is in his reason, what he accounts it and will make it." *De Tr.*, 13, 3: "Hoc est quare sapienti nihil contra opinionem dicamus accidere. non illum casibus hominum excepiamus, sed erroribus, nec illi omnia ut voluit cedunt, sed ut cogitavit."

II.

Non nimium credendum antiquitati (p. 7). The quotations are from Epistle 33, 11.

III.

Beneficia (p. 17). It is strange that the very title of this paragraph should not have directed Professor Schelling to Seneca's *De Ben.*, especially as elsewhere he does make references to that work. With the whole of what Jonson says, compare *De Ben.*, VI, 8, especially the following passages: "Beneficium aliquis nesciens accipit, nemo a nesciente. Quomodo multos fortuita sanant nec ideo remedia sunt: et in flumen alicui cecidisse frigore magno causa sanitatis fuit. quomodo quorumdam flagellis quartana discussa est. . . . non tamen ideo illis beneficium debemus, quod perniciores illorum consilia fortuna deflexit in melius. . . . et beneficium ab iniuria distinguit non eventus, sed animus. Adversarius meus, dum contraria dicit et iudicem superbia offendit et in unum testem rem demittit, causam meam erexit. non quaero an pro me erraverit; contra me voluit." See also *ch.* 7, 3.

IV.

Injuria (p. 17). With this compare Epistle 81, 3, though there appear to be no verbal similarities. Jonson develops the thought in his own way.

V.

Nullum vitium sine patrocínio (p. 20). The phrase is a quotation from Epistle 116, 2.

"when we have no other excuse we will say, we love it, we cannot forsake it. As if that made it not more a fault. We cannot, because we think we cannot, and we love it because we will defend it. We will rather excuse it than be rid of it. That we cannot is pretended; but that we will not is the true reason." 116, 8: "Scis, quare? non possumus ista, quia nos posse non credimus. immo mehercules aliud est in re: vitia nostra quia amamus, defendimus et malumus excusare illa quam excutere. Satis natura homini dedit roboris, si illo utamur, si vires nostras colligamus ac totas pro nobis, certe non contra nos concitemus: nolle in causa est, non posse praetenditur."

VI.

Ignorantia animae (pp. 27-8). "Think then what an evil it is [ignorance, not here of the soul, but of what can be learned], and what good the contrary." Epistle 31, 6: "Quid ergo est bonum? rerum scientia. quid malum est? rerum inperitia."

VII.

Adulatio (pp. 35-6). "But flattery is a fine pick-lock of tender ears; especially of those whom fortune hath borne high upon their wings, that submit their dignity and authority to it, by a soothing of themselves. For, indeed, men could never be taken in that abundance with the springes of others' flattery, if they began not there [*i. e.*, with themselves]." *De Tr.*, 1, 16: "Puto multos potuisse ad sapientiam pervenire, nisi putassent se pervenisse, nisi quaedam in se dissimulassent, quaedam opertis oculis transsiluissent. non est enim, quod magis aliena iudices adulatione nos perire quam nostra. quis sibi verum dicere ausus est?"

VIII.

Clementia; Clementia tutela optima (pp. 38-9). Practically the whole of these two paragraphs is

made up of quotations from *De Cl.*, except of course for the quotations from Machiavelli. "I say he puts off man and goes into a beast, that is cruel." I, 24, 3: "crudelitas miuime humanum malum est indignumque tam miti animo. ferina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere ac vulneribus, et abiecto homine in silvestre animal transire."

"No virtue is a prince's own, or becomes him more, than this clemency: and no glory is greater than to be able to save with his power." I, 3, 3: "Nullum tamen clementia ex omnibus magis quam regem aut principem decet." I, 26, 5: "Felicitas illa multis salutem dare et ad vitam ab ipsa morte revocare et mereri clementia civicam. nullum ornamentum principis fastigio dignius pulchriusque est quam illa corona ob cives servatos: Hacc divina potentia est gregatim ac publice servare."

"Many punishments, sometimes and in some cases, as much discredit a prince, as many funerals a physician." I, 24, 1: "Non minus principi turpia sunt multa supplicia quam medico multa funera."

"The state of things is secured by clemency; severity represseth a few, but it irritates more." I, 8, 6: "regibus certior est ex mansuetudine securitas, quia frequens vindicta paucorum odium reprimat, omnium iritat."

"The lopping of trees makes the boughs shoot out thicker; and the taking away of some kind of enemies increaseth the number." I, 8, 7: "alioquin quemadmodum praecisae arbores plurimis ramis repullulant et multa satorum genera, ut densiora surgant, reciduntur, ita regia crudelitas auget inimicorum numerum tollendo."

"It is then most gracious in a prince to pardon when many about him would make him cruel." I, 10, 4: "hoc est ignoscere, cum scias multos futuros, qui pro te irascantur et tibi alieno sanguine gratificentur, non dare tantum salutem, sed praestare."

"But princes, by hearkening to cruel counsels, become in time obnoxious to the authors, their flatterers, and ministers; and are brought to that, that when they would, they dare not change them; they must go on and defend cruelty with cruelty; they cannot alter the habit. It is then grown necessary, they must be as ill as those that have

made them : and in the end they will grow more hateful to themselves than to their subjects." I, 13, 2-3 : "Non potest habere quisquam bonae ac fidae voluntatis ministros, quibus in tormentis et euleo et ferramentis ad mortem paratis utitur, quibus non aliter quam bestis homines obiectat, omnibus omnium rerum noxior ac sollicitior, ut qui homines deosque testes ac vindices facinorum timeat, eo perductus, ut non liceat illi mutare mores. hoc enim inter cetera vel pessimum habet crudelitas : perseverandum est nec ad meliora patet regressus. scelera enim sceleribus tuenda sunt : quid autem eo infelicius, cui iam esse malo necesse est ? O miserabilem illum, sibi certe ! qui ubi circumspexit quaeque fecit quaeque facturus est, et conscientiam suam plenam sceleribus ac tormentis adapernit, saepe mortem timet, saepius optat invisior sibi quam servientibus."

"Whereas, on the contrary, the merciful prince is safe in love, not in fear. He needs no emissaries, spies, intelligencers to entrap true subjects. He fears no libels, no treasons. His people speak what they think, and talk openly what they do in secret. They have nothing in their breasts that they need a cypher for. He is guarded with his own benefits." I, 13, 4-5 : "E contrario is, cui curae sunt universa a tota civitate, amatur, defenditur, colitur. Eadem de illo homines secreto loquuntur quae palam. Hic princeps suo beneficio tutus nihil praesidiis eget, arma ornamenti causa habet." And 19, 6 : "Non opus est instruere in altum editas arces nec in adscensum arduos colles emunire nec latera montium abscidere, multiplicibus se muris turribusque seipsum : salvum regem in aperto clementia praestabit. Unum est inexpugnabile munimentum amor civium."

IX.

Religio (pp. 39-40). This paragraph likewise contains much quotation. "Justice is the virtue that innocence rejoiceth in. Yet even that is not always so safe, but it may love to stand in the sight of mercy." *De Cl.*, I, 1, 9 : "cetera enim bona pro portione fortunae suae quisque sentit aut expectat maiora minoraque : ex clementia omnes idem sperant, nec est quisquam, cui tam valde innocentia sua placeat, ut non stare in conspectu clementiam paratam humanis erroribus

gaudeat." Jonson has made use of the same thought in almost the same language in the letter sent by Tiberius to the Senate in the last scene of Act v of *Sejanus*.

"For sometimes misfortune is made a crime, and then innocence is succored no less than virtue. Nay, oftentimes virtue is made capital ; and through the condition of the times it may happen that that may be punished with our praise." I, 2, 1 : "Sed primum omnium sicut medicinae apud aegros usus, etiam apud sanos honor est, ita clementiam quamvis poena digni invocent, etiam innocentem colunt. Deinde habet haec in persona quoque innocentium locum, quia interim fortuna pro culpa est nec innocentiae tantum clementia succurrit, sed saepe virtuti, quoniam quidem condicione temporum incidunt quaedam, quae possint laudata puniri."

X.

Character principis (pp. 41-2). "Who were his enemies before, being a private man, become his children now he is public." Here we can see clearly how Jonson's mind worked over Seneca's material. Jonson's thought is somewhat different, but the language used shows that he had in mind *De Cl.*, I, 21, 1 : "nam si, quos pares aliquando habuit, infra se videt, satis vindicatus est."

"He is the soul of the commonwealth, and ought to cherish it as his own body." I, 3, 5 : "Quemadmodum totum corpus animo deservit et cum hoc tanto maius tantoque speciosius sit, ille in occulto maneat tenuis. sic haec immensa multitudo unius animae circumdata illius spiritu regitur, illius ratione flectitur pressura se ac fractura viribus suis, nisi consilio sustineretur." There are other suggestions of Seneca in this passage, but nothing that seems important enough to mention.

XI.

Amor nummi (pp. 44-46). "Money never made any man rich, but his mind." *De Tr.*, 9, 2 : "id agere, ut divitias a nobis potius quam a fortuna petamus." Again the working of Jonson's mind is illustrated when we consider the whole paragraph, in which he has apparently taken hint after hint from Seneca and so woven them after his own inimitable manner into the texture of his own thought that it is most difficult

to say that he is really under any particular debt. Thus "What need hath Nature . . . of multitudes of waiters, delicate pages" is suggested by "adsuescamus ergo coenare posse sine populo et servis panceioribus serviri." "She requires meat only" seems suggested by "Adsuescamus . . . usus rerum, non ornamenta metiri. Cibus famem domet, potio sitim." The "dictator of fashions" perhaps is suggested by "cultum victumque non ad nova exempla componere." The rather puzzling phrase, 'famine ends famine,' is possibly an imitation of Seneca's "malo malum opponitur."

XII.

De sibi molestis (p. 47). The phrase seems suggested by the "sibi ipsi molesti sunt" of *De Brev. Vitae*, 12, 2. Yet Jonson is following out a different train of thought from Seneca's in that passage.

"Cau there be creatures of more wretched condition than these, that continually labor under their own misery and others' envy [*i. e.*, envy toward others]." *De Tr.*, 2, 11: "ex hac deinde aversatione alienorum processum et suorum desperatione obrascens fortunac animus et de seculo quercens et in angulos se retrahens et poenae incubans suae, dum illum taedet sui pigetque."

"pleasing to himself, even for that wherein he displeaseth others; for the worst opinion gotten for doing well, should delight us." *De Ira*, III, 41, 2: "Conscientiae satis fiat. nil in famam laboremus: sequatur vel mala, dum bene merentis."

These are the spoils of a rapid perusal of a few of Seneca's writings, undertaken primarily with another purpose. They indicate how fruitful the field is. Probably I have passed over other borrowings. Undoubtedly a study of the rest of Seneca would afford many more, and for a proper understanding of Jonson's relation to the classics it should be made. Let us hope that someone will deal with the *Discoveries* as Hofmiller has already done with six of Jonson's masques. One thing at least is certain: we ought to know how much of Jonson is contained in the *Discoveries*, how much of other men. We are accustomed to utilize them in the study of his other work, in the discussion of his critical theories and of his view of life. Can we do so safely without some definite

notion as to how far they really represent his critical theories and his view of life?

Must we adopt the suggestion that the *Discoveries* are "merely a commonplace book, in which Jonson recorded jottings of any kind which might seem to have future usefulness?"³ If so, though they give us interesting information as to what struck him as 'useful,' they are by no means so important as we have hitherto supposed them. There is of course no doubt that they do contain many such 'jottings,' as a commonplace book would do. But are they a 'mere' accumulation of useful quotations and bits of knowledge?

There is more of Jonson in them than that. They do represent his reading, but they represent also his reflection upon that reading in its connection with life. In the paragraph headed *Amor nummi* he appears to have taken a hint or two from Seneca, more especially as the Seneca parallels occur in the same passage in Seneca's work, not scattered here and there throughout his writings. But the paragraph as a whole is not Seneca; it is Jonson; nor is it impossible, though difficult, to believe that the coincidences may be such and no more. Significant in this connection is a remark in an article by Bang and de Vocht.⁴ "So hat man bei Ben Jonson hier und da eine direkte benutzung Lukian's nachgewiesen—wie zahlreich sind aber die fälle, in denen ein guter kenner der beiden bei der lektüre des ersteren an letzteren 'erinnert' wird, ohne sich äusserlich an ein wort, an eine reihe von wörtern oder gar an ein gedankenensemble klammern zu können? Es geht eben mit dieser art von einflüssen, wie mit allen anderen einflüssen: der einzelne faktor verbindet sich mit anderen zu einem ganzen, dessen wesen je nach der natur oder augenblicklichen absicht des beeinflussten verschieden ausfallen kann." I have a strong conviction to the effect that when such a study of the *Discoveries* as suggested is eventually made, we shall still be entitled to feel that Jonson has put himself on record in them quite as much as he has other men.

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³Spingarn, "The Sources of Jonson's Discoveries," *Modern Philology*, II, 460.

⁴"Klassiker und Humanisten als Quellen älterer Dramatiker," *Englische Studien*, 36, 385.

THE USE OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD IN THE WORKS OF SIX MÆDÆVAL PROVENÇAL LYRIC POETS.

In undertaking this investigation, the writer has had two objects in view: (1) to determine what shades of thought are expressed by the subjunctive mood in Provençal lyric verse, and (2) to discover whether there is absolute consistency in the observance of recognized principles governing the use of the subjunctive mood. For the latter purpose it has seemed advisable to consult collections of the complete works of individual poets rather than miscellaneous collections.

The texts used in connection with this study are:

1. La Vita e Le Opere del Trovatore Arnaldo Daniello: ed. U. A. Canello. Halle, 1883.
2. Poésies Complètes de Bertran de Born: ed. Antoine Thomas. Toulouse, 1888. (*Bibliothèque Méridionale*, Première Série, Tome I.)
3. Die Gedichte des Guillem Augier Novella: ed. Johannes Müller. *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, Bd. 23 (1899), pp. 47-78.
4. Die Werke des Trobadors Blacatz: ed. Otto Soltan. *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, Bd. 23 (1899), pp. 201-248.
5. Die Lieder Peires von Auvergne: ed. Rudolf Zenker. Erlangen, 1900.
6. Vita e Poesie di Sordello di Goito: ed. Cesare de Lollis. Halle, 1896. (*Romanische Bibliothek*, Band XI.)¹

Several examples of the various uses of the subjunctive are grouped below under different headings. The total number of instances of regularity and irregularity (*i. e.*, the appearance of an indicative where a subjunctive would be expected) are noted at the end of each division. Two or more instances of the subjunctive following one and the same verb, or otherwise closely associated, are recorded as a single instance in obtaining the total count.

¹The first xxxix poems of this collection have been examined.

I. In Clauses of Characteristic.

(a) With Negative or Indefinite Antecedent.

Arnaut Daniel, xvii, 13:

Qu'ieu non sui ges cel que *lais* aur per plom;

Cf. also: Bertran de Born, ii, 21. Blacatz, p. 242, v. 50. Guillem Augier Novella, p. 61, v. 23. Peire d'Alvernhe, iv, 53. Sordello, v. 28, etc.

Exceptions.

1. Arnaut Daniel, xii, 47:

Ni eu d'Amor non ai poder quem *cobra*,
Ni savis es nuls hom qui joi *acampa*.

2. Bertran de Born, xvi, 3:

Farai chanso tal que, quant er apres,
A chadaü sera tart que guerrei

3. Peire d'Alvernhe, x, 40:

e tengon lo tug per fol
qui no *conois* sa natura (Mixed construction.)
e no . ill *membre* per que . s nais.

Total number of instances: Regularity, 95;
Irregularity, 3.

In exception 1 the forms "*cobra*" and "*acampa*" are used in order to maintain uniformity with other rhyme words ending in "a." The second example shows a use of the future indicative probably for vividness and to convey an idea of reality which would not be indicated by the subjunctive form.

The mixed construction in the association of the forms "*conois*" and "*membre*" suggests a confusion in the mind of the writer between the use of *qui* = *si om* (without expressed antecedent and regularly followed by the indicative mood) and the usual characteristic clause introduced by "*que*." The antecedent is expressed here in the form "*lo*."

(b) After Superlatives.

Bertran de Born, vi, 44:

Que totz lo mons vos avia elescut
Pel melhor rei que anc *portes* escut

(*idem*), iv, 37 (Poésies Amoureuses):

Quel melhz qu'om *poscha* el mon eslire
Pot gazanhar e conquerer,

Cf. also: Guillem Augier Novella, p. 60, v. 60. Peire d'Alvernhe, ii, 22, etc.

Exceptions.

1. Bertran de Born, vi, 13 (Poésies Amoureuses):

Qu'en ai trobat del mon la plus certana
E la gensor qu'om *mentau*,

2. Sordello, xxxvii, 11 :

Voillatz, sius platz, dompna gensor *qe regna*,

Total : Regularity, 10 ; Irregularity, 2.

The use of the indicative in the two exceptions noted in this category seems to turn upon the question of reality or the desire for vividness of expression. It may be, however, that these forms were used for purely metrical reasons.

II. In Clauses introduced by Indefinite Relative Pronouns or Adverbs.

Arnaut Daniel, iii, 8 ;

Mas ieu soi prims
D'amor, qui que s'en *tueilla*

Blacatz, p. 242, v. 61 :

Bella Cap', on que . m *sia*,
Vos am e . us *amarai*

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, viii, 14. Peire d'Alvernhe, ix¹, 46. Sordello, vii, 7, etc.

Exception.

Peire d'Alvernhe, i, 29 :

E s'om s'es lo mon *seguens*,
vir se on mais l'*agensa*,

Total : Regularity, 39 ; Irregularity, 1.

Again we may assume that the writer was influenced by the requirements of verse structure. Indeed, it is safe to say that in Provençal lyric poetry considerations of meter and rhyme scheme were always of special importance.

III. In Hortatory or Optative Uses.

Arnaut Daniel, xiii, 17 :

E s'ieu al mieu enten vos mint,
Jamais la bella no m'*esgart*

Bertran de Born, ii, 50 :

Baro, Deus vos *salv* e vos *gart*
E vos *ajut* e vos *valha*

Cf. also ; Guillem Augier Novella, p. 55, v. 17. Blacatz, p. 233, v. 2. Peire d'Alvernhe, iv, 29. Sordello, x, 3, etc.

Total : Regularity, 96 ; Irregularity, 0.

IV. Subjunctive Uses for the Imperative.²

Arnaut Daniel, xvi, 35 :

Cors, on qu'ieu an, not loinz nit *sebres*.

Bertran de Born, xvi, 46 :

E *dijas* li qu'a tal domna *soplei*

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, xiii, 20. Peire d'Alvernhe, vi, 50, etc.

Exception.

Bertran de Born, xxii, 46 :

Quan seras lai, no t'*enoia* :

Total : Regularity, 23 ; Irregularity, 1.

The indicative in the expression just quoted adds force and directness.

V. In Contrary to Fact Conditions.

Arnaut Daniel, xviii, 22 :

S'a lei *plagues*, volgr' esser de sa cambra.

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, xxi, 28. Blacatz, p. 233, v. 8. Guillem Augier Novella, p. 59, v. 26. Peire d'Alvernhe, xiii, 25. Sordello, xi, 1, etc.

Exceptions.

1. Peire d'Alvernhe, xii, 17 :

l si . s *vezia* en espelh
no . s *prezaria* un aguilen.

2. (*idem*), xv, 29 :

Mas si . n *sabia* dieus mover,
be sai, for'encar *confraire*
de joven et *enquistaire*,

3. (*idem*), xvii, 11 :

e s'om so *meti'* en *cossir*
ja res no . s *deuria* *prezar* ;

4. Sordello, v, 24 :

Que, sil mair' o *sabia*, batrial ab bastos.

5. (*idem*), xxix, 18 :

Que s'ieu lo sieu *sabia* ;
Quar, silh *mosrav'* a *vertatz*
Cum suy per lieys *turmentatz*,
Penria la 'n *piatz*,

²A subjunctive form is generally used to express a negative command. With regard to the use of the subjunctive for the affirmative imperative, it may be said that the substitution of the subjunctive for the imperative cannot always be determined, because the imperative form of some verbs is borrowed from the subjunctive. A clear subjunctive, however, indicates a mild form of command.

6. (*idem*), xxxii, 13 :

Et esteran, se ad amor plazia,

Total : Regularity, 40 ; Irregularity, 6.

The presence of the indicative lessens the contrary to fact idea, adding to the reality of the situation. The divided usage in Provençal between indicative and subjunctive in the contrary to fact protasis is interesting as foreshadowing the modern treatment in French, Italian and Spanish, according to which the indicative is used in French and the subjunctive in Italian and Spanish. (Cf. "Si je le *voyais*, je lui parlerais" with "Se lo *vedessi*, gli parlerei" and "Si yo le *viera*, le hablaría.")

VI. The Imperfect Subjunctive for the Conditional Mood.

Bertran de Born, viii, 39 :

Tels me plevi sa fe
No *fezès* plait sens mé

Sordello, x, 9 :

Ancar non hai de la mar tant apres,
Sitot lai gen sui nuiriz, q'eu *pogues*
Oltra passer, par esfortz q'eu *fezes*.

An irregular construction. Two instances of this use have been found.

VII. In Object Clauses.

(a) After Verbs of Wishing.

Arnaut Daniel, i, 17 :

E non vuoill que mais *sia* drutz
Cel que sa boeh' al eorn *conduitz*.

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, iii, 37. Blacatz, p. 246, v. 215. Peire d'Alvernhe, iii, 40. Sordello, x, 16, etc.

Total : Regularity, 60 ; Irregularity, 0.

(b) After Verbs of Fearing, and other Forms of Mental Emotion.

Arnaut Daniel, iii, 37 :

Non ai paor
Que ja cel de Pontremble
N'*aia* gensor
De lieis ni que la *semble*.

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, v, 54. Blacatz, p. 244, v. 18. Peire d'Alvernhe, vi, 27. Sordello, xxvii, 25, etc.

Exception.

Peire d'Alvernhe, vii, 23 :

tem que *serai* escarnitz,

Total : Regularity, 15 ; Irregularity, 1.

The idea of futurity and reality is strongly emphasized by the form "*serai*."

(c) After Verbs of Commanding, Requesting or Entreating.

Arnaut Daniel, vii, 6 :

C'amors *eomanda*
C'om la *serva* e la *blanda*,

Bertran de Born, xxi, 1 :

Folheta, vos mi prejatx que eu *chan*.

Cf. also : Guillem Augier Novella, p. 75, v. 51. Peire d'Alvernhe, xviii, 18. Sordello, iv, 46, etc.

Exception.

Sordello, xxxvi, 5 :

Vos qer mereeis qomandar li *dignas*
Vostre plaiser e tot qant vos bon sia

Total : Regularity, 42 ; Irregularity, 1.

(d) After Verbs of Permitting, Advising or Urging.

Arnaut Daniel, xiii, 38 :

E pesam car Dieus nom *eossint*
Com *pogues* temps breujar ab art,

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, xvi, 17. Peire d'Alvernhe, xvi, 2. Sordello, xxxiv, 30, etc.

Total : Regularity, 18 ; Irregularity, 0.

(e) After Verbs of Prevention or Prohibition.

Sordello, iii, 1 :

Non pueis mudar, qan luecs es,
Q'ieu non *chant* o no *gronda* ;

(*idem*), xxiv, 16 :

Gardan son bon pretz que non *chaya*.

Total : Regularity, 2 ; Irregularity, 0.

(f) After Verbs or Expressions of Pretending.

Arnaut Daniel, ii, 33 :

Fatz *semblan* que nous *vuoilla* ;

Bertran de Born, xiv, 9 :

Eu no sui drutz ni d'amor non fenh tan
Qu'el mon donna n'*enrazon* ni n'*apel*
Ni no *domnei*,

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, iv, 27 (Poésies Diverses).

Total : Regularity, 3 ; Irregularity, 0.

(g) After Verbs of Assertion or Mental Action used negatively or interrogatively, preceded by the Conjunction "si" or used in the Conditional Mood.

Arnaut Daniel, xviii, 27 :

Tant fina amors cum cella qu'el cor m'intra
Non cuig *fos* anc en cors, non eis en arma ;

Peire d'Alvernhe, vii, 19 :

Si . l portiers me vol jurar
qu'autre non i *lais* entrar
segur p'oirai guerreiar ;

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, xxii, 50. Guillem Augier Novella, p. 72, v. 13. Sordello, ii, 10, etc.

Exceptions.

1, Bertran de Born, xxii, 26 :

No cuidon qu'a Deu *enoia*

2. Sordello, xxiv, 33 :

Mas ab lieis quem fora plus gen
No sai quem *dey* dire ni far.

Total : Regularity, 44 ; Irregularity, 2.

In the first exception, "enoia" is probably used to represent a fact ; in the second, the "que" introducing "dey" is evidently a compound relative pronoun.

(h) After Verbs or Expressions denoting Intention or the Accomplishment of a Purpose.

Arnaut Daniel, xiii, 5 :

Som met en cor qu'ieu *colore* mon chan
D'un'aïtal flor dou lo fruitz sia amors.

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, xi, 21. Sordello, xiii, 4, etc.

Total : Regularity, 5 ; Irregularity, 0.

(i) Denoting Uncertainty of Accomplishment.

Peire d'Alvernhe, iv, 11 :

Mas per bona atendensa
esper qu'alculs jois m'en *venha*.

Cf. also : Peire d'Alvernhe, iv, 35. Sordello, xxiv, 24.

Total : Regularity, 3 ; Irregularity, 0.

VIII. ' After Impersonal Phrases.

(a) Denoting Necessity or Obligation.

Arnaut Daniel, i, 10 :

Ben l'agra obs que *fos* becutz
El becs que *fos* loncs et agutz,

Sordello, vi, 2 :

. er vei que m'a mestier
Q'ieu *chant* de gerra e per gerra m'*esgau*,

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, i, 7. Peire d'Alvernhe, xv, 20, etc.

Total : Regularity, 15 ; Irregularity, 0.

(b) Denoting Propriety or Justice, or their Opposites.

Arnaut Daniel, iii, 53 :

Ben es razos
Doncas que mos chans *senta*,

Blacatz, p. 238, v. 42 :

Mais ma Bella-Capa cove
Que *iuge* . l ver si cum per se,

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, xiii, 13. Peire d'Alvernhe, iv, 20. Sordello, v, 37, etc.

Total : Regularity, 33 ; Irregularity, 0.

(c) Denoting Uncertainty.

Arnaut Daniel, xvii, 21 :

Que la gensser par c'*aia* pres un tom
Plus bas de liei

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, xiii, 21. Blacatz, p. 236, v. 53. Guillem Augier Novella, p. 61, v. 19. Sordello, vii, 14.

Exceptions.

Peire d'Alvernhe, vi, 13 :

e qui s'esjau a l'ora qu'es destreis
be . m par qu'a dreit li *vol* esser amics.

Sordello, v, 16 :

Quar ben par a son pretz qu'elh non *fai* ren quel pes.

(idem), xxii, 21 :

Mas a sos digz mi par qu'aisos *cambia*.

Total : Regularity, 18 ; Irregularity, 3.

The indicative following "par" denotes a certain assurance on the part of the writer.

(d) Denoting Mental Emotion.

Bertran de Born, xiii, 11 :

Platz que *deja* mon chan sofrir,

Peire d'Alvernhe, XI, 1 :

Bell m'es qui a son bon sen
qu'en bona cort lo *prezen*,

Cf. also : Blacatz, p. 236, v. 11. Guillem Augier Novella, p. 75, v. 50. Sordello, x, 26, etc.

Exceptions.

Bertran de Born, XIII, 16 :

Mi platz quar si vol enantir,
Qu'oïmais lo *tenran* per senhor
Cil que deven son feu servir,

Peire d'Alvernhe, XIII, 17 :

Greu m'es qu'estiers *sera* trop paucs
lo pretz d'aquest segle aora,

Total : Regularity, 33 ; Irregularity, 2.

The idea of futurity evidently outweighs the principle of mental emotion in the two examples above and prompts the use of the future indicative.

IX. After Conjunctions or Conjunctive Phrases.

(a) Denoting Purpose.

Arnaut Daniel, XVII, 41 :

Fals lausengier, fuocs las lengas vos arga
Confondaus Dieus que ja non *sapchatz* com,

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, v, 32 (Poésies Amoureuses). Peire d'Alvernhe, VII, 31. Sordello, XXI, 23, etc.

Total : Regularity, 40 ; Irregularity, 0.

(b) Temporal with an Element of Uncertainty.

Peire d'Alvernhe, IX¹, 15 :

Ar s'en vai l'auzels gai
tro qu'en *trob* l'ensenha.

Cf. also : Arnaut Daniel, VI, 19. Bertran de Born, I, 47 (Poésies Amoureuses). Sordello, IV, 3, etc.

Exception.

Bertran de Born, I, 21 (Poésies Diverses):

Joves se te quan *garda* son corps bel
E es joves donna quan bes *chapel*; (Mixed construction)

Total : Regularity, 31 ; Irregularity, 1.

We may regard the form "garda" in the passage just above as a natural usage, eliminating the idea of uncertainty, and assume that the subjunctive "chapel" was used to rhyme with "bel," when an indicative was to be expected. It seemed advisable, however, to quote the mixed construction in connection with this principle.

(c) Denoting a Proviso.

Bertran de Born, v, 75 (Poésies Amoureuses):

Mas els non estrenh coreis,
Sol qu'ab el s'en *an* l'argens
S'om pris en es mal dizens.

Sordello, xv, 41 :

Valer pot ben qi de valor a cura
Paupres o rix, sol quel cors *sia* pros.

Cf. also : Blacatz, p. 230, v. 7. Guillem Augier Novella, p. 61, v. 16. Peire d'Alvernhe, v, 42, etc.

Total : Regularity, 13 ; Irregularity, 0.

(d) Suggesting an Alternative.

Arnaut Daniel, I, 3 :

Euans serai viells e canecs
Ans que n'*acort* en aitals precis

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, XXIV, 33. Peire d'Alvernhe, IX, 58. Sordello, XVIII, 11, etc.

Total : Regularity, 6 ; Irregularity, 0.

(e) Denoting Manner, with an Element of Uncertainty.

Peire d'Alvernhe, v, 3 :

Chantars m'a tengut en pantal
consi *chantes* d'aïtal guiza
qu'autrui chanter non ressembles.

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, x, 35. Sordello, xvi, 11, etc.

Total : Regularity, 8 ; Irregularity, 0.

(f) Denoting Cause or Concession, with an Element of Uncertainty.

Bertran de Born, III, 7 :

Qu'eu no volh ges *sia* mia Toleta
Per qu'eu segurs non i *ausès* estar.

Sordello, IV, 46 :

Tutç om, per q'eu *si'* airatç,⁴
Demandar voigl *sia* prejatç

(idem), x, 15⁵ :

Q'oltra non pose passer, per re zom *pes*,

Total : Regularity, 3 ; Irregularity, 0.

⁴De Lollis' Interpretation. Cf. note, p. 261 (top).

⁵Cf. Diez, *Gr.*⁵, 1028.

X. Showing Elliptical Uses of "que"; generally denoting an Alternative, or Standing in Place of a longer Conjunctive Phrase.

Arnaut Daniel, x, 29 :

No vuoill de Roma l'emperi
Ni c'om m'en fassa apostoli
Qu'en leis non aia revert

Sordello, xxxiv, 25 :

Qar mais am uir'ab turmenz
Qe vostre prez vailla menz,

Cf. also : Bertran de Born, x, 28. Peire d'Alvernhe, xix, 45, etc.

Total : Regularity, 27 ; Irregularity, 0.

General total : Regularity, 722 ; Irregularity, 23 + 2 irregular subjunctive forms recorded under VI.

This numerical result shows a small proportion of irregularity. When the indicative has been used where we should have expected the subjunctive, it has been generally clear that the writer desired to give force or reality to his expression or that he strove to conform to certain requirements of meter or rhyme scheme.

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CHAUCER'S SISTER.

Through the kindness of Mr. Henry A. Phillips of Boston, Mass., my attention has been called to the fact that Geoffrey was not the only child of John Chaucer, as might be inferred from his release of his father's house in the Vintry,¹ but that the poet had a sister named Catherine, who married Simon Manning de Codham, Kent.² Geoffrey, however, remains the only known male heir.

The marriage furnishes us an additional bit of evidence regarding the connection of the

Chaucers with Kent, and is the avenue by which a numerous body of New Englanders trace their descent back to the father of the poet. Simon and Catherine in 39 Edw. III. conveyed lands to Robert Attewode, etc.³

The Mannings were of high rank and Simon's great-grandfather served under Richard Coeur de Lion against the Saracens. "They are said to be descended of an antient and noble family which took its name from *Manning*, a town in Saxony, from whence they came into *England* before the conquest, and some of them are said to have settled in *Friesland*. They bore for their arms . . . *Gules, a cross potence, or flory, between 4 cinquefoils or.* Guillim, p. 138."⁴ Thus the social status of Chaucer's brother-in-law was fully as high, if not higher, than his own, and supports the view that John Chaucer was a man of prominence in his age.

It is extremely unlikely that "soror" could stand for "sister-in-law" and reference thus be made to Catherine Roet, the probable sister of Philippa Chaucer. Catherine Roet married Sir Hugh Swynford in 1367 or earlier, because her son, Thomas Swynford, was four years old in 1372.⁵ Upon the death of her husband she became successively governess, mistress, and wife (in 1396) of John of Gaunt, who died in 1399. Catherine herself died in 1403,⁶ and was referred to as "the most renowned Lady Katherine de Roelt, deceased, late Duchess of Lancaster" in 1411.⁷ If she married Manning at all it must have been between 1399 and 1403; she would in this case hardly have been termed Chaucer's sister, and would furthermore have been rather old to have given birth to the son John Manning that is mentioned in Mr. Water's pedigree.

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³ *Feet of Fines*, Greenwich, 39 Edw. III.

⁴ Hasted's *History of Kent*, I, 124. See also the suggested origin of the name Malyn in Kern's *The Ancestry of Chaucer*, p. 125.

⁵ *Excerpta Historica*, 155.

⁶ *Excerpta Historica*, 158, 152ff.

⁷ *Rot. Pat.*, 13 Hen. IV. pt. I, m. 35; Rymer's *Foedera*, VIII, 704; *Excerpta Historica*, 158; Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, 413.

¹ *Life Records of Chaucer*, IV, 232.

² "Catherina soror Galfridi Chaweer militis, Celeberimi Poetae Anglicani." *Harl. MS.* 1548, fol. 29. See also H. F. Water's "Gleanings" in the *Historical and Genealogical Register*, July, 1897.

NOTES ON CHAUCER'S ASTROLOGY.

THE MAN OF LAWES TALE.

One of the most interesting of Chaucer's pilgrims is the Man of Lawe. He is evidently at the top of his profession: he knew every statute by heart, and as for the common law, he had at his fingers' ends every ease and decision from the time of William the Conqueror. He tells his tale as if he were pleading before a jury, using every oratorical device, anticipating objections and answering them; quoting Scripture; at emotional points working on their feelings with bursts of horror or pity, praying, execrating, or breaking into passionate outcries.

He is also very learned in astrology; and one of the most interesting of Chaucer's astrological passages occurs in ll. 197-210. On this passage Prof. Skeat has supplied full notes. His explanation of ll. 197-202 is clear, but that of the following lines does not seem to me correct. The lines are—

. . . Cruel Mars hath slayn this mariage.
 Infortunat ascendent tortuous,
 Of which the lord is helples falle, alas!
 Out of his angle in-to the derkest hous.
 O Mars, O Atazir, as in this eas!
 O feble Mone, unhappy been thy pas!
 Thou knittest thee ther thou art not receyved,
 Ther thou were weel, fro thennes artow weyved.

Now the ascendent was that region of the heavens which lay on the eastern horizon—namely, 5° above, and 25° below—at the time of the birth of Custance. The lord of the ascendent was that particular planet in whose zodiacal sign the eusp of the ascendent happened to be, and this planet was the ruler of Custance's destinies. Unhappily, at the time of her departure, this lord was "infortunat," having "fallen out of his angle," where he was potent, "into the derkest hous," where he was "helpless" to aid his ward. The Man of Lawe passionately reproaches her parents, who had not the prudence to consult their daughter's horoscope before fixing the time of her departure, which would have shown them her unprotected condition.

Prof. Skeat thinks that the ascendent was Aries, and Mars its lord, and that he had fallen

from Aries to Scorpio, which he takes to be his "darkest house," in which he was helpless.

But such an interpretation is full of difficulties. In the first place, Scorpio is not Mars' "darkest house," but one of his proper mansions, in which he is very powerful. His darkest house—*domus peregrina nocturna*—is in Taurus (cf. *Compl. Mars*, l. 58). To fall from the angle Aries into Scorpio, he would have to pass the angles Cancer and Libra and traverse more than half the zodiac, a journey that would take him more than a year. This, surely, cannot be Chaucer's meaning.

Again, Mars cannot be lord of the ascendent to Custance, and thus her celestial guardian. On the contrary, he is her most baleful enemy—her Atazir, or Evil Genius; and so far from being helpless, he is full of malignant power, and nearly destroys her.

I think all the conditions will be satisfied by assuming that the ascendent was Pisces. This is one of the most "tortuous" of the signs, and is the "exaltation" of Venus, who was lord of the ascendent. At the time of the princess' departure Venus had just left Libra, her "angle" and proper mansion, and fallen into Scorpio, her *domus peregrina nocturna* and darkest house, in which she was an alien and helpless, and could not protect her ward against the malignity of Mars. While Venus and Mars were usually on good terms, sometimes they were opposed (as in K. T. 1580), and hence Chaucer's phrase "as in this eas."

Prof. Skeat thinks that the Moon was in Scorpio also, as she had passed from a place where she was well, to one where she was ill; but this happens several times in each lunation. It is possible that the narrator had the sign Scorpio in mind when (l. 305) he compares the massacre of the Christians to the sting of a scorpion.

THE KNIGHTES TALE.

Prof. Skeat has very clearly explained the planetary hours in this tale, but one point he seems to have overlooked. The situation is this: Palamon prays to Venus "in hire hour," two hours before sunrise of Monday, that he may wed the lady, and Venus grants his boon. Six hours later Arcite prays to Mars, in his hour, that he may win the victory, and Mars grants his boon.

Now, by a sort of Senatorial courtesy, no god could decently break another's promise, and Venus indignantly complains to Saturn, who promises to help her.

The combat takes place on Tuesday, Mars' own day, and Arcite is victorious. Venus cries with vexation; but Saturn bids her be quiet and watch what happens. Now there were three hours in Tuesday in which Saturn could act: the sixth, the thirteenth and the twentieth. The sixth was too early: it came at noon, when the combat was not yet decided; the thirteenth began at sunset. So Chaucer carefully notes the time: just before sunset—"er the sonne unto the reste wente"—Palamon is overcome and bound, Theseus stops the combat and proclaims Arcite victor, who rides triumphantly round the lists. The sun has set, and Saturn's hour has come. He sends a flash of fire from the earth, frightening Arcite's horse, who throws his rider, injuring him fatally.

COMPLEYNT OF MARS.

The curious astrological poem to this piece presents one difficulty. Venus and Mars have met by appointment in Taurus, her *domus propria nocturna*, but a place of danger to Mars (l. 58). On April 12, the Sun enters Taurus, and Venus flees into Gemini, Mercury's *domus propria diurna*, hence called "Cylenius tour." There, we are told—

"Cylenius, riding in his chevauche,
Fro Venus valance mighte his paleys see."

What is "Venus valance," which is in all the mss.? As Mercury is never more than about a sign distant from the Sun, Prof. Skeat infers that he was in Aries. But in no way can Aries be called Venus' valance (= *vaillance*, power, or place of power) as Aries is her *domus peregrina*, so he hesitatingly suggests a possible corruption from *faillance*. I suggest a mere change in punctuation, so as to read,

"Cylenius, riding in his chevauche
Fro Venus valance, mighte his paleys see."

This expanded would be: "Mercury, coming in his swift course from Pisces, the 'exaltation' and place of power of Venus, enters Aries, whence he can see his own palace in Gemini, where Venus is."

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SOLOMON GESSNER AND ENGLISH LITERATURE.

BERTHA REED: *The Influence of Solomon¹ Gessner upon English Literature*. Reprinted from *German American Annals*, Vol. III, Philadelphia, 1905.

The author of this monograph begins the Introduction with a rather sophomoric statement. She says (p. 3), "Every true poet shows in his writings a love for child-life, animal life and inanimate nature, and a sympathy for creatures weaker than himself. . . . There is no better clue to the greatness of any poet than his manner of writing about children, his sympathy with inanimate nature and his fondness for animal life." Such a thesis as this will be very hard to prove and it is unfortunate that a work which has many good qualities should lay down this very questionable proposition at the outset.

The book is divided as follows: Introduction; Chapter I, English Criticism upon Gessner; Chapter II, Gessner and William Cowper; Chapter III, Gessner and Samuel Taylor Coleridge; Chapter IV, Gessner and William Wordsworth; Chapter V, Gessner and Lord Byron; finally Chapter VI, Conclusion.

The subject is one of great interest, so great in fact that the consideration of Gessner's effect upon his contemporaries is far more interesting than the study of the poet's own writings. His influence and popularity were very widespread. His works were translated into many of the European languages² and they enjoyed a success which at the present time seems entirely inconsistent with their merits.

Unquestionably, apart from Germany, Gessner's vogue in England was the greatest. Here he seemed to fit into the peculiar religious, social, and literary conditions in an extraordinary way. His relations with English life went beyond the limits of literature, although the present work

¹The author sometimes uses the English spelling of Gessner's first name and sometimes the German.

²F. Baldensperger, *Gessner en France: Revue d'histoire lit. de la France*, 10, pp. 437-56.

O. Kyrre-Olsen, *S. Gessners Skrifter i Danmark og Norge*, Bergen.

Hilma Barelus, *Gessners Einfluss auf die schwedische Litteratur: Svenska Litteratursällskapets Tidskrift* 22, s. 1-16.

passes over lightly this non-literary part of Gessner's career. He contributed to the spirit which John Wesley promoted. His works early became the kind of reading which was suitable for Sunday afternoons; they snatched of the new order of religious culture and were appropriated by those who demanded something that was removed from the profane literature of the day—by those who wanted a “good book.” This line of inquiry on the part of a student of the influence of Gessner upon English Literature would be the most profitable. Gessner's great success was not due solely to his literary or poetic achievements, but to the fact that his subjects were of a character which appealed to a sort of middle class religious feeling and to the fact that their treatment coincided with the sentimentalism of the period.

The first translation of *Der Tod Abels* appeared in England in 1761. There were altogether six English versions. The *Eclectic Review* (Reed, p. 4), 1810 says: “The *Death of Abel* during the last half century has rivalled the *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Robinson Crusoe* in popularity.” The author of this present study gives three reasons for its great success. First, its religious character; second, the style in which it is written, ‘a style which resembles Hervey's *Meditations* and *Ossian*’; third, its pastoral character. Instead of placing the scene of this pastoral story in a profane Arcadia, Gessner sought the spiritual authority of the Bible and fixed his work in a patriarchal Utopia.

The Idylls were scarcely less popular. They are found scattered through many of the literary magazines of the day. The author of this monograph makes the bold statement (p. 7): “From the time Gessner was first translated into English, German literature had a permanent foothold in England.” It is remarkable that a man of relatively small literary moment should have aroused such widespread interest, but Miss Reed ascribes here too great importance to the Swiss poet.

In spite of Gessner's great success in England, he was very unfortunate in his translators. The *Death of Abel* was rendered into English in 1761 by Mrs. Collyer. This same translator attempted also Klopstock's *Messias*. This, however, remained unfinished. In the *Death of Abel* Mrs. Collyer not infrequently introduces additional matter and at other times omits parts of her

original. Her language is very stilted and unnatural. Miss Reed says (p. 114), “This translation no doubt injured Gessner's fame in England and gave him a lower place than that which he should have held.” If this is the case, the great vogue which he enjoyed must have been due to the portions of his works which were printed in the periodicals. No one can maintain that Gessner's fame in England was in any sense less than he deserved.

The first complete translation of Gessner's works appeared in 1802. It was by an unknown writer and was illustrated by Thomas Stothard. This version is also an inferior one. In 1805, Frederic Shoberl published Gessner's complete works in a translation which was faithful and at the same time dignified. In 1809, his Idylls were rendered into English verse by George Baker. There had been prose versions made before, but this was the first metrical translation. In 1853, a new translation of the *Death of Abel* was made by Julius De Benham Jacoby. The other translators of Gessner were W. Hooper, who published the Idylls in 1776, and W. C. Oulton, who translated the *Death of Abel* in 1811. In addition to these there are a number of anonymous renderings of no great merit. In 1814, the *Death of Abel* was published in a volume by a “lady.” This was a *nom de plume* which was supposed to conceal Mrs. Collyer, but the lady turned out to be W. H. Hall.

In discussing the influence of Gessner, the author treats very lightly one item which deserves closer attention. She says (p. 9): “The great work of revealing the simplicity and truth of rural life and feeling remained for James Thomson. In this he did splendid service. His influence was felt on the continent as well as in England. It is natural that Gessner, a man of kindred thought and taste, should admire him.” “Splendid service” is a rather perfunctory designation. Unquestionably Gessner did admire the English poet and it is an undoubted fact that his attitude toward descriptive poetry was determined to a considerable extent by Thomson.³

³ Cf. Gjerset, *Der Einfluss v. J. Thomson's Jahreszeiten auf d. dtsch. Litt. d. 18. Jh.*, Heidelberg Dissertation. Also O. Ritter, *Gessner u. Thomson: Archiv. für d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen*, III, p. 170.

Throughout the work, Miss Reed attributes directly to the Swiss poet many things that must have been derived from England. Thomson educated and developed a taste in the English public for a certain style of writing. Gessner, therefore, having been trained so to speak in the same school, finds an audience ready to hand when he comes to England.

But it is a dangerous thing to ascribe too great a degree of originality to any of the writers who cultivated rural poetry, or who showed an interest in primitive and pastoral scenes. Unquestionably Thomson marked an epoch in the literary treatment of nature, but we find surprising suggestions in unexpected places. A case in point is that other Swiss writer, B  at Louis Muralt, who showed a very keen appreciation of natural scenes and a very ardent championship of the purity and simplicity of the lives of the Swiss peasants.⁴ The author makes no reference to Muralt nor does she refer to Haller, whose personal and literary relations with Gessner were very close.

Haller had spent the years from 1723-27 in T  bingen, Leyden, and in travelling in North Germany, England and France. When he returned to Switzerland the commotion caused by Muralt's letters had not subsided. The same ground had been gone over by the young scientist as is described in these letters and it may be supposed that they were read eagerly by him. But the essay "Sur les Voyages," was the part of the published book which affected him most deeply.⁵ In this are to be found the germs of many of the ideas contained in *Die Alpen*. Soon after Haller's return to Switzerland he undertook the journey into the Alps with Gessner upon which the material was gathered for the poem. On his way

he stopped to see the aged Muralt, but failed to gain an interview.

The chapter, "English criticism upon Gessner," is little more than a series of quotations from some of the principal magazines of the period. These periodicals have been exploited by the author, and much that is interesting has been brought together. The language itself that is used by the critics is so expressive and characteristic that several extracts are quite in order in this review.

We find such expressions, for example, as the following, from a work entitled "Thoughts upon some Pieces lately published particularly on the *Death of Abel* and the *Messiah*" (Reed, p. 16): "the *Death of Abel* and the *Messiah* may be read alternately before and after communion." Again, from the same book, "the *Death of Abel* is the most finished human copy of primeval nature anywhere extant . . . It traces and often gains upon Milton in his very brightest tracts; and moves on, unclouded by any of the spots in that most glorious luminary."

On pages 28 and following there is a long criticism of the pastorals taken from the *Literary Magazine* and *British Review* for 1789, in which the following passage occurs: "His language is that of the Graces, and the chastest ears might listen to the love which he has created. If he has sometimes the humor of Sterne and Fontaine, it is without their licentiousness."

Again on page 21, we note the following contradictory statements. First, from the *Annual Review and History of Literature* for 1802: "In his pastorals, the rough simplicity of the Swiss peasant, the awful sublimity of the Helvetic scenery, are not to be found. His landscapes are Sicilian, and his manners are those which have been appropriated to the Golden Age." And again, from a volume "Solomon Gessner, the Swiss Theocritus": "Gessner was what the poet of Switzerland should be—a pastoral poet. . . . Gessner was one of the few who represented the mountain feeling. He was called accordingly, in the taste of the time, the Swiss Theocritus."

The critic in the *Monthly Review* for 1776 (Reed, p. 24), says, in speaking of the *New Idylls* by Gessner, translated by W. Hooper: "Perhaps there is no object in poetical criticism

⁴ Muralt, *Lettres sur les Anglais et les Fran  ais et sur les voyages*.

⁵ The similarity between Haller's style and Muralt's is shown by the following quotation from the criticism by Gottsched of Haller's *Versuch Schweizerischer Gedichte*, which appeared anonymously in 1732 at Berne: "Der ungenannte Verfasser solle dem Vernehmen nach der ber  hmte Herr Muralt sein, welcher vor etlichen Jahren die mit so vielem Beifall aufgenommene *Lettres sur les A. et Fr. geschriebenen hat*." *Neue Zeitungen v. Gelehrten des Jahrs MDCC, xxxii. Erster Theil*, No. xc, Leipzig, d. 10. Nov.

that requires a more consummate judgment than to work with certainty the dividing line between what is *simple* and what is *silly*. The innumerable errors of this kind, that we have met with confirm the truth of the observation ; and it has recurred to us once or twice on the view of the publication before us." The following is from the criticism in the *Monthly Review* for 1762 (Reed, p. 23): "None of these rural essays afforded us more pleasure than that entitled *Lycas, or the Invention of Gardens*. . . . The invention of gardens, a subject which we do not remember to have seen treated before is accounted for very naturally ; and the images of pastoral love and innocence are happily conceived." The title of this idyll again suggests Thomson, who was the chief factor in reforming the German taste in gardening.⁶

On page 28 is the following extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1778, containing an account of a visit of W. Coxe, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, upon Gessner : "They (that is the Idylls) abound with those nice touches of exquisite sensibility, which discover a mind warmed with the finest sentiments ; and love is represented in the chastest colouring of innocence, virtue and benevolence . . . in short, every moral duty is exhibited and inculcated in the most pleasing and affecting manner. He has for some time renounced poetry, in order to take up the pencil ; and painting is at present his favorite amusement."

The *British Critic* for 1802 contains the following unfavorable comment (Reed, page 33): "For our parts, we have no scruple in avowing, that his works with us stand in no very high estimation. With the exception of the *Death of Abel* they inculcate no maxims of moral virtue, no precepts of political sagacity, no rules for the conduct of life which entitle them to particular recommendation from the guardians or directors of public taste. The Idylls are fantastical, effeminate and absurd." The *Eclectic Review* for 1810 (Reed, p. 35), says : "As a writer of pastorals, Gessner has obtained and justly obtained a high

reputation. In this sheep-walk of poetry, he carries his crook more gracefully and turns his reed more sweetly than any modern Arcadian swain. He is preëminent for easy simplicity of style, lively description, delicate sentiment, and a certain elegant morality, half pagan and sometimes almost christian." In the *Historical Survey of German Poetry*, by Wm. Taylor of Norwich, 1828, is the following (Reed, p. 46): "His shepherds are those of the golden age, when a boyish frankness and good nature overspread a contented world ; his shepherdesses have the filial piety and easy affection which preceded the precautions of mistrust and ambition ; but there is everywhere a sheepishness of modesty and a monotony of innocence which does not vary the moral landscape."

It is interesting to note that Gessner's success in France was also very considerable. He was translated in a much more satisfactory way than had been the case in England. His Idylls were published both in England and France in connection with the works of Diderot and Chateaubriand. The classification of the Swiss poet with these men is in itself very significant, and probably increased his popularity.⁷

Miss Reed finds that the fact that Gessner wrote in prose was of far-reaching consequence. She says, page 51 : "It was the impetus for a breaking away from the established forms of verse, the influence of which is not yet ended." She connects in this freedom of expression, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Cowper with Gessner.

Apart from the question of expression the character of subjects chosen for poetic treatment was also changed by the Swiss poet. The following statements seem very questionable (page 52) : "Not only in the form of his expression is Gessner's influence felt, but in the choice of his subjects. The return to nature was brought about chiefly by Rousseau in the French, Thomson in

⁶ The following is the title of a work very characteristic of the second half of the eighteenth century : *The Rise and Progress of the present Taste in Planting Parks, Pleasure Grounds, Gardens, etc., from Henry the Eighth to King George the Third. In a poetical Epistle.*

⁷ Chouquet, in his *Histoire de la Musique*, p. 384, mentions an opera in three acts, entitled *Abel*, by Hoffman and R. Kreutzer, which was produced 23 March, 1810. The author says : "Le poëme de Gessner avait inspiré à l'abbé Aubert un drame en trois actes, et en vers, représenté en 1765. Legouvé reprit ce sujet de la *Mort d'Abel* en 1792, et le traita fort habilement. Hoffman crut trouver dans cette tragédie, qui avait obtenu beaucoup de succès, la matière d'un opéra : son livret parut ennuyeux, et il l'est en effet."

the English and Gessner³ in German literature." (Page 57): "If Rousseau had his way, he would upset the world and all its institutions; Gessner and Cowper are alike in that they wish only to leave the world." Page 60: "Both Cowper and Wordsworth looked to the Revolution to right things, but both saw the inefficacy of that means, and turned to nature. Gessner anticipated these poets in believing that the world would be made right, if men would live right, with love for nature, with pity for the weak and with consideration for their fellowmen." Again, on page 60, "every great poet after Cowper pays his tribute of respect in one or more of his works to the happiness of home life, but before Cowper, no poet gives the home so important a place in his works as Gessner."

In the third chapter, Miss Reed shows that a parallel exists between *The Picture; or The Lover's Resolution* by Coleridge, and *Der feste Vorsatz* by Gessner. It is known further that Coleridge translated *Der erste Schiffer*, at least the first part of it, although neither the manuscript nor printed copy of it can be found. Furthermore, Miss Reed says (p. 70): "Coleridge's *The Wanderings of Cain*, *The Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel* all bear marks of Gessner's influence, particularly of *The Death of Abel*."

On page 110, Miss Reed says: "We have shown that Gessner was the first poet who gave child-life anything like its true place in literature, so that in this particular, all of our great English writers who have helped to make our modern English literature, are his followers."

It must be said that it has not been clearly proved that Gessner was the first to give to child-life its real position in literature, and in any case, it may be doubted whether the English poets to whom reference is made were directly affected by him in their choice of this class of themes. It is more likely that the interest in child-life as a subject for literary treatment was not due to any one man or group of men, but to the gradual awakening of interest in this and kindred subjects. It is in reality

³ Hirzel says (*Albrecht v. Hallers Gedichte*, Frauenfeld, 1882), page lxxi, "Haller war der erste, der dieser kulturfeindlichen Stimmung auf dem Boden der deutschen Dichtkunst Ausdruck gegeben hat, er hat sie verstärkt u. vertieft u. durch die Gewalt seines Wortes zuerst in weitem Umlauf gebracht."

one of the pleasanter outcroppings of the sentimental tendency which characterized a large part of the last quarter of the 18th century. We find in Goethe's *Werther* a very charming interest in child-life, but it would be too much to say that Goethe was affected by Gessner.

On page 110 the following statement is found: "We have shown that the widespread popularity of *The Death of Abel* had much to do with introducing into our literature that element of Remorse which became an important theme with Byron, Coleridge, and Wordsworth." This may be true; but we should like a clearer demonstration. It is not impossible that *The Death of Abel* made a strong impression upon the minds of the three poets. The story of Cain was an effective one as recounted by Gessner and it had a certain originality, but the idea of Remorse must have been larger and more general in its nature.

The following statements demand consideration (p. 112): "We have spoken of the influence which Gessner exerted upon Cowper, Coleridge, and Wordsworth in their poems of home life and home love. The love of which our Swiss poet sings is a pure love, and enduring love, the same kind of love to which Tennyson refers" And again further on (p. 113), "If it was considered strange that Tennyson should assign to woman so high a place, how much stranger was it that Gessner writing earlier even than Byron, should have conceived such a high ideal of woman! We cannot but believe that Gessner's influence in this regard was felt by Tennyson as well as by Cowper, Coleridge, and Wordsworth."

This is going very far to prove a point, which is not a subject of proof and is not worth proving if it were. It is a matter of individual temperament, rather than a question of literary tradition. It would be inconsistent with the character of the four English poets just mentioned for them to attempt a flippant or sensual attitude towards the sex, and to speak of their being subject to the influence of a foreign poet in this particular is quite superfluous. One might as well attempt to connect Byron's literary immorality with Ovid or Lucretius as to follow the course of reasoning suggested here.

In this work of Miss Reed's the material is of excellent quality, but the author has allowed

herself to be swamped by it. Especially is the chapter "The English criticism upon Gessner" ill-digested, and its arrangement illogical.

A further criticism that could be made of the book is that the author has not divided with sufficient clearness her study of the Idylls and her study of the influence of *Der Tod Abels*. Apart from the question of arrangement, however, some of the features of Gessner's literary style and character are exaggerated into influences of too great importance. It should be remembered that Gessner himself was a creature of his own age, and not a man of sufficient strength or individuality to have created all the tendencies which Miss Reed ascribes to him. In conclusion, the author says (p. 118): "That love of inanimate nature, love for child-life, reverence for the home, and love for animal life, which are breathed in everything which he wrote, have since permeated the life and thought of the people, and become a sacred and enduring inheritance in our English literature."

This statement is entirely misleading.

The book is not free from misprints: p. 9, *das* for *dusz*; p. 11, omission of quotation marks; p. 26, *Spencer* for *Spenser*; p. 35, *heart-rendering* for *heart-rending*; p. 37, *Scalinger* for *Scaliger*; p. 49, *edition* for *addition*; p. 57, *reise*; p. 59, *ists*; p. 71, *finger-speed*; p. 93, *and* for *und*; the artist Füeszi's name is spelt once Fuseli and once Fuslin.

THOMAS STOCKHAM BAKER.

Tome Institute.

A NEW STAGE VERSION OF GOETHE'S *Faust*.

Goethes Faust. Erster—Zweiter Teil. Für die Bühne eingerichtet von Dr. GEORG WITKOWSKI, Professor an der Universität Leipzig. Mit einer Einleitung. Vollständiges Regie- und Soufflierbuch. Reelams Universalsbibliothek, Nr. 4811 u. 4812. 40 Pfennig.

German philological research has again demonstrated its practical trend by bringing forward an excellent stage version of that greatest, and

from a technical point of view, most unmanageable of all German dramas, Goethe's *Faust*. Goethe himself, with one of the best theatres and one of the best-drilled troupes in Europe under his direction, strove in vain a century ago to cope with the problem of staging the first part of his masterpiece, and not more than four decades have elapsed since Otto Devrient brought out a practicable, although somewhat clumsy adaptation of both parts. With the advance of stage technique and the development of new means for the production of scenic effects, various revisions have appeared, the ideal generally being to present the play, in accordance with Wagnerian principles, in its entirety. There are good authorities in Germany at the present time who regard this ideal as the goal toward which the theatre must strive; but the present revision has grown out of entirely different considerations, viz., that, although it is now quite possible, from a technical point of view, to present the entire play without alteration, at least four evenings would be required,—as in Wilbrandt's arrangement,—which in itself would tend greatly to obscure the unity of the whole, and that, furthermore, the main thread of the action, especially in the Second Part, would be utterly lost in a maze of detail, of allegorical, mythological, philosophical and even political allusion, which presents ugly problems enough for the student armed with all the commentaries, and would be utterly unintelligible to the auditor who only hears the lines spoken from the stage.

Goethe himself doubtless intended the presentation of the Second Part to be enhanced by an operatic profusion of scenic splendor. He expressed himself to the effect that the masses would find enough in the imagery to entertain them, while the "deeper meaning" would not remain concealed to "the initiated." But our modern public is no longer content merely to gape and wonder, and demands that modern dramatic art make use of its miracles of scene-manipulation, not to conceal, but to reveal, the poet's meaning. The new revision of *Faust* was undertaken in full recognition of this fact, and its purpose is to present the play in such a form that the unity of the action, which has so often been attacked, shall be clearly apparent.

It aims to present the wager, the compact, the five episodes and the outcome of the conflict, freed from non-essentials and welded into an effective dramatic entity.

The revisor, Professor George Witkowski, of the University of Leipsic, is preëminently qualified for his task, for not only is he widely and favorably known as a Goethe scholar, but also as an authority in the field of the modern drama. Besides his well known biography (*Goethe*, Leipzig, 1899), he has recently published an excellent commentary on *Faust*, (*Goethe's Faust*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1907), and an able history of the German drama of the nineteenth century (Leipzig, 1906²). It is not the impious hand of a mutilator with which he has now reduced the stage version of *Faust* to about half the length of the original drama, but that of the conscientious and discriminating scholar, whose constant endeavor has been to do full justice to the intentions of the poet, and to remove only what obscures and does not contribute to the symmetry of the whole.

The abridgment of the First Part follows in general the outlines of the *Urfaust* and the *Fragment* of 1790, since, as Professor Witkowski rightly observes, these contained the dramatic essentials, whereas the later accessories, chiefly reflective, symbolical or lyrical in their character, are less essentially dramatic, although they add greatly to the charm of the drama as literature. These younger growths are the ones which have been most mercilessly pruned away, a principle which Professor Witkowski is the first stage revisor to adopt.

Nearly all the scenes have been clipped more or less. The monologues of Faust,—verses 630-685 are replaced by a 12-line paralipomenon of 1815,—his dialogues with Wagner and Mephisto, the scene in the witch's kitchen and the Walpurgis-night have been very materially shortened, while the Walpurgis-intermezzo, and the scenes "forest and cave" and "open field,"—the latter on account of the difficulty of realistic representation,—have been omitted *in toto*. On the other hand the brief introduction to the "street" scene, (iv, 1), and the final speech of Faust in the "forest and cave" scene have been restored to the places they occupied in the

Urfaust, while the prose dialogue, "gloomy day, field," takes place on the summit of the Brocken immediately after the disappearance of the witches and apparitions.

Similar liberties have been taken with the Second Part. The manuscript fragment representing the emperor dubbing Faust to knight-hood and investing him with feudal estates and privileges, has been incorporated in the fourth act, and augmented by a passage, in reality addressed to the assembled princes, here addressed to Faust and correspondingly altered. Several times (*e. g.*, I, 11, 12) lines have been assigned to another speaker in order to economize characters, and in the second act the order of the "famulus" and "baccalaureus" scenes has been very happily reversed, the "famulus" accompanying Mephisto directly to Wagner's laboratory.

But beyond such changes Professor Witkowski has not gone. He has introduced no non-Gothic lines, as all his predecessors have been compelled to do, but has confined himself solely to a process of rejection with slight rearrangements. In the Second Part it might more aptly be called a process of selection, for of the 7500 verses only a little over 3000 have been retained. Most of the rich and varied operative effects in which the Second Part abounds, have been sacrificed as incompatible with the purpose of the revision. From the dramatic point of view the end justifies even these means, but the omission of so much superb poetry and effective imagery must be deplored by every lover of *Faust*. Little more remains of the charming carnival scene at the court of the emperor than a meagre introduction of Mephisto as court-fool and Faust as Plutus and magician. The splendid conception of the classical Walpurgis-night is reduced to a mere fragment. And the ascension of Faust, scarcely less fertile in scenic possibilities, is presented in a stationary and much abridged scene, not, as Professor Witkowski explains, on account of insurmountable obstacles in producing a good illusion, but owing to the difficulty of interpretation. The significance of the anchorites, *patres*, cherubs, and other figures, cannot be made sufficiently intelligible by mere representation on the stage.

The *première* of the new adaptation, in the new theatre of Leipsic on the 24th and 25th of March, 1907, was prepared at great pains and expense under the personal supervision of Professor Witkowski and Director Volkner. The former has attempted to give his conception of the poet's meaning, both by innovations in the stage setting and in the interpretation of the chief rôles (cf. the full stage directions and introductions to the text). In the opening scenes Faust does not appear as an old man, as he is commonly represented, but as in his prime, and full of a virile energy which is brought out strongly in the monologues, in striking contrast to the solemn pathos with which they are usually declaimed. For Professor Witkowski holds that such an interpretation of the character is far more in harmony with the passionate yearning expressed in the lines, and that the transition to the ardent lover of the Gretchen tragedy is thus rendered far less abrupt and more easily comprehensible, notwithstanding the "thirty years" of which the witch's potion is supposed to relieve the hero. The superiority of this theory over the customary interpretation is not strikingly manifest in the Leipsic performance, due in part, perhaps, to the mediocre play of actor Holstein, to whom the rôle has been entrusted. The Mephisto of Herrn Walther and the Gretchen of Frl. Bonnard, on the contrary, are brilliantly done. The double character of the former, devilish rage under a mask of cold cynicism, and the maidenly artlessness of the latter early in the play, combined with a remarkable depth of pathos in the cathedral and prison scenes, are highly effective. The rich and elaborate stage setting is remarkably realistic, and it is incomprehensible that its effect should be counteracted at times by trifles which might easily be avoided. We can overlook the absence from the stage of the "evil spirit" and the "poodle," but the howling of the latter, at least, ought not to be left entirely to the imagination of the hearer, while visible cords which should be invisible, entrances and exits on foot which should, and could, easily be accomplished by means of swinging stages, and occasional slight inconsistencies of location are far less excusable in an inscenation of the pretensions of this one.

While the critics are not fully agreed as to the merits of the new production, it has made, on the whole, an excellent impression, and the consensus of opinion is that Professor Witkowski has given the public a clear and practical, as well as scholarly adaptation of *Faust*, which will doubtless not soon be displaced.

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THE FIGURATIVE NEGATIVE IN ROMANCE LITERATURE.

GUSTAV DREYLING: *Die Ausdrucksweise der übertriebenen Verkleinerung im altfranzösischen Karlsepos.*¹

The researches made twenty years ago by Gustav Dreyling into the employment of the complementary negative in reality covered a far wider field than that of the French epic poems. Indeed, the list of complementary negative expressions which he found in Old French and Old Italian is so exhaustive that it is worth while to add some few expressions which were not included by Dreyling, and which will serve to make still more complete our knowledge of a linguistic usage in which the Romance languages show such fertility.

Dreyling follows his predecessors in accounting for the extraordinary development of these figurative negatives in Old French by a striving on the part of the *trouvères* for an image which should strike the imagination of the popular audience which listened to the *chansons de geste* and to other forms of popular literature. It seems to me that a better explanation is found in the requirements of the *trouvère*, reciting from memory, for a great number of *chevilles* which should serve as rhyme tags in the rapid manufacture of verse which was exacted from him. As a matter of fact, these negatives are found almost exclusively in *ex tempore* genres, such as the *miracles*, *fabliaux* and *chansons de geste* (not in the elegant rhymed

¹See *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie*, veröffentlicht von E. Stengel, No. Lxxxii, Marburg, 1888.

couplets of the *matière de Bretagne*), and, further, at the end of the verse where the significant substantive falls in with the assonance of the *laisse*. Such words as *bouton, gant, mie, denier, pois, &c.*, then have a definite function. For the same reason of exigency, one might expect a prodigality of similar expressions in the Spanish *romances*. Yet, they are almost entirely absent; doubtless, because the *romances* offered no such strain upon the memory of the reciter, and because the verses are already so short that there is no space for an elaborated negative expression. I should account for the relative frequency of the figurative negative in the Italian court epic upon the same ground as has been suggested in the case of the Old French. The court epic poets, though they wrote and did not recite, spun their story out beyond all measure and doubtless grasped at any ready means to terminate one more verse in their endless narratives. They use the same expressions to a wearisome excess, showing by no means the inventive originality and spontaneity of the French *trouvères*.

The explanation offered above will further account for the poverty of such expressions in modern literature. When Mark Twain says in *Huckleberry Finn*: "I don't care a dead rat what the authorities think about it nuther," he is coining a figurative negative just as any popular narrator might do in any period of popular literature. But such examples are rare in modern English and French compared with those which popped like a flash into the brain of the shift *trouvère*.

To conclude, I account for the frequency of the figurative negative in Mediæval literature and its rarity in Modern literature, not by any decrease in the love of imagery or in our power of invention, but by the demand made upon the Mediæval poet and by the separation in Modern times between the written and the spoken language. As will be seen below, Spanish fiction, which is so essentially popular in its subject and style, offers in its dialogue the only considerable contribution to our list in modern Romance literature.

OLD FRENCH.

Abenguc = $\frac{1}{2}$ of a parisis (Barbazan).

Mes cors ne vaut deus abeenges.

Barbazan: *Fab. et Contes*, v. i, p. 126.

Frese = strawberry.

Ne vaut une frese.

L'Escoufle, 3920.

Mançoi = coin of Mans.

Que n'i prenos vallissent ii mançois.

Girard de Viane, p. 5.

Neret = small copper coin (Jacob).

Cela ne vaut pas ung neret.

Jacob: *Rec. de Farces*, p. 279.

Poret = leek, wart.

Demander n'i valt un poret.

Barbazan: *Fab. et Contes*, v. i, p. 267.

ITALIAN: OLD AND MODERN.

Acca = H.

Non capiva un'acca di aritmetica.

De Amicis: *Cuore*, p. 76 (Milano, 1905).

Aguglia = needle.

Ch'al voto non capea ponto d'aguglia.

Boiardo: *O. I.*, lxv, 31.

Cecio = chickpea.

Non curo più un cecio tutto il resto.

Boiardo: *O. I.*, i, 52.

Ette = "a thing of no value" (Körting).

Non c'importa un ette.

Portequerri (1670-1730):

Ricciardetto, xxvii, 74.

Fola = fable < fabulam.

Una vil fola il sus Macon non stima.

Boiardo: *O. I.*, xxxiv, 66.

Genoi = a coin of Genoa.

Non lo prezzo un genoi.

Ram baud de Vaqueiras: *Contrasto*.

Grosso = a coin.

Ne lascerei del suo valore un grosso.

Boiardo: *O. I.*, lii, 55.

Quadrante = small coin.

Io non gli stimarei un vil quadrante.

Cieco da Ferrara (1500 circ.): *Mambriano*.

Ravanello = radish.

Io non la stimo un marcio ravanello.

Portequerri: *op. cit.*, ii, 51.

Zero = cipher.

E non è stato, al suo parere, un zero.

Pulci: *Il. M. M.*, xix, 84.

SPANISH: OLD AND MODERN.

Ardite = coin.

No se me da un ardite.

Cervantes: *El Licenciado Vidriera*.

Arveja = a tare, weed.

"Maguer que muchos son non valen tres arvejas."

Poema de Fernán González,

ed. Marden, p. 32, 39.

Bledo = straw.

Ni se me da de ello un bledo.

Pardo Bazán: *Pascual López*, p. 113

(Ginn ed.).

Castaña = chestnut.

Esta morralla que no vale una castaña asada.

Valdés: *La Aldea perdida*, p. 100.

cf. *Poema de Fernán González*, v. 175.

Clavo = nail.

Pues por este vale mucho

Quien por sí no vale un clavo.

Lope de Vega: *Ballad* quoted in

Rennert's *Life of L. de V.*, p. 85.

Comino = cummin seed.

Sin darle un comino por Jacinto.

Valdes: *op. cit.*, p. 212.

Dedo = finger.

No estoy de creerte un dedo.

Lope de Vega: *El Molino*, act i, sc. 14.

Demonio = devil.

Nosotros tenemos unos vceinos que no valen un demonio.

Padre Isla: *Gil Blas*, iii, 1.

Meaja = $\frac{1}{2}$ of maravedí.

"(Dezit le que) non le mejoraré valia de una meaja."

Poema de Fernán González,

ed. Marden, p. 42.

Miaja = crumb.

Sí, dije yo sin recordar miaja.

Pardo Bazán: *op. cit.*, p. 122.

Papel de fumar = a cigarette paper.

Ese pillo de Pimentó, que no vale ni un papel de fumar.

Blasco Ibáñez: *Arroz y Tartana*, p. 56.

Pepino = cucumber.

Vd. no valía un pepino para aguacil.

Padre Isla: *op. cit.*, ii, 4.

Pitoche = pipe, whistle.

Un pagaré firmado por tí no vale un pitoche.

Valera: *Juanita la Larga*, p. 231.

Pizca = mite.

No exagero pizca.

Pardo Bazán: *Una Cristiana*, p. 198.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

ON A NOTE TO *Hous of Fame*, 358.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—A year ago in the *M. L. N.*, Dr. William A. Nitze pointed out that Dr. Oskar Sommer's "unknown manuscript" of the *Prose Perceval* had already been used and discussed by the learned world. It would seem that Dr. Sommer's acquaintance with the literature of medieval Latin productions is just as extended and accurate as with Old-French literature.

Fourteen elegiac verses are cited at the end of Caxton's *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (ed. Sommer, 703). Sommer notes (lxxxvii) that "These Latin verses, with some slight variations, occur as 'Versus Magistri Hildeberti,' in ms. Cleopatra, A viii. ff. 56-58; without an author's name in mss. Royal 13 A. iv, ff. 22-23; Vespasian, B. xiv, f. 18, and Harley, 3202, ff. 114-115. Leyser wrongly inscribes them to Hildebert. . . . The poem is identical, as far as 153 lines are concerned, with the 'Ilias' in two

books of Simon Chèvre d'Or. Compare H. Dunger, *Die Sage vom Trojanischen (sic) Kriege*, Leipzig, 1869, 8vo., pp. 22-3, and *Histoire littéraire de France*, xii, p. 487, etc."

The poem in 90 verses, written in rimed leonine elegiacs, "*Pergama flere volo*," is extant in numerous manuscripts and has been published six times, of which the most recent and best edition is that of Hauréau in the *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, xxviii, 2, 438 (1878). Hauréau showed that there was the best of evidence to regard Hildebert as the author (*l. c.* 441 ff.; cf. xxix, 2, 238), and this view has been accepted as correct (cf. Meyr v. Speyer, *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1907, 144-145). The fourteen lines printed by Caxton represent vv. 1-2, 89-90, 31-38, 29-30, 27-30, of Hauréau's edition. The poem was not printed by Leyser, and there is not a verse of it identical with the poem of Simon, ascribed to Hildebert; so that the references to Dunger and to the *Hist. litt.* are quite superfluous. Sommer could have found more accurate information in Ward's descriptions (*Catalogue of Romance*, i, 27-29, 30-31, 32, and cf. 34) of the mss. he cites. Ward, himself, led astray by two of the mss., makes an anonymous poem, "*Viribus arte, minis*," one with Hildebert's poem, which, however, he does not identify with the poem of Simon, which is only found in one of the manuscripts cited by Sommer.

Sommer's misinformation has confused at least one of his readers. Skeat in a supplementary note on *Hous of Fame*, 358-359:

"Lo, right as she hath doon, now she
Wol do eftsones, hardily"

noted that the pentameter;

"Cras poterunt fieri, turpia sicut heri,"

cited as a comment in mss. F and B, was the tenth line of those quoted by Caxton, but he had failed to find it in Leyser's collection as denoted by Sommer (*Works of Chaucer*, vi, 405). The verse in question is v. 36 in Hauréau's edition of the poem, or v. 38 in that of Du Méril (*Poésies latines antérieures au douzième siècle*, 311). The English couplet is a free translation of the Latin verse; and the manuscript note on its source seems to be as authoritative as in other cases (cf. e. g., *H. of F.*, 350, 367). It is interesting to know that the English poet was acquainted with this short poem on the "*matière de Troie*," as well as with the more important works of Benoît de Sainte-More, and Guido delle Colonne.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

University of Michigan.

FONDAZIONE ASCOLI.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—Some of your readers will be interested to learn that through the initiative of the Società Filologica Romana a fund is being raised in memory of the late Graziadio Ascoli, from which prizes are to be awarded periodically to the authors of works in Romance philology or in some branch of it. It is proposed to have the contest international, and accordingly it is hoped that contributions will be made by persons or societies in all countries. The latest report which I have seen (*Studj Romanzi*, v, pp. 323-325), gives the amount already received as a little less than 5000 lire, much of this sum being in small contributions. The subscription will be closed March 31, 1908; and until that date contributions may be sent to the *Banca d' Italia, sede di Roma*, payable to the bank itself, to be credited to the account of the *Fondazione Ascoli*.

KENNETH MCKENZIE.

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 ANGLO-SAXON GLOSSES.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—Following my lead, Glogger has established beyond a doubt that *Gildas de excidio Britannorum* (composed before 547) is one of the sources of the Leiden Glossary. I expect to be able to show that a goodly number of Gildas glosses are also to be found in the Corpus Glossary and in the Glossary from ms. Cotton, Cleopatra A III (WW. 338-473). I am less certain as to Epinal and Erfurt, though some glosses might be claimed for Gildas, as, for example, Erf. 389, *epimenia nest*.

O. B. SCHLUTTER.

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 IN MEMORIAM.

Germanic Philology has been deprived of one of its leaders and many scholars and students of Modern Languages have lost a personal friend by the death on January 29, after hardly more than a few hours of illness, of GUSTAF E. KARSTEN, Professor of German and Head of the Department of Modern Languages at the

University of Illinois. Professor Karsten was taken ill while in his office on Tuesday afternoon, January 28, his illness developing into pneumonia, and he passed away at his home the next morning, being survived by his wife and two sons.

Professor Karsten was born in Petershagenfeld, Westprussia, Germany, on May 22, 1859. He attended the universities of Leipzig, Königsberg, Heidelberg, Tübingen, and finally Freiburg, where he received the degree of Ph. D. in 1883. His first appointment was that of Docent of Germanic and Romance Philology at the University of Geneva, Switzerland, which position he held until 1886, when he was called to the University of Indiana as Professor of Romance, and later, of Germanic Languages. Leaving the University of Indiana in 1904, he became connected with Cornell University and afterwards, with Northwestern University, from which institution he was called to the University of Illinois in September, 1906.

Professor Karsten's first contribution to the philological study of Modern Languages was a monograph, published in 1885: *Zu den altfranzösischen Konsonantenverbindungen*. While at this time chiefly engaged in research work in Romance Languages, he later on concentrated his interest rather on the Germanic side of Modern Languages, laying especial stress on the earlier Germanic dialects and on Germanic Philology in its relations with comparative and general linguistic science. It is in connection with this line of work that he established in 1896 the *Journal of Germanic Philology*, which in 1903 widened its scope and changed its title to the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*. The six stately volumes of the *Journal*, the last of which was finished only a few months ago, will stand as a *monumentum aere perennius* to the editor whose enthusiasm and untiring energy succeeded in overcoming all difficulties and in maintaining a high standard of scholarship.

In just recognition of his services to the cause of Germanic Philology he was made chairman of the Section of Germanic Languages at the Congress of Arts and Sciences, held in connection with the Universal Exhibition at St. Louis.

His career has been abruptly broken off when he was in the prime of his age and most happily situated. His memory will be sacred to us as that of a scholar of high ideals, a teacher of great merits, and a genial friend.

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THE CYPRIAN CONQUEROR, OR THE FAITHLESS RELICT.

The Cyprian Conqueror, or The Faithless Relict is an anonymous play preserved in the British Museum as *Ms. Sloane 3709*. It is a small quarto volume, bound in calf. The text is neatly penned in very black ink, upon lines made by some hard instrument. Generous margins at the sides and top are ruled in red ink, and the folios (51 in all) are numbered in red. The entire manuscript is unusually neat. The arrangement is as follows: title and *dramatis personae*; preface (12 pages); title, printed in red ink; prologue; "The Other Prologue"; body of play; epilogue; three songs.

The manuscript seems to have been copied from an older manuscript, that evidently was faulty or at least illegible in places. The copyist generally notes the lost words by dashes. For example:

Let but my sacred dust be proude
When I am layde that you have this alloude;
That you wed that too — — —
Keepe chaste my bed — — —
Which should you once but violate or spurne¹ . . .

For now Philander's dead all things are changd,
And altered much, or else I would have rangd:
And hearkened to thy love, but I am — — —²
And bent to serve the Gods: Philanthes then,
Cannot withstand their just commands, since when
They do command, obey we their decree.

Phil. That will not serve, I love ye Gods as well as thee
Calistas now not justly — — —
Your Godlike zeal dotb say you must³

Whom I will court, and — with a kiss.⁴

The copyist, clearly, was not the author. Moreover, a second person, using a different pen, and different ink, and writing in a different hand, went through the manuscript making corrections, and inserting abundant marks of punctuation.

¹f. 11 verso.

²Here, it will be observed, a whole line seems to have dropped out.

³f. 14 recto.

⁴f. 20 verso.

He seems to have corrected slavishly by the older manuscript. The copyist wrote:

Your brother said you must dwell with me
In Zeale, made sacred sisters, wee'l agree.

Phil. Madam, I am resolved,
For that intent, I Delphos and my brother left,
To live with you, of friend I'm not bereft.

When the person correcting the manuscript saw the incomplete line, he began to fill in thus:

Madam I am resolved for that in

Then apparently perceiving that these words belonged to the second line, he made a stroke through them and substituted four dashes, thus leaving the line as before.⁵

That the copy was made from the playhouse version is indicated by the great number of stage directions entered by the copyist in the margin: "Embraces her"; "Faints"; "Gives her his will"; "holds up his javelin, as he goes to strike, enter Cupid"; "strikes Philander"; "she weeps"; "kisses him"; "dyes"; "they carry him out"; "Enter Petronia, Calista and Dido all in mourning, with other mourners with the corps, goe out, and return, and take their leaves: Petronia, Calista and Dido stay"; "a fire."

Apparently the play was performed in one of the regular playhouses of London. The *Prologue* begins:

The Poet makes, and we shall act a play,
Which, if ye like't, ye'll hav't another day.

Moreover, one of the stage directions refers unmistakably to a characteristic feature of the regular playhouse, the upper stage, or balcony. The maid comes to wake her mistress at midnight:

Castella. Madam make haste and rise up from
your bed,

The houre is come, 'tis 12 o'clocke bested.

*Phaleria looks out of her chamber,
comes down.*

⁵Cf. also ff. 31, 32 verso, and 48.

The second prologue shows that the play was acted more than once. Since it is of some interest, it may be quoted in full :

The Other Prologue.

Enter one in a greate beard like an attorney, in a gowne, and round cap, a greene bagg, and a peece of parchment sealed, spoake by another whom he had arested.

Kind judge, see ye yonder man, who lookes
All beard, bred up from's youth among the Rookes ;
At's suite arrested I intend to plead
Not guilty, sure he scarce can read
A declaration hardly drawne, at least
False lattin borrows, & paies interest
To Ignoramus ; when in tufts and crofts,
He infeofs in Rafters and in lofts :
My actions good, for what he said last day,
That we to you did act a poppet play,
Scandalum magnatum I will it lay ;
Besides we mony took, and some of his,
For which inform'd master of Revels is ;
Who would not beat this rogue ; I dare not do't,
For feare of suits, and something else to boote :
Unto your censures I will leave him then,
Both to be whipt, and kick't, and jeared agen ;
Bold barretor, before i'le go to jaile
These, I presume, will be our judge and my bayle.

The only evidence touching on the date of composition points to a late period, probably that of Charles I. I quote from the *Preface* :

"As to ye persons in this play, I shall not mention any more of them than what I have already ; but touch a little on playes and actors, this I innocently hint on, which debauched and idle brains may chance carp at ; playes in themselves do demonstrate the vices of the age, personated by the actors ; and in my opinion nothing more takes then a lively representation of the transgressions of others, whose nefariousness we are bound rather by example, to shun then follow, nor can there be anything more efficacious and powerful to attract, by a magnetique quality from the faults of others, then in a play well humorized, and lively acted, w^h I conceive is well performed in our english Theaters : some playes, I must confesse, do more incite to wickedness then abate, this sin at first when playes were instituted, was not so frequent as now, those by our forefathers being composed, to animate youth to virtue, that they might see on the stage the enormities that [are] to publicly and privately acted abroad !"

The author of the play is unknown. A clause

in the epilogue indicates that he was not a regular playwright :

Our author is a countryman
In this play hath done what he can
Confesses though 'tis not his skill
Give[s] him ye game, but your good will.

The plot, as the author states in the Preface, is borrowed : "Having met with a story y^t did something please me, coming nigh what I find daily by experience verified, I could not chuse but digest it into action." This plot is as follows : Petronia, upon the death of her husband, is so inconsolable in her grief that she vows to live ever after chaste. With her faithful maid, Dido, she takes up her residence in the tomb where her husband's body lies. At once Diana, Venus, and Cupid become interested. Diana determines to preserve this marvelous example of chastity ; whereas Cupid, egged on by Venus, resolves to demonstrate his supremacy. Nearby the tomb is a soldier, Martriatius, and his servant, Eneas, guarding the mutilated corpse of a criminal. At Cupid's instigation, Boreas raises a storm that drives Martriatius and Eneas to the tomb for shelter. Immediately Petronia falls in love with Martriatius, and the maid, Dido, with Eneas. Meanwhile, the body of the thief had been stolen away, thus bringing the life of the guard into peril. In order to save her new lover from death, Petronia mutilates the corpse of her husband and delivers it to Martriatius to take the place of the thief. The play closes with speeches by Venus and Cupid.

This, of course, is the famous story of the "Matrou of Ephesus." Owing to the great vogue of the theme it would be difficult to say definitely where the author "met" with it.⁶ I believe, however, that he had in mind the version in Petronius Arbiter.⁷ Certainly the similarity is very close.⁸

⁶ For the vogue of this story see T. F. Crane, *The Exemplum of Jacques de Vitry*, p. 228 ; *Romania*, III, 175 ; Eduard Grisebach, *Die treulose Witwe, eine chinesische Novelle und ihre Wanderung durch die Welt-Litteratur*.

⁷ *Petronii Satirae et Liber Priapeorum*. Tertium edidit Franciscus Buecheler, Berolini, 1882, p. 77.

⁸ There seems to be no connection between the play and Chapman's earlier dramatization of the same story in *The Widow's Tears*.

The subplot of the play is as follows: Amid the great lamentation attending the death of Petronia's husband, Calista, Petronia's youngest sister, makes a vow that she will become an inmate of Diana's temple, and by a life devoted to chastity, share the grief of her sister. Later, however, she confesses to her lover, Philanthes, that she would break her oath if she dared. Philanthes, unable to persuade her to renounce her vow, tells her that he has a sister called Divina, exactly like him in face and voice, who is soon to enter Diana's temple. He requests Calista to receive Divina as a sister. Then, of course, he disguises himself as Divina, and enters the temple with Calista. The two very soon find that the Temple of Diana is devoted to the opposite of chastity. Calista confesses to Divina that if her lover were close by she would no longer keep her vow; whereupon Philanthes throws off his disguise. The lovers agree to remain in the temple, and under the appearance of inmates, enjoy their love. But the spying maid who serves the matron of the temple, having overheard this plot, reveals the situation to her mistress. The matron plans to surprise Calista and Philanthes at midnight. At the appointed time she is aroused by her maid, gets out of bed, and hurriedly throws something over her head. This proves to be nothing else than the monk's hood of her paramour, Ignatius, the confessor of the temple. She succeeds in surprising the lovers: Calista stoutly maintains that her companion is the chaste maid, Divina; the matron declares that Divina is Calista's secret lover. In the midst of the uproar, Calista, spying the hood of the confessor, accuses the matron, and thus quickly turns the tables. Caught in her guilt, the matron agrees to let the lovers off, provided they keep her fault secret.

The source of the subplot is Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, ix, 2. The short outline prefixed to the story is as follows:

"Levasi una badessa in fretta e al buio, per trovare una sua monaca, a lei accusata, col suo amante nel letto; ed essendo con lei un prete, credendosi il saltero de' veli aver posto in capo, le brache del prete vi si pose: le quali vedendo l'accusata, e fattalane accorgere, fu deliberata ed ebbe agio di starsi col suo amante."

The literary value of the piece is slight. It

is interesting chiefly as a dramatization of the Matron of Ephesus theme, already handled by Chapman in *The Widow's Tears*, and by later playwrights.

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MY PRONUNCIATION OF GERMAN *r*.

N. B.—Throughout this article, I shall make use of the terminology of the Visible Speech System as it is to be found in Dr. Henry Sweet's works. The symbols are, as far as expedient, taken from the alphabet of the *Association phonétique internationale*, and will enable those not acquainted with the above-mentioned system to follow my exposition.

The object of this article is to describe my natural pronunciation of *r*, as it is met with among educated speakers in the North-western part of Germany. My attention was drawn to this subject in particular by the many contradictory statements found in phonetic literature with regard to this question; and also by the difficulty experienced by foreigners trying to imitate the sound—or rather sounds—of *r* heard in the Standard pronunciation. Phoneticians, as a rule, do not afford much help in this intricate matter, most of them recommending a sort of *bogus* pronunciation, based on theories and considerations of aesthetics rather than on actual observation. Apart from this practical purpose, it will be highly interesting to the student of language to see, how a sound—being itself as far as we know derived from two sources: primitive Gmc. *r* and *z*, from older *s*—is now developing in three different directions, thus demonstrating what possibilities one must be prepared to encounter when investigating the history of human speech, especially in its more primitive stages.

The strongly trilled point-open consonant [*r*], the *littera canina* of the early orthoepists—"called thus from the snarling of dogs"—still prevalent in the country dialects as inherited from the Arian mother-tongue, was, in Standard French and German, replaced by an imitation totally different in place and form. This sound, described as the guttural or uvular *r* [*x*]¹—identical with the so-

called Northumbrian burr¹—is produced by the uvula vibrating against the back part of the tongue. It may have a disagreeable effect upon the ears of those not accustomed to it, especially in the form into which it has later on developed in my pronunciation: but, after all, it *is* the “received sound” of educated speech. The point-trill [r], artificially reserved to the pulpit and the stage, which is recommended by some as the “Olde and established Name” of *r*, never fails to convey the idea of rusticity when used in ordinary conversation or reading; whereas the English point-*r* [ɹ] produced with only one movement of the tongue, is absolutely unknown in Germany, thus betraying at once the nationality of the speaker.

In the same way as the original *r* was weakened in Standard English, the guttural trill was pronounced with less energy; the uvula was not made to vibrate: all that remained of the articulation was the forming of a narrow passage by the back part of the tongue against the soft palate (velum). The result may be regarded as a retracted variety of the back-open-voice [g], which actually is the sound with which Dr. Sweet renders German *r* in *all* positions, a statement which I cannot but regard with some suspicion.

In order, thus, to explain the various sounds representing older *r* in my pronunciation, it is necessary to go back to an ordinary back-open-voice [g], the voiced variety of German *ch* after back-vowels [x], identical with the sound of intervocalic *g* in the same position.

This sound [g] (the voiced velar spirant) has been preserved:

1) in the beginning of words:

e. g. rot [gōt];
Riese [gīzə];
Rabe [gābə];

¹ This sound is more frequent among English speakers than it is usually thought to be. When in the North of Scotland—Wright's North-eastern division—I was surprised at the exceptionally large number of persons who used this sound regularly, not as belonging to a compact mass of dialect speakers, but as an individual habit. In the Aberdeen schools, as many as 10 per cent. of the children are found using this burr, a great number of whom never acquire the proper pronunciation.

2) medially, between voiced sounds:

a) after back-vowels, where it may not be distinguished from the written *g*:

e. g. waren } [vāgn];
 (*wagen*) }
Fuhre } [fūgə];
 (*Fuge*) }
bohren } [bōgn];
 (*Bogen*) }

β) after front-vowels; the *g* in the same position is rendered with the front-open-voice [j], and consequently does not coincide with the *r* in the same position:

e. g. rühren [gÿgn] — *rügen* [gÿjn];
leeren [lēgn] — *legen* [lējn];
Möhre [māgə] — *möge* [mājə];

3) finally, only as the representative of a long (or double) *r*; it is not unvoiced, unlike all other final open consonants:

e. g. Narr [nag];
wirr [vig].

In the neighbourhood of voiceless consonants, the sound of *r* is partially affected, being unvoiced to some extent, especially in rapid speech. This, however, being a natural process that always will occur in these cases, it is not necessary to mark it in our phonetic transcription:

e. g. Sarg [zagē];
tragen [tgāgn];
frieren [fgīgn].

There is only one exception to this rule, *r* becoming quite voiceless before *t*, developing into the back-open-breath [x], so that it coincides with the sound of *ch* after back-vowels:

e. g. narrt (3 sg. pres.) } [naxt];
 (*Nacht*) }
warte (imp.) } [vaxtə];
 (*wachte*, 3 sg. prt.) }
Mord } [moxt];
 (*mocht*) }

but there is a distinction in the case of front-vowels:

e. g. Wirt, wird [vixt];
Wicht [viçt].

When final, the short (or single) *r* has been lowered still further—so much so that no conso-

nantal friction is produced: the result is a vowel which may be described as the high-back-wide. It is the unrounded form of the short English (and German) *u* in *foot*, *put*, *book*, etc. Those trying to pronounce it by unrounding that familiar sound should be very careful not to overdo it by *spreading* the lips—which only too readily happens in a case like this. The lips should remain in what might be described as a neutral position. For this new sound I propose to use the symbol [a], which seems to be quite appropriate for a vowel the acoustic effect of which is very similar to that of [a].

e. g. *wir* [vīa];
ohr [ōa];
flur [flūa];
star [stāa].

Final unstressed *-er*, so frequent as a termination, has assumed the same sound, the [ε] having been completely merged in the [a].

e. g. *jeder* [jēda];
lieber [lība];
bürger [bygja].

The same pronunciation prevails when the *-er* is followed by an inflectional *n* or *m*; thus, *-ern* and *-en* can be easily distinguished although the *r* is no longer pronounced as a consonant.

e. g. *bessern* [besan];
Büchern [bȳçan];
Bürgern [bygjan] }
bürgen [bygjn]. }

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THE WORKS OF JEAN RENART, POET, AND THEIR RELATION TO GALE- RAN DE BRETAGNE. I.

In an article which was found among the papers of Gaston Paris, and published a few years ago in the *Romania*,¹ the suggestion is offered that the Jean Renart, who wrote the *Lai de l'Ombre*,² is

the author also of the romance of *Escoufle*,³ and probably the writer to whom we owe the poem of *Guillaume de Dole*.⁴ This idea had already been advanced by Paul Meyer,⁵ with especial reference to *Ombre* and *Escoufle*, and seems to have been entertained somewhat later by Adolph Mussafia in regard to *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole*.⁶ Neither Meyer nor Mussafia coincide with Paris' view to its entire extent, nor do they agree with each other in their choice of poems, but their statements and proofs so overlap that we may take it for granted that a new study of the subject would lead them to a practical unanimity of opinion. And this opinion would be the one expressed by Gaston Paris.

Should this belief in the common authorship of *Ombre*, *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole* become general, and the three poems be regarded as the work of one and the same man, then Jean Renart, who is named only in *Ombre*, takes rank among the best French poets of the Middle Ages. Indeed, he might be safely assigned a place second only to Wace, Marie de France, Benoît de Sainte-More, Thomas and Chrétien de Troyes. *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole* are counted among the most important of the *romans d'aventure*. The popularity of *Ombre* is attested by its presence in not less than six manuscripts. Consequently we are doing only tardy justice to Jean Renart in calling him from out the crowd of minor poets to a seat among the greater ones. At the same time, in restoring to him what is his own we are diminishing, to our regret, the already limited number of talented men who were engaged in the cultivation of the vernacular. Three poets of considerable ability would be combined in one. The literary reputation of Jean Renart, therefore, is not alone concerned in the decision that may be reached. The consideration in which the educated classes of the day held composition in the mother tongue is also involved to a certain ex-

¹ Edited by H. Michelant and P. Meyer for the *Société des anciens textes français*, Paris, 1894.

² Edited by G. Servois for the *Société des anciens textes français*, Paris, 1893.

³ See Introduction to *Escoufle*, pp. xli-l.

⁴ See *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna, 1896, Abh. xiv; 1897, Abh. vii. In latter article, p. 33, n. 1.

¹ Vol. xxxii, 481-551. See particularly pp. 487, 488.

² Edited by Joseph Bédier, Fribourg, 1890.

tent, and a solution of the question of the origin of these three poems, common or otherwise, would aid us in estimating the valuation set on French literature at the height of its Medieval flowering.

Before attempting to collect the evidence cited by the three scholars mentioned—Gaston Paris does not in fact adduce any—and supplementing it by any further details, it may be advisable to refer to the statement made some years ago in this periodical,⁷ that the author of *Guillaume de Dole* was acquainted with an episode of *Escoufle*, and near the end of the poem made a comparison between the villain in *Escoufle*, the hawk, and the villain of his own narrative, the seneschal. This knowledge of *Escoufle* on the part of the author of *Guillaume de Dole* not only proves that *Escoufle* was the earlier poem of the two, but also indicates a familiarity with the story which might be expected of one who had had a share in its composition. Such a reference to another work might be prompted by pride of authorship.

However, the first step to take in order to arrive at a more exact comprehension of the mutual relation of *Ombre*, *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole* would be to study all three together, rather than any two of the three, as has been done heretofore. Now, the most striking evidence of likeness or unlikeness would be presented by their versification. Paul Meyer has already called attention to many correspondences.⁸ We need only to add to his citations. The poems are unequal in length. *Ombre* contains less than a thousand lines, *Guillaume de Dole* numbers over five thousand six hundred, *Escoufle* runs to more than nine thousand. Yet in spite of this inequality their percentage of broken couplets remains practically the same: 60% for *Ombre*, 58% for *Guillaume de Dole*, 62% for *Escoufle*. The proportion of three-line sentences⁹ which follow the break in the couplet is also uniformly small: 2% in *Ombre*, 7% in *Guillaume de Dole*, 3.5% in *Escoufle*. On the other hand, the amount of overflow verse in all three poems is unusual; as many as twenty overflows in the thousand lines of *Ombre*, and fifteen in a thousand for sections of *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole*. In the ratio of feminine to

masculine rimes *Guillaume de Dole*, with 38%, stands midway between *Escoufle* and *Ombre*.¹⁰

Other and minor correspondences in versification may be seen in the general prevalence of sentences in two and four lines, in the recurrence of a cesura which breaks the eight syllable verse into 3 + 5, in the number of monosyllabic rime-words in *a* (also *ce* in *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole*), and in the employment of the *tirade lyrique*, or couplets in monorime. Of this last feature of style, there are two instances in *Ombre*, nine in *Escoufle* and eight in *Guillaume de Dole*. From so many and so consistent similarities we may draw the conclusion, that from the point of view of their prosody the three poems not only belong to the same poetical school but are the work of one and the same poet.

This conclusion, which proceeds from likenesses in rime and rhythm, receives strong support in two peculiar expressions which are common to the three poems, but which are rarely found in the literature of the day. The one relates to marking time by the Landit fair at St. Denis:

Se Deus me lait veoir l'Endit (text lundi). *Ombre*, 370.

Et si voit que jusqu'al l'Endit. *Escoufle*, 6538.

Vos ne verrez devant l'Endit. *Guillaume de Dole*, 1593.

The other tells how the poet first describes a castle or town, which his characters are approaching, from a *monjoie*:

Tant qu'il vinrent a la monjoie
Du chastel o eele manoit. *Ombre*, 224, 225.

Et tant qu'il sont a la monjoie
Venu de la Mahommerie.
Escoufle, 458, 459.

Tant ont erré k'a la monjoie
Vindrent de Tol en Loheraine.
Escoufle, 4354, 4355. Cf. 7568, 7569.

Tant a erré qu'a la monjoie¹¹
Vint de Maience mout matin.
Guillaume de Dole, 4183, 4184.

These two instances are the only ones we have noted where expressions coincide in all three poems. There are, however, a number of phrases common to any two of the three. Some have already been

⁷Vol. xii, cols. 347, 348.

⁸*Escoufle*, pp. xlv-liv.

⁹See *Modern Philology*, vol. iv, 662-664.

¹⁰See *Escoufle*, p. 1.

¹¹In the passages cited from *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole* the word *monjoie* rimes with *joie*. For the passage in *Ombre*, three mss. read *joie* for the rime-word, but the editor has preferred the reading *voie* of the other three.

quoted by Meyer and Mussafia. We have made a few gleanings in their footsteps.

Common to *Ombre* and *Escoufle* is the coupling of *pitiés* with *gentillece* (sometimes also with *franchise*):

Gentillece, pitiés, largece. *Ombre*, 210.

Et que gentillece et pitiés. *Ombre*, 362.

Mais se gentillece et pitiés

Vos prenoit de moi, et franchise

Ja nus qui d'amors chant ne lise.

Ombre, 498-500.

S'onques pitié ne gentillisse

Ot en vos ne point de franchise.

Escoufle, 1509, 1510.

En pitié et en gentelise

Que cascuns li dist qu'il eslise.

Escoufle, 2269, 2270.

Common to *Ombre* and *Guillaume de Dole* are the rime-words, one whole line and parts of the other two, in the following citations:

Mal fait qui destruit et confont

Ce dont il puet estre al deseure!

Trop me cort force d'amors seure.

Ombre, 776-778.

Ha! dame, mal fet qui confont

Ce dont il puet estre au deseure!

Tant li prient et corent seure.

Guillaume de Dole, 4970-4972.

Common to *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole* is this line which describes Rumor, together with the rime-word of the preceding line and the rime syllable of the line following:

N'ot entre eus ne laide parole.

Renommée qui partout vole

En a porté la novele.

Escoufle, 8515-8517.

Quant il ot dit ceste parole.

Rénomée, qui partot vole,¹² cf. l. 937.

Si m'amentnt ceste pucele.

Guillaume de Dole, 5122-5124.

¹² The author (or authors) of our poems did not, however, invent this saying. A generation before it had appeared in Wace:

Renomee qui partot volc,

Et qui de poi fait grant parole.

Brut, 4663, 4664.

Benoît de Sainte-More may have inherited it from Wace:

Renomee qui partot vole

En a tenue grant parole.

Troie, 27409, 27410 (Joly's edition).

Definite allusions to *Troie* are made both in *Escoufle* (see

Another survival of *Escoufle*'s phrases is met with in *Guillaume de Dole*, in the repetition:

C'est m'esperance, c'est ma joie,

C'est mes jouiaus, c'est mes soulas.

Escoufle, 1862, 1863.

C'est m'esperance, c'est ma vie,

C'est mes joiaus, c'est ma santez.

Guillaume de Dole, 3037, 3038.

Individual words peculiar to *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole* include the participle *caleboté*—already noticed by Paul Meyer in the Errata to the vocabulary of *Escoufle*—and the noun *siecle* with the meaning of "pleasure":

. . . Fortune a envie

De lor bon siecle et de lor vic.

Escoufle, 4467, 4468.

Qui onques fu en tels estors

Bien puet savoir quel siecle il orent.

Guillaume de Dole, 214, 215.

Puis que cil Guillaumes fu nez,

N'ot si bon siecle a nul sejour.

Guillaume de Dole, 3431, 3432. Cf. 5488, 5501.

The similarity of these citations possesses a significance which is easily understood, but in order to appreciate its full force it is advisable to recall here some of the observations made by Paul Meyer and Mussafia. The former had found the expressions *ce que*, *lues que* and *que que*¹³ common to the three poems, and the latter a peculiar meaning of the noun *manière*.¹⁴ Paul Meyer had also noted these lines from *Ombre* and *Escoufle*:

La colors li croist et avive. *Ombre*, 374.

Sa colors li croist et avive. *Escoufle*, 2982.

ll. 112, 113, etc.) and *Guillaume de Dole* (see ll. 40, 5318-5336).—In Wace's chronicle of *Rou*, which is later than *Brut* by a decade or more, Rumor is called "Novele":

C'est une chose que novele

Que molt est errante e isnele.

Rou, 4945, 4946. Cf. 5905, etc.

Why did Wace change his phrase? Was it under the influence of Chrétien de Troyes? Or did Chrétien adopt the words of *Rou* in preference to the description of *Brut*?

Mout est tost alée novele:

Que rien nule n'est si isnele.

Érec, 4939, 4940. Cf. 6176.

Logic would perforce require an imitation of Chrétien by Wace.

¹³ See *Escoufle*, p. xlviii. For *que que* in *Guillaume de Dole*, see vocabulary to Servois' edition.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, 1897, Abh. VII, pp. 18, 19.

And Mussafia had corrected the following couplets in *Ombre* and *Guillaume de Dole*¹⁵:

Qui mout li toche près del cuer :
"Sire, fait ele, alons la fuer.

Ombre, 719, 720.

De ce qui plus li touche au cuer !
Cel jor fesoit chanter la fuer.

Guillaume de Dole, 1329, 1330.

Among the coincidences of phrase found by Mussafia in *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole*¹⁶ are these sentences which disclose quite clearly the workings of the poet's memory :

N'onques ne fu no vis ne nés
Qui oïst issir de sa bouche
I. sairement n'un lait reproche.

Escoufle, 2042-2044.

Dès cele hore que il nez fu,
N'oï nuls issir de sa bouche
Grant serement ne lait reproche.

Guillaume de Dole, 44-46.

Nature les prent et remort¹⁷
K'il les a norris et il lui.

Escoufle, 2274, 2275.

Nature les prent et remort¹⁷
Qu'il a entr'ax norriz esté.

Guillaume de Dole, 128, 129.

It may now be claimed that the results reached by the study of the phrasing and vocabulary of *Ombre*, *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole* confirm the opinions which were based on the comparison of their versification. That they are the work of one and the same poet seems proven, so far as internal evidence can prove anything. Nor is there any difficulty on the subjective side. The spirit and purpose of the three poems harmonize. Their literary and social views are similar. It will also be noticed that the correspondence in their phrases occurs at unimportant points, by accident apparently rather than by design. There does not seem to be any intention to repeat a clause once coined when the same situation arises again. On the contrary, the likenesses of expression recur at unexpected places, and for the most part with variations, which could be attributed to lapses in the poet's memory, an unconscious and not a voluntary repetition. In fact, the im-

pression received from these very variations, these approximations to phrases and lines which had already been formulated, is that the poet made a distinct effort not to repeat himself. Such an idea on his part receives considerable confirmation from a study of the similes in the poems. Even where the comparison remains the same they do not correspond. So with the proverbs employed. Two of *Ombre* (ll. 384-386 ; 716, 717) are found also in *Guillaume de Dole* (ll. 3464, 3465 ; 1409, 1410). But their wording is quite different. None of the proverbs of *Escoufle* do service elsewhere.

Gaston Paris' assertion, therefore, may be taken as well grounded, and Jean Renart may be safely written down as the author of *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole*. He had himself marked *Ombre* as his own. Should this literary paternity be conceded, the question of the order of composition of the three poems, though of subordinate interest, would arise. It is hardly possible, in view of what has already been said,¹⁸ to dispute the seniority of *Escoufle* in reference to *Guillaume de Dole*. But what of *Ombre*? Is there no way of determining its relative position? Both Meyer and Paris believe that *Ombre* is later than *Escoufle*, because of the abrupt manner in which the death of the hawk is referred to in *Ombre*. Without any preparation or other literary allusion, the poet of *Ombre* suddenly illustrates his argument by citing William's act of violence :

Par Guillaume qui despieca
L'escofle et arst, un a un membre,
Si com li contes nos remembre,
Puet on prover que je di voir.

Ombre, 22-25.

Meyer and Paris think that this unexpected citation is to be credited to pride of authorship, and it would appear that their reasoning must be correct. The only argument against their position is given by *Escoufle* itself. There the poet carefully distinguishes between his "roumans" and the "contes" which supplied his plot :

Mais c'est drois que li roumans ait
Autretel non comme li contes.

Escoufle, 9074, 9075.

Pour çou si di c'on ne doit mie
Blasmer le rouman pour le non.

Escoufle, 9098, 9099. Cf. 9056, 9059.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, 1897, Abh. VII, p. 8.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, 1896, Abh. XIV, pp. 30, 61 ; 1897, Abh. VII, pp. 28, 33, n. 1, 35, 43.

¹⁷ In both poems *mort* is the rime-word with *remort*.

¹⁸ See note 7, above.

After he had taken so much trouble to discriminate between his source and his own poem, it seems singular that the author should cast aside the discrimination entirely. The line in *Ombre* does not demand the sacrifice.

On the other hand, in favor of Meyer's and Paris' view is the signing of *Ombre* by its author. If Jean Renart wrote *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole* he did not concern himself with transmitting that action to posterity. But he does claim *Ombre* and weaves his name into its lines, so that there should be no possibility of the *lai* becoming anonymous. Now the custom among Medieval writers seems to have been to establish a reputation before openly assuming literary responsibility. Their first works would be marketed without any other signature than the one provided by the heading or ending of the manuscript. Whether this custom holds good in the case of Jean Renart or not, it nevertheless occasions surprise to see that his longer and apparently more important poems furnish no hint as to the identity of their composer. We would, therefore, presume that they were earlier than the signed poem. At all events, they were less popular and were known to a smaller circle. The testimony of the manuscripts extant proves the greater vogue of *Ombre*.

Possibly because of the apparent priority of *Escoufle* to *Ombre*, Gaston Paris was led to set the composition of the former poem as far back as 1185. This date seems too early for various reasons. One is that the spirit of *Escoufle* is no longer the spirit of the poems of the eighth and ninth decades of the twelfth century. Its interest in the trials of true love is slight. That interest is subordinated to a desire to portray social customs and the life of the day.¹⁹ Again, the reference to the plot of *Escoufle* in *Guillaume de Dole* would show that only a short interval separated the two poems. Servois dates *Guillaume de Dole* between 1199 and 1201. *Escoufle* must have been written by 1198, because of the complimentary reference to the Countess of Champagne contained in ll. 5614, 5615. This countess could hardly be other than Mary, the patroness of poets, who died in 1198. Besides, *Escoufle* is to be sent to a count of Hainault. Gaston Paris evidently took

this count to be Baldwin V, who became count of Flanders also in 1191. But because of the proximity of *Escoufle* to *Guillaume de Dole* this dedication must be intended for Baldwin VI, who became count in 1195 and who left Hainault, in 1202, for Venice and Constantinople. Therefore, *Escoufle* could be plausibly assigned to the years 1196-1198. *Guillaume de Dole* follows after in 1199-1201 (?). If *Ombre* follows *Guillaume de Dole*, as well as *Escoufle* (it may, of course, come between them), then the development of Jean Renart's poetic talent took place between 1195 and 1205 approximately.

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SIR THOPAS AND SIR GUY. I.

In seeking for parallels to the phrascology of Chaucer's *Sir Thopas*, it is natural to turn first to the romances which Chaucer himself mentions, *Octavian Imperator*,¹ *Perceval*,² *Horn Childe*, *Ypotys*, *Bevis*, *Sir Guy*, *Sir Libeaux*.³ A study of these in the earliest extant English versions gives the following results: to the phrascology of *Sir Perceval*, there is but one parallel in that of

¹ Say, fellow, who shal huntun here
Quod I: and he answerde ageyn,
Sir, themperour Octovien.

Book of the Duchesse, ll. 366 ff.

This is generally taken as a reference to the romance. See Skeat's *Chaucer*, I, p. 472; Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, N. Y., 1892, 2, 302.

² *Sir Thopas*, l. 214 ff. Skeat, iv, 190 ff.

³ Men speke of romances of prys,
Of Horn child and of Ypotys,
Of Bevis and Sir Gy,
Of Sir Libeux and Pleyn-damour.

Sir Thopas, ll. 186 f.

Of these, the *Ypotys* we have is not a romance in our sense of the word, but a didactic poem with nothing about it to suggest its place in such a list. It is, of course, possible that Chaucer knew something else of the name, but "romance" was an inclusive term in his day (see Skeat's note, v, 198). Chaucer himself applies it to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (*Book of the Duchesse*, ll. 44 ff.); and the translator of Grosseteste's *De Principio Creationis* calls that serious work a romance (Horstmann, *Altengl. Legenden*, N. F., 1881, p. 349). *Pleyn-damour*, if a separate romance, has never been identified (cf. Skeat, v, 199).

¹⁹ See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIII, cols. 345, 346.

Sir Thopas, ten to that of *Octavian*, none to that of *Horn Childe* or *Ypotys*; quite otherwise is it with *Libeaus Desconus*, *Bevis of Hampton*, and *Guy of Warwick*, where so many correspondences of phrase occur, that, taken together, they make it most probable that Chaucer knew the very English versions accessible to us. In other romances not mentioned by him, are also to be found many parallel phrases. In one of these, *Sir Degrevant*,⁴ there are some lines very suggestive in relation to the phrase, "of popes and of cardinales."⁵ It is to *Guy of Warwick*,⁶ however, that I would direct particular attention, since the number of phrases in it that are parallel to those of *Sir Thopas* far exceed the number of such phrases in any other one romance, and other interesting resemblances are worthy of notice.

That *Guy of Warwick* had a wide circulation is proved by the numerous versions which still exist. From the shadows in which its origins are lost, it first emerges to our eyes in a French version of which eight manuscripts remain.⁷ There exist, in whole or in part, four Middle English translations,⁸ the oldest of which, that in the Auchinleck MS., written early in the fourteenth century, I use as the basis of comparison. The frequent mention of the tale in literature and its persistence in varying form also attest its popularity. Its hero became a national boast. His name is often coupled, as by Chaucer, with that of Sir Bevis, another reputed Englishman of valor.⁹ In *Richard Cœur de Lion*,¹⁰ the romances of Guy and Bevis are associated with those of fifteen other heroes, ancient and mediæval. In *Sir Generides*,¹¹

he is named with Tristram and Bevis, Perceval and Gawain. Langland¹² has a line—

Felyce, hir fayrnesse fel him al to sklaundre—

which seems to allude to a well-known moral drawn from the disdainful beauty of Guy's wife. In the *Mirroure of Life*,¹³ translated from Latin into English in the latter half of the fourteenth century occurs this interesting passage :

I warne gow first ate begynnyng,
Y wyle make gow no veyn carpyng
Of dedes of armes, ne of amoure
As doth menstral and jestonres,
That maketh carpyng in many place
Of Octovyan and Isumbrace,
And of many other gestes
Namely when they come to festes ;
Ne of the lyf of Bewys of Hamptone
That was a knygt of gret renone,
Ne of syre Gy of Werewyke
Alle gif it mygte some men lyke.

The popularity, shown by such frequent, casual reference, did not end with Chaucer's generation. This very persistence is in itself a proof of the earlier vogue. Still another proof is the use of Sir Guy's name to attract readers to serious works. Printed among the writings of Richard Rolle is a sermon on the virtues, put into the mouth of Alcuin and addressed to Guy of Warwick.¹⁴ The title *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*¹⁵ was given to a book entirely didactic in nature. The fame of Guy spread from England and France into remoter regions. It is alluded to in the Spanish romance of *Tirante il Blanco*, supposed to have been written not long after 1430.¹⁶ Dugdale says, on the not unimpeachable authority of Rous, that about 1410, the Saracens of Jerusalem showed great hospitality to a certain Lord Beauchamp, because he was descended from the famous Guy of Warwick, whose story they had in their own language.¹⁷

⁴ *Thornton Romances*, ed. Halliwell, London, 1845, pp. 177 ff.

⁵ *Sir Degrevant*, ll. 1818 f., 1829 f., 1842 ff.

⁶ *Romance of Guy of Warwick*, ed. Zupitza, from Auchinleck and Caius MSS., E. E. T. S., London, 1883.

⁷ Zupitza, *Romance of Guy of Warwick*, from Camb. MS., E. E. T. S., London, 1875-76, p. v.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ In *Sir Bevis of Hampton* there is an interesting reference to Guy of Warwick, quoted from the romance itself :

Gij a Warwik, ich understonde
Slonȝ a dragoun in Norp-Homberlonde.

Bevis of Hampton, ed. Kölbing, E. E. T. S.,

London, 1885, ll. 2607 f.

¹⁰ Weber, *Metrical Romances*, Edinburgh, 1810, 2. 6659 ff.

¹¹ *Sir Generides*, ll. 13 ff. (ed. Furnivall, for Roxburghe Club, Hertford, 1865).

¹² Langland, *Piers the Plowman*, ed. Skeat (Oxford, 1886), l. PP. b 12. 47, n. p. 181.

¹³ *Speculum Vitae* (*Englische Studien*, 7, 469), ll. 36 ff.

¹⁴ Richard Rolle of Hampole, *Works*, ed. Horstmann, London, 1895, 2, 24 ff. It is, of course, 'quite possible that there were other Guys of repute, whose passing fame was absorbed into that of the great Guy.

¹⁵ *Speculum Gy (donis) de Warewyke*, ed. Georgiana Morrell, E. E. T. S., London, 1898.

¹⁶ Warton-Hazlitt, *History of English Poetry*, London, 1871, 2, 144,

¹⁷ Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, London, 1730, I, 374 ff.

One great cause of Guy's English popularity was the appeal his story made not only to the people's reverence for poetry and love of adventure, but to their national pride. A hero of their own race, his greatest deed had been wrought for their deliverance from a foreign foe. Few ordinary folk doubted the substantial truth of the story, or failed to look with credulous reverence upon the relics among them, Guy's gigantic armor and the rib of the dun cow. In the eighteenth century, Dugdale,¹⁸ with delightful simplicity, rebukes all doubters: "Yet those who are more considerate will neither doubt the one nor the other, [existence and deeds] in as much as it hath been so usual with our ancient historians for the encouragement of after-ages unto bold attempts to set forth the exploits of worthy men with the highest encomiums imaginable; and therefore should we for that cause be so conceited as to explode it, all History of those times might as well be vilified."¹⁹

If Guy's story, then, was so well known and so well beloved, it is surely natural that Chaucer, too, should have known it well, and named it among his "romances of prys." When we consider the character of the tale, it need by no means surprise us if he should also think it a fit subject for parody, with its twelve thousand lines of mechanical, jingling verse, full of stock narrative phrases. To discover whether or not he made any special use of it, we must put the romance and the parody side by side. This I shall endeavor to do, taking first the plots of the two tales, if one can use the word *plot* in connection with a fragment like *Sir Thopas*.

The story of *Sir Guy* is briefly as follows: Guy, son of the powerful steward of Earl Rohant, falls desperately in love with Felice, the earl's daughter, for whom he weeps and languishes. Scornful at first, she at last has pity on his distress, and gives him some hope that he may win her by prowess. He at once sets off in search of fame. When he returns with great renown, won

in Normandy, Spain and Germany, he meets only an approving demand for greater achievement. After five years more of as stern a life as hero ever led, full of fierce fights and valiant conquests, he turns once more toward England, performing prodigies on the way. Having, by bravery and cleverness, secured peace for the emperor of Germany, he turns back to answer an appeal of the Emperor of the East for succor against deadly attacks of the Saracens. The frightful struggle is ended only by decided action on the part of Guy, who insults and beheads the Sultan at his own table. The lover's memory of Felice seems to have faded a little during this stirring life, for Guy is on the point of marrying the emperor's daughter, when he remembers, just in time, and swoons at the altar. Again he sets out for England, rescuing lost knights and ladies on his way. When he finally reaches his own country, after an absence of seven years, he can not still go at once to his love. He must first slay a dragon of the most frightful and deadly sort, which is devastating Northumberland. With all these labors and achievements Felice deigns to be satisfied, and marries her hero amid great rejoicing. With the marriage, the second part of the romance opens.

Guy, after fifteen days of bliss, is seized with remorse when he remembers all he has done for love of a woman, and nothing for love of God. In spite of his wife's tears, he sets forth in pilgrim's habit for Jerusalem. In a doubly-fierce battle with a terrible Saracen, he rescues the fifteen sons of an old knight. It is, however, when he returns to England after some years that he meets the crowning opportunity of his life, at the critical moment when the sovereignty of the king and the independence of the people are staked upon a combat with Colbrond, the giant champion of the Danes.²⁰ Led by a dream, the king calls upon the unrecognized pilgrim for help. Here Guy wins his last glorious victory, here, too, he wins his undying place in the heart of his country.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, London, 1730, I, 374.

¹⁹ Dugdale assigns Guy's death to 929 A. D., Lydgate, in his redaction of the story, to 927. This is apparently to fit it into the reign of King Athelstan, 925-941.

²⁰ Shakespeare's two references to the tale honor Colbrond as much as Guy:

... Colbrand the giant, that same mighty man.

King John, I, 1, 225.

I am not Samson nor Sir Guy, nor Colbrand. . . .

Henry VIII, V, 4, 22.

Nine months later, a saint's death crowns the hermit's holy life, and one thousand and seven angels bear his soul to heaven.

Such a diffuse and extended life-history as Sir Guy's cannot, it is evident, come into close comparison with the story of Chaucer's hero, so rudely interrupted almost at the beginning. In the short recital, no special incidents suggest those in *Sir Guy*, yet in details there are many points of resemblance. We know less of Guy's personal appearance than of Sir Thopas's, but the hair of both is bright yellow.²¹ Both have been educated to hunt and hawk; riding "bi river" is emphasized more than once in *Sir Guy*. It is only the plebeian accomplishments of Sir Thopas which have no counterparts in Sir Guy, about whom there is nothing plebeian. Sir Thopas's first warlike adventure is with a giant of terrible threats.²² Encounters with giants are a commonplace of all mediæval romance, but they are specially prominent in Sir Guy's history. Beside lesser duels, the crowning point of his

career is the fight with the giant Colbrond. That Sir Thopas, in politely postponing the combat till he is better armed, precisely reverses the practice of Sir Guy is one of the points of the parody. In his courteous "if I may," he uses a favorite phrase of Guy's. The feast and arming, which Chaucer makes so prominent, have frequent parallels in Sir Guy, but these are too common in romance to be significant. Like Sir Thopas, Guy rides out for adventure through more than one "fair forest" where he meets at least one "wilde best."²³ It is more to the point that in one wood, he is, like Sir Thopas, so affected by the song of the birds that "in gret longing" he loses himself and his way.²⁴ Like Chaucer's hero, he is most attractive to ladies, but indifferent to all but one. Though thirty maidens are enamored of his beauty, he regards only Felice. In all these correspondences, there is none so peculiar to these two romances as to be in itself convincing proof of their close connection, but they are worth noting. In a few incidents of *Sir Thopas*, there is a closer resemblance to some other romance, specially *Bevis of Hampton*, but in no other tale can be found half so many parallels.

There are also some points emphasized in Chaucer's parody which are very prominent in *Guy of Warwick*. One of these is that Guy is constantly riding or about to ride. At first, after he has been wounded, he comes

soft rideing
Upon a mulet ambling,²⁵

but later it is the rescued lady whom he puts upon the "mule amblinde." He is either leaping on his horse without stirrup²⁶ or bestriding his steed. The

²¹Chaucer emphasizes the nose of his hero:
And I yow telle in good certayn
He hadde a semely nose.

Sir Thopas, ll. 17 f.

There are two curious allusions in Skelton which might suggest perhaps a popular emphasis upon the noses of both heroes:

She callyd yow Syr Gy of Gaunt
Nosyd lyke an olifaunt.

Skelton, *Works*, ed. Dyce, London,
1843, I, 122.

and

Your semely snowte doth passe
Hawked as an hawkys beke, lyke Syr Topyas.

Ib., p. 117.

The "of Gaunt" is puzzling if the reference is to our hero. There may have been other Guys. Considering the use of the word "seemly," the Sir Topyas seems surely Chaucer's or could there have been an earlier *Topas*, known to Chaucer but not to us, where the nose was prominent?

²²Warton quotes "an ingenious critic" who says: "It is further to be noted that the Boke of the Giant Olyphant and Chylde Thopas was not a fiction of his own but a story of antique fame and very celebrated in the days of chivalry; so that nothing could better suit the poet's design of discrediting the old romances, than the choice of this venerable legend, for the vehicle of his ridicule upon them." (Warton-Hazlitt, 2, p. 363.) Unfortunately, Warton does not name the critic, and, as Hazlitt observes, no one else seems to know the "story of antique fame."

²³Here, of course, the rhyme and association are so natural that there are many examples, cf.

They ryden forth to a wyld forest
Ther was many a wyld best.

Octavian Imperator, ll. 283 f. (Weber, *Met. Rom.*
Edinburgh, 1810; v. 3, p. 245 ff.)

²⁴*Sir Thopas*, ll. 61 ff. *Guy of Warwick*, ll. 4519 ff.

²⁵*Guy of Warwick*, 1328 f.

²⁶That this mounting without stirrup was felt as characteristic of Guy is shown by a speech of the king in the so-called ballad of *Guy and Colbrond*. When he sees the agility of the unknown champion that

Without any stirropp verament
Into the saddle he sprent,

other knights, too, are frequently leaping upon horses. When we turn to *Sir Thopas*, we find the hero's steed mentioned seven times in two hundred lines. It is, however, in contrast rather than resemblance to Guy, for he climbs into his saddle, and his horse "gooth an ambel" like Guy's mule.²⁷ The giant threatens to kill his steed, precisely the calamity that overtakes Guy in most of his encounters.

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ANTON REISER AND ASMUS SEMPER.

A hundred years makes but little difference in that endlessly interesting human document, the soul of a boy. And so Otto Ernst's *Asmus Sempers Jugendland* and Karl Philipp Moritz' *Anthon Reiser* offer much in common. Both of these stories are autobiographic in tone and each depicts with great minuteness of psychological detail the growth and striving of its hero. The culmination of his inner combat in artistic expression is the aim of each book. The boys are both North Germans. Reiser is a Hannoverian and Semper comes from a miserable cigarmaking suburb of Hamburg. Each is poor and in each the "Bildungsdrang" is all-powerful.

Asmus Semper is a product of the nineteenth century. It is a simple story told with great love and not a little humor and deserves to be better known to the American public thru the medium of a good translation. Asmus is endowed by nature with a wonderful memory, the gift of absolute pitch, a fine sense of form and color, but above all with a good character and an unwavering instinct for the better things of this world. His family, too, is very interesting and its fortunes and little tragedies form

he remarks,

I neuer knew no man that soe cold have done,
but old Sir Guy of Warw[i]cke towne
that curteous knight himselfe.

Percys' Folio MS., ed. Hales and Furnivall,
London, 1868, II, p. 532.

²⁷ *Sir Thopas*, II, 86, 174.

a very dear and very German background and one that is close to nature's heart. The Sempers are a very naïve set. They love their Goethe, their Schiller and their Grillparzer with a natural estheticism, and even in their darkest days can read *Faust* or sing arias from Mozart. They demand the necessities of life from fate but also its poetry, its light and its adornment. They dream; they are born transcendentalists, and Ludwig Semper, the father, lives as much in the world of might-have-been as any child in a fairy tale. Asmus has more stamina than the rest of the "Semperei" and it is his intellectual vigor which finally is to raise the family to a higher level.

The story is not, however, a "Bildungsroman" after the manner of Wilhelm Meister, nor is there any plot. Like many of Otto Ernst's other works the interest is in the boy nature with a certain emphasis on pedagogy. It presents Asmus always as a boy; he plays as a boy, feels and thinks as a boy, does wrong as a boy and pays penance as sensitive boys do. One never forgets the boy nature, one feels its sacredness and sympathizes with it. And it grows, it takes on new volume, learns with a fierce joy in knowing, and feels the whole thrill of the world without any decadent precocity of mind or body. The story dallies in the by-paths of nature and the effect of each flower, each facet of the world at every turn that Asmus makes, is pictured with frank pleasure. It is especially in a lovely appreciation of nature that the book should appeal to the America of to-day, for the soul of Asmus is in accord with the world soul and he hears, as we are hearing, the call of the great Pan.

It is quite another side that Moritz' book presents. This story which is most undeservedly forgotten by the great mass of the German reading public,¹ had a decided effect on Goethe who spent much time with Moritz in Rome and who admired him greatly. He attests to the influence of *Anthon Reiser* on his own *Wilhelm Meister*. *Anthon Reiser* was published from 1785-90; the first four parts were

¹ See, however, the recent sympathetic account of Moritz in *Z. für d. dt. Unterricht*, Bd. 21, Hefte 9-10.

written by Moritz himself and maintain a slight incognito. After Moritz' death in 1793, a fifth part was added by a friend. This last part is merely a straight biography of Moritz and tho written with great affection, has no literary interest. In the portions written by Moritz the value lies in the detailed self-examination to which he subjected himself and which he recorded with the utmost fidelity and verisimilitude.

Moritz was a most interesting character whose power of introspection was appalling. His book is in every way as interesting as Rousseau's *Confessions* and awakens a deeper sympathy for Moritz-Reiser than one feels for Rousseau, because Moritz had far more moral character than Rousseau, and his troubles are due to a remarkable extent to fate. As Erich Schmidt has pointed out in another connection, the fate element is so strong in Moritz that a fate motif could be predicated for his drama *Blunt*, long before that work was really known. Fate, then, and the crushing weight of a loveless environment are the main factors in his life.

Yet Moritz, the child, was remarkably like Asmus Sempers and the early portions of his story read like a companion piece to the modern book. But where the Sempers were free-thinking and followed a policy of *laissez-faire*, the environment of Reiser was narrowly pietistic and so the poor child was soon taught to regard all play as a sin. A touching instance of this is the anecdote of the wheelbarrow. The child likes to play with a barrow that he finds in the yard, but to atone for this sin of enjoyment, imagines that he is wheeling the Christ Child about in the cart. With Him he holds earnest conversations and innocently enough excuses himself with a prayer when he grows tired of trundling. But the process of grinding all life and affection out of the boy begins early and the steps are shown with scientific accuracy.

Then, too, the landscape is shown only in its drearier aspects. It is the cruel north with its cold hard winters, its poverty, its hunger, its accumulated despair. The great beauty of the winter Moritz could not see, and even the

summer was for him less a friend and companion than an environment. Nowhere more than in its sense for nature is the eighteenth century different from the nineteenth; Moritz lived before that romantic revival which gathered winter's beauty as well as summer's into its arms. Work, too, the daily task, had no poetry in it for Reiser and so he fled from the real world to a world of his own imagining. Where Asmus Sempers reconciled the two, Reiser developd the inner life only and that to an almost morbid degree.

But in spite of these differences, in spite of Reiser's self-torture and obsession by ethical and religious abstractions, the two books have much in common. The reflex of the similarity of the two characters is strongest in the striking coincidence of treatment which the two boys receive at the hands of their mates. Each is made the victim of the same juvenile cruelty and each reacts on this in much the same way. In each case the tragedy is averted by sheer intellectual superiority and creative instinct.

The two boys have a like world of fantasy upon which to draw. Not only do the stage and its wonders play a part in each life, but the world of illusion is developd within them until it becomes almost all of their self. In this world all struggle, all pain, all toil are refined. They are reviewed in the light of a different inner sun and, directly and indirectly, are made to bear upon that miracle which each wrests from his own soul: his first poem. It is in each case the poet's progress that is told and in this fact lies the ultimate similarity of the two books.

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THE ORDEAL OF HUBERT (*King John*, IV, iii).

The comparison of Shakespeare's own work with his originals is continuously suggestive. New light, I believe, is thrown upon the scene between Faulconbridge and Hubert in *King*

John, IV, iii and on a speech of Faulconbridge in the following scene (V, i, 43) by noting deviations from *The Troublesome Raigne of King Iohn* made by Shakespeare in apparently minor details. The hitherto unsuspected significance which I shall attempt to bring out is corroborated by the scene in *Richard III* (I, ii) where Gloucester meets the funeral procession of King Henry.

For the scene of Arthur's death and the finding of his body which forms the beginning of the second part of *The Troublesome Raigne*, the author or authors of the chronicle play found in Holinshed only the starting-point:

"But now touching the maner in verie deed of the end of Arthur, writers make sundrie reports. Neuerthelesse certeine it is, that, in the yeare next insuing, he was remooued from Falais vnto the castell or tower of Rouen, out of the which there was not any that would confesse that euer he saw him go alieue. Some haue written, that, as he assaied to haue escaped out of prison, and prouing to clime ouer the walls of the castell, he fell into the riuer of Saine, and so was drowned. Other write, that through verie gréepe and languor he pined awaie, and died of naturall sicknesse. But some affirme, that King John secretlie caused him to be murthred and made awaie, so as it is not throughlie agréed vpon, in what sort he finished his daies: but verelie king John was had in great suspicion, whether worthilie or not, the lord knoweth."¹

Here, then, we have simply the bare facts of Arthur's removal to Rouen and of his subsequent disappearance, with the various rumors that were current as to the cause of his death. All is indefinite and impersonal: Arthur disappears, John is suspected of his murder. It was for the author, or authors, of *The Troublesome Raigne* to translate these vague data into speech and action, into concrete reality.

Of the three modes of death suggested, they chose the first, modifying it, for practical reasons, by having Arthur fall to the ground rather than into the Seine. The body is discovered by Pembroke, who is in the company

of Salisbury and Essex. The suspicion of John's guilt is shared by all three, but is expressed most pointedly by Salisbury. Hubert is accused of being the instrument of death. Later the true story is told by the Bastard.

The details of this episode, as dramatized in *The Troublesome Raigne*, are as follows:³

The second part begins with, "Enter yong Arthur on the walls." After eleven lines of soliloquy, "he leapes, and brusing his bones, after he was from his traunce, speakes thus." Fifteen lines follow, in which he commends his soul to Heaven and prays for his mother's happiness. Then he dies. "Enter Pembroke, Salsburie, Essex." From Essex's speech it appears that they hope, by corrupting the keepers, to find the grave of Arthiur, whom they believe to be dead. Pembroke finds Arthur's body. Salisbury expresses his horror. Essex incites them to vengeance upon John.

At this moment "Hughbert" enters, to extend to them John's invitation to visit him. Arthur is in health in his custody. Essex points out to him the boy's lifeless body. Hubert protests his innocence, invoking God's curse upon himself if he did not leave Arthur alive. The only reply is Salisbury's, "Hence traytor hence, thy counesel is hereein." After the exit of Hubert, the three nobles resolve to invite the "Dolphin" to claim the kingdom. They plan their meeting, "the tenth of Aprill at Saint Edmunds Bury." After this, Essex says, "Then let vs all conuey the body hence."

It will be noted that the removal of the body of Arthur has no importance in this scene. It is not made to create any especial dramatic situation, but occurs, according to the wont of the Elizabethan drama, because the stage has to be cleared for the next scene.

The scene that follows is at John's court. Here Hubert is made to tell the king of the manner of Arthur's death.

Hard newes my Lord, Arthur the louely prince,
Seeking to esape ouer the Castle walls,
Fell headlong downe, and in the cursed fall
He brake his bones, and there before the gate
Your Barons found him dead, and breathlesse quite.

¹ Vol. II, p. 286 (ed. 1807).

³ Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, Pt. II, vol. I, pp. 283-286, 287, 297.

Two scenes later, when the conspirators meet at Bury St. Edmund's, the Bastard enters and declares to them,

For Arthur's death, King Iohn was innocent,
He desperat was the deathsmen to himselfe,
With [*read which*] you, to make a colour to your
crime,
Iniustly do impute to his default.

How Hubert has learned of Arthur's death, or of its circumstances, is not brought out.

When Shakespeare rewrote the old play, altering, abridging, expanding, cutting out entire scenes, recreating characters and dialogue, he did not spare these scenes. Some of the changes have been specifically pointed out in the annotated editions; all, of course, are open to discovery by any reader who will take the pains to compare the two versions. One change, however, apparently of no great consequence, but really, I suspect, of intense dramatic significance, has thus far escaped comment. This relates to the taking up of Arthur's body. In Shakespeare's play, this office is fulfilled, not by the nobles who discover it, but by Hubert, at the Bastard's command.

As in *The Troublesome Raigne*, Arthur leaps from the wall (IV, iii) and dies. The three nobles (Bigot taking the place of Essex) enter, speaking of their purpose of meeting the Dauphin at Bury St. Edmund's. The Bastard (not Hubert) enters, and conveys John's request that they appear before him. While he is attempting to argue them out of their refusal, Salisbury discovers the body of Arthur. All express their horror; the nobles assuming without question that Arthur has been murdered, but the Bastard qualifying his remark by a condition:

It is a damned, and a bloody worke,
The graceless action of a heavy hand,
If that it be the worke of any hand.

To this Salisbury retorts,

It is the shamefull worke of *Huberts* hand,
The practice, and the purpose of the king.

Pembroke and Bigot join with him in a vow of vengeance.

It is at this moment of passion that Hubert enters, repeating John's invitation, and assur-

ing all that Arthur still lives. Salisbury draws, and would take instant vengeance. Pembroke seconds him. But the Bastard, for the moment, takes Hubert's side, and the three lords depart, breathing defiance. Then follows a colloquy between the Bastard and Hubert in which it is clear that the Bastard at first regards Hubert as the possible murderer.

Bast. Beyond the infinite and boundlesse reach
Of mercie (If thou didst this deed of death)

Art ^uY damn'd *Hubert*

Thou art more deepe damn'd then Prince
Lucifer;

There is not yet so vgly a fiend of hell
As thou shalt be, if thou didst kill this childe.

. . . . If thou didst but consent

To this most eruell Act; do but despair,

And if thou want'st a Cord, the smallest thred

That euer Spider twisted from her wombe

Will serue to strangle thee

I do suspect thee very greuously.

Hub. If I in act, consent, or sinne of thought,
Be guiltie of the stealing that sweete breath
Which was embodied in this beauteous clay,
Let hell want paines enough to torture me.
I left him well.

Bast. Go, beare him in thine armes.

In the following scene, when the Bastard bears to Hubert the news of the rising and of Arthur's death, John declares,

That villaine *Hubert* told me he did liue,

to which the Bastard replies,

So on my soule he did, for ought he knew.

What has caused the change in Faulconbridge's convictions? From suspecting Hubert grievously he has come to staking his soul on Hubert's innocence. Hubert, it is true, has sworn he is innocent, but is there no further reason?

Recall now the second scene of *Richard III*, Act I, where Anne beside the coffin of Henry VII and in the presence of Gloucester, cries out,

Oh Gentlemen, see, see dead *Henries* wounds,
Open their congeal'd mouthes and bleed afresh.
Blush, blush, thou lumpe of fowle Deformitie:
For 'tis thy presence that exhales this blood
From cold and empty Veines where no blood dwels,
Thy Deeds inhumane and vnnaturall,
Provokes this Deluge most vnnaturall.

The reason for the Bastard's assurance of Hubert's innocence is plain. Suspecting Hubert of the guilt of Arthur's death, he commands him,

Go, beare him in thine armes.

This is the ordeal of the suspected murderer. If the corpse bleed afresh, Hubert is guilty; if not, he is innocent. The ordeal satisfies Fauleonbridge, and he is able to declare upon his soul that Hubert is blameless.

This superstition, that of the *cruentatio*, is conjectured to be of Celtic origin.³ It first appears in literature in the *Chevalier du Lion* of Chrestien de Troyes (about 1173; ll. 1177-1200, ed. Foerster). That it was a familiar notion in Shakespeare's day appears not only from *Richard III*, but from Thomas Lupton's *Thousand Notable Things*, p. 255 (1579); *Arden of Feversham*, V, iii (1592); Copley's *Wits, Fits, and Fancies* (1595), reprinted in Hazlitt's *Popular Antiquities*, III, 209; Bastard's *Chrestoleros* v. 22 in *A Collection of Epigrams* (1598); and Chapman's *Widow's Tears*, V, i (1612). It appears in the ballad of *Young Hunting* (*Young Redin, Earl Richard*), Child, II, 146, 148, 153. Several allusions to the same belief occur in Dryden's plays (*Works*, Scott-Saintsbury, II, 183; III, 391; IV, 208). In the nineteenth century we find the same superstition made use of in Strutt's *Test of Guilt* (1808), in *The Fair Maid of Perth*, *The Marble Faun*, *Our Mutual Friend*, and *Tom Sawyer*.

It may be urged that the words of the Bastard, before and after the command to lift up the body, contain no explicit declaration that he is subjecting Hubert to this ordeal of blood-guiltiness. This objection is not fatal, for it is often the ease with Shakespeare that "more is

meant than meets the ear." The absence of stage-directions is even less significant, for no edition of *King John* was included among the early quartos, in which the stage-directions are fullest. A glance at the text will show that the stage-directions are exceptionally meagre. Apart from "Whispers with Blanch" (after II, i, 503) and "King John brought in" (after V, vii, 27), there is not one which throws any light upon stage business, beyond what is obvious from the dialogue. Many things that one would find noted in any stage copy, such as the horn blown before Lady Fauleonbridge appears (I, i, 217), and the lion's skin worn by Austria (II, i; III, i), are not set down. The lack of a stage-direction counts for nothing.

Another question may well be raised: in the absence of definite allusion in the dialogue, could the audience have seen in Hubert's lifting of the body any such significance as that here alleged? Certainly an audience of to-day would miss the point, but for an audience of Shakespeare's day, when the superstition was a matter of common belief, the difficulty ceases to exist. The anxiety of the Bastard as Hubert lifted the dead prince in his arms, his quick glance at Arthur's body, the instant change in his manner, would leave no chance for doubt.

One fatal objection remains to be answered: if this was once so clear, how has the tradition been lost? The history of the play solves this difficulty. So far as we know, the play was off the stage for something between ninety-five and one hundred and forty years. Between the mention by Meres in 1598 and the revival at Covent Garden in 1737, there is no record of the acting of *King John*. Very likely it was still acted for some years after 1598, but subject and style mark it as a play which probably soon went out of fashion. The absence of any mention of a revival at the Restoration, taken in connection with its anti-Roman Catholic vein, is practically conclusive evidence that no such revival took place. This complete break in the tradition is the reason why, in 1737, the meaning of the incident was no longer understood.

If the reader will accept this interpretation, as I hope that he will, he will see that what in the earlier play was the perfunctory re-

³ See Child, *English and Scotch Popular Ballads*, II, 143; IV, 468, and the references there given. The fullest treatment of the subject is that by C. V. Christensen, *Baareproven*, Copenhagen, 1900, known to me only from reviews; an adequate summary is given in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1901, no. 8. The literary illustrations cited above include some from this review, some given by editors of *Richard III*, and some noted by myself.

moval of a body to clear the stage, becomes in Shakespeare's hands a moving and dramatic incident, and he will see once more justified what De Quincey said of Shakespeare, that "the further we press in our discoveries, the more we shall see proofs of design and self-supporting arrangement, where the careless eye had seen nothing but accident."

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HERODIAS THE WILD HUNTRESS IN THE LEGEND OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

With regard to an article by Mr. Jacob N. Beam, concerning Herodias and Salome in modern literature, published in the January issue of the *Modern Language Notes*, I have a few remarks to offer. The writer expresses the opinion that the love element is entirely of nineteenth century romantic origin, and that the well known fertility and perversity of Heine's imagination makes it probable that he invented the saga pure and simple and assigned a fictitious source, as he had done before with the saga of the "Flying Dutchman" in *Die Memoiren des Herrn Schnablewopski*. In the famous chapter of *Atta Troll* where Herodias appears in company with other mythological ladies, Heine tells us that Herodias had John the Baptist beheaded on account of her unrequited love.

"In der Bibel steht es nicht,
Doch im Volke lebt die Sage
Von Herodias' blutiger Liebe."

Thus Heine indicates that his conception of Herodias is based on a popular legend. The vague term "im Volke" gives no clue whether we are referred to Jewish or Christian legends. It is, however, easy enough to show that Heine has not "invented the saga pure and simple" nor even any important feature of the same. I refer only to the chapters on the "Furious Host," on "Bertha," Abundia, Holda, the "witches jaunt," etc., in Jac. Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*,

where abundant references to Herodias, the wind's bride are to be found. Although Heinrich Heine often enough ruthlessly scoffed at his most intimate object of hatred, Massmann:

"Nur altddeutsch verstand er, der Patriot,
Nur Jacob Grimmisch und Zeunisch,"

there is ample evidence that he followed "blushingly" Jacob Grimm's footsteps.

After all Heine's satire had reference only to the exaggerations of some of Grimm's followers. Heine was throughout an ardent admirer of Jacob Grimm's almost superhuman work in the field of folklore. In "Elementargeister und Dämonen," published in 1834, he pays the following enthusiastic tribute to Jacob Grimm: "Der einzige Jacob Grimm hat für Sprachwissenschaft mehr geleistet als eine ganze französische Akademie seit Richelieu. Seine Deutsche Grammatik ist ein kolossales Werk, ein gothischer Dom, worin alle germanischen Völker ihre Stimmen erheben, jedes in seinem Dialekte. Jacob Grimm hat vielleicht dem Teufel seine Seele verschrieben, damit er ihm Materialien lieferte und ihm als Handlanger diene bei diesen ungeheuren Sprachbauwerken. In der That, um diese Quadern von Gelehrsamkeit herbeizuschleppen, um aus diesen hunderttausend Citaten einen Mörtel zu stampfen, dazu gehört mehr als ein Menschenleben und mehr als Meuschengeduld."

So it is no daring assumption that Heine may have studied these chapters very carefully; here the graceful, fairy Abundia, whom he has treated with such tenderness in the same chapter, may have smiled at the poet. Heinrich Heine took from his early youth a deep interest in all popular legends and mythology, and he remained true to this passion to the end of his life. This absorbing interest is splendidly attested by such works as *Elementargeister und Dämonen* (1834), *Die Götter im Exil* (1836) and *Dr. Faust, ein Tanzpoem, nebst kuriose Berichten über Teufel, Hexen und Dichtkunst* (1847). Making his preparations for these works, he undoubtedly had to read a good deal on occult sciences, magic, witchcraft and related subjects. Here he must have met Herodias the Wild Huntress almost at every step, for Herodias, as we shall see, was for several centuries a most important name, and although only a spectre, a dire reality. In like manner was His Hellish Majesty,

as whose emanation or incarnation Herodias was considered, for Heine a very fascinating personality. He mentions him often enough, for instance :

Mensch, verspötte nicht den Teufel,

or

Ich rief den Teufel und er kam, etc.

Modern psychologists speak of the mythological faculty of our dream-life. Heine would probably have taken the opposite point of view and have interpreted the formation of mythology as the dreaming of the "Volksseele." And just here we find the psychological explanation of Heine's strong affinity for everything mythological. "Traumbilder" were, we may say, the overture of his career as a lyric poet.

Another point of attraction for Heine in the subject of "Herodias" was the dance-element. Heine entertained throughout his life an exorbitant enthusiasm for the art of Terpsichore. Here I mention only his dithyrambs on "Pomare," the celebrated dancer. The poet becomes so excited over the grandiose performance that he imagines he is Herod and Pomare is Salome, and he winds up with the order, "Man schlage ab das Haupt dem Täufer" (to decapitate John the Baptist).

Sie tanzt. Derselbe Tanz ist das,
Den einst die Tochter Herodias'
Getanz vor dem Judenkönig Herodes.
Ihr Auge sprüht, wie Blitze des Todes.

Sie tanzt mich rasend—ich werde toll—
Sprich Weib, was ich Dir schenken soll?
Du lächelst! Heda! Trabanten, Läufer!
Man schlage ab das Haupt dem Täufer!

Of the almost innumerable passages in mediæval literature, where Herodias is mentioned as the leader or one of the leaders of the "Furious Host," I shall mention only a few. The most famous of all is the so-called *Canon Episcopi* which has been considered a document of the highest authority on matters of witchcraft during the middle ages, nay even until the beginning of the seventeenth century. This Canon has been attributed to the council of Ancyra in 314; this of course is an unwarranted assumption; it is found, however, for the first time in the *Instruction for the visit of a diocese*, written by Regino who was abbot of Prüm until 899 and died at Treves in 915. It can hardly be doubted that this *Canon* dates at

least from the seventh century. This is however of no importance here, as I wish only to indicate the sources where Heine might have found at least traces or features of the Herodias legend. Jules Baissac in his interesting, but by no means exhaustive *Histoire de la Diablerie Chrétienne; Le Diable, la personne du diable, le Personnel du diable* (Paris, 1882), quotes, p. 275, the Canon in full; in Grimm's *Mythology* the Canon is quoted in abridged form. The Canon reads as follows:

"There are some criminal women who, seduced by the illusions and phantoms of the Devil, have placed themselves under the yoke of Satan; and they believe and assert that during the night they ride and roam with Diana, Goddess of the Heathens, or with Herodias and an innumerable crowd of other women, astride on certain animals, and that they traverse great distances in the silence of darkness; they claim that they do homage to this Goddess acknowledging her for their sovereign; and that they are sometimes called on for personal service. The priests shall in the churches entrusted to their care employ great diligence to instruct the people and to teach them that all this is false, that they are the victims of pure phantasms sent into the souls of the unbelievers, not by the divine spirit, but by the Evil One. For Satan, who transfigures himself into an angel of light, having become Lord and master of the soul of a poor woman on account of her infidelity and lack of faith, takes unto himself the form and the appearances of different persons. In this manner he mocks the poor soul during sleep, holding it in captivity and presenting to such soul visions, sometimes triste, sometimes gay, of things known and unknown, leading such poor soul astray from the straight path. All this takes place only in the mind, but the unbelieving soul is firmly convinced that it is real.

"Who has not seen in his sleep many things which he never saw while awake! And who is ignorant and silly enough to believe that all which takes place in the mind has likewise an external reality? For instance, when Ezechiel had the visions of the Lord, it was in his mind, not in the body, and when the apostle John was enraptured in ecstasy, was it in the mind or in the body? It devolves on us to declare publicly that whoever believes such things and others of the same kind,

has lost his faith, and who has lost faith in the Lord, does not belong to the Lord but to him in whom he believes, that is *the Devil*. Whosoever then believes that anything can be created, or that any creature can be changed into a better or worse form, except by the Creator himself: such person, we declare, is beyond doubt, an infidel and worse than a pagan."

I have given the admonition of the *Canon Episcopi* in extenso, for the following reason: Paul Hoensbroeck in his work *Das Papsttum in seiner social-kulturellen Wirksamkeit* refers to the admonition, wherein the imaginary character of the nightly witch-jaunt is asserted, as "pronouncing a verdict of condemnation on the horrible hells and blood-curdling manifestations of the vicerents of Christ in later centuries; on the other hand, all the greatest promoters of the incineration of witches loudly protest against such impious interpretation, and they appeal, as it were, unanimously 'a Canone Episcopi male interpretato ad Canonem melius interpretandum.'" If we appreciate the spiritualistic character of the conception of the world in the middle ages, we cannot, I think, fail to conclude that the question whether these roamings are to be conceived in realistic terms, or as taking place only in the imagination of the adherents of the devil, and at the same time of the spectators, is entirely secondary. The "maleficium" consists in the pact with the devil and the submission to his sovereignty. This, of course, is easily explained on a purely spiritualistic basis. The pact with the devil may be implicit, *i. e.*, consist in merely passive submission to his power.

But in order to set our doubts at rest, let us turn for enlightenment to the highest, most irrefragable authority on such matters, the *Malleus Maleficarum*, the Witch-Hammer of the Dominican fathers Sprenger and Institoris, which in the year of the Lord 1484 made its appearance with the approbation of the University of Cologne and proving its right of existence by prefixing the execrable witch-hull of Innocens VIII, "Summis desiderantes." For later editions the reverend authors succeeded in securing a diploma of Emperor Maximilian. Supported by this formidable array of authority, both spiritual and secular, these blood-thirsty fanatics deliver the evangel of the persecu-

tion of witches, as it were, *ex cathedra*. They lay especial stress on the following points:

Every preacher, therefore, ought to inculcate the following four important points:

- 1) Besides God there is no other divine Being.
- 2) When the witches boast of their nightly roamings in the suite of Diana and Herodias, they are in fact, enjoying the company of the devil.
- 3) *This happens in the imagination only*, the devil operating on the soul in such manner that the witch imagines to ride through the air, while she remains at home.
- 4) That wizards and witches obey the devil in all things.

We cannot expect consistency of fanatics of the class of Sprenger and Institoris; often enough the *Malleus Maleficarum* speaks of the nightly excursions in a thoroughly realistic fashion.

Nearly all the promoters of the persecution of witches express their cordial agreement with the *Canon Episcopi*, for instance Spina; and they protest energetically against an interpretation that would attempt to explain away the crime of witchcraft. I believe, their point is well taken. The canon contains all the most ardent "crushers of witches" may desire. Mark well the expression, "they belong to him in whom they believe, that is the Devil." Can this mean anything else than what the *Witch-Hammer* calls "the implicit pact with the Devil?" Furthermore, do the terms "infidelity," "lack of faith," "worse than pagans," imply the crime of apostasy and heresy which in the eyes of mediæval theologians was a crime deserving capital punishment. The quotation of isolated passages from a document or author is more or less misleading; the danger is the greater the more the spirit of those times "is removed from" the spirit of our time. Goethe compared "past times" to a book with seven seals, and warns us not to introject our ideas into our interpretation of other ages. It would be, in my opinion, not particularly difficult to make up a fairly substantial collection of dicta from the writings of the most notorious obscurantists, which will make them appear in the light of high-minded, unprejudiced, humanitarian gentlemen.

I cannot leave the *Canon Episcopi* without adding a few remarks concerning the mythological implications of this important document. We

find here Herodias associated with Diana, but not in the same sense as in Heine's *Atta Troll*. For Herodias and Diana in the Canon *Episcopi* are not to be interpreted as two distinct personalities. They are only two "avatars" of the Evil One, who now takes unto himself the form of Diana, now of Herodias, now combining attributes of both in one apparition. We have here the dream-like suspension of the bonds of identity, so beautifully illustrated in Gerhard Hauptmann's *Hanneles Himmelfahrt*, where the personality of her beloved teacher and that of the Saviour flow together in the apparition of "the Stranger." Diana was well known to the clergy as an incarnation of the Evil One from the New Testament story of the Diana of the Ephesians. The Canon *Episcopi* gives us no information concerning the question whether Herodias the Wild Huntress and leader of the "Furious Host" is understood to be the wife of King Herod whose malice brought about the doom of John the Baptist, or her daughter Salome. Origen tells us that the maiden who danced before the king and to whom the head of the Baptist was given in a golden charger was also known as "Herodias." It is well known that in Hellenistic literature patronymies were employed in a very loose way. So the damsel in question would even as a step-daughter of Herod have been entitled to the name of "Herodias." Moreover, we know she was the daughter of Herodes Philippus. And thus her claim to be called "Herodias" cannot be disputed.

Furthermore, it is one of the fundamental characteristics of mythological evolution, that functions, originally attributed to the father are at a later stage of the saga attributed to the son, and those of the mother to the daughter and vice versa. It is easy to follow up this development in classical as well as in Germanic mythology. The somewhat trivial principle: "No difference, that remains in the family," is everywhere in evidence. In the legend which now concerns our attention, it requires no further argument to show that mother and daughter have continuously exchanged places. Nay, we should have no right to be surprised if we were to meet Herod the Wild Hunter instead of Herodias the Wild Huntress. I have not put myself to any trouble in order to "nail" Herod the Wild Hunter. Fr. Perreaud,

who in the year of the Lord 1653 published his *Demonologie* or *Traité des démons et sorciers*, tells us on page 126: "I have learned from very trustworthy persons that at different times of the night, especially about Christmas time, such a terrible ferocious noise was heard in the air that you would have said: all the dogs of the country are barking to their heart's content; the people generally claim that this is King Herod leading the Furious Host and that he is condemned to this exercise; but the more *enlightened* are of opinion that it is the Devil himself who makes this noise in order to disturb the people in their devotion." Here we have enlightenment, as Fr. Perreaud understood it. In this case, of course, it is Herod who killed the innocents, whom the people credited with this tremendous noise-making faculty. But after all to the mythological fancy of the people "all Herods will look alike," and we may anticipate to meet a King Herod as leader of the Furious Host who will be an amalgamation of the two Herods.

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ROBINSON CRUSOE'S ISLAND.

The location of Robinson Crusoe's island having come up as a question, a well known encyclopedia of names was consulted as an authority that could be cited. Under Robinson Crusoe and under Selkirk there was something about Crusoe, but nothing about his island.

William A. Wheeler's *Explanatory and Pronouncing Dictionary of the Noted Names of Fiction*, 17th ed. (Boston 1882), was next examined, and under *Crusoe*, Robinson, was this:

"The hero of DeFoe's great novel; a shipwrecked sailor who for many years leads a solitary existence on an uninhabited island of the tropics, and who alleviates his long seclusion by an inexhaustible prodigality of contrivance."

Mr. Wheeler's "Names" were contributed by him to one of our best known dictionaries of the English language. In the volumes dated 1890, 1901 and 1907, the names and explanations are

printed as revised by another hand. Two words only are changed in what is said of Robinson Crusoe; "in the Pacific" is substituted for "of the tropics,"—an unfortunate substitution, for *Pacific* is not more precise here than *tropics*, and is a departure from the place stated by Crusoe.

But Professor Beers, the reviser, was not alone in thinking that Crusoe's island was in the Pacific. The gazetteer that follows the "Noted Names" in the same copies of this dictionary (1890, 1901, 1907) calls Juan Fernandez "Robinson Crusoe's Island," and I recall among recollections of my childhood that Juan Fernandez and Robinson Crusoe's island were often spoken of at school and elsewhere as being the same. I did not read Crusoe's adventures till I was nine or ten years old, and then I noticed in the narrative that the island where he was wrecked was not in the Pacific, but on the other side of the continent near the northern coast of South America. Since then I have seen in public prints and heard in talk many references to Juan Fernandez or "Selkirk's Island" as being Crusoe's island. It is to be regretted that this error has received a stamp of authority; for among us Americans (except for a few), the family dictionary, of whatever name, ranks with the family Bible.

If we consult Crusoe's story we find that he was a planter in the Brasils, at the time he embarked for the coast of Guinea; that he went as supercargo to buy negroes for himself and other planters; and that after crossing the equator, while sailing in a northerly direction, the ship was struck by a hurricane which drove her for twelve days.

"About the twelfth day," says Crusoe, "the weather abating a little the master took an observation as well as he could and found . . . he was got upon the coast of Guiana, or the north part of Brazil, beyond the river Amazons, toward that of the River Oroonoke, commonly called the Great River. . . . Looking over the charts of the sea-coast of America with him, we concluded there was no inhabited country for us to have recourse to [for repairs] till we came within the circle of the Caribbee islands, and therefore resolved to stand away for Barbadoes."

But when in latitude twelve degrees and eighteen minutes, another furious storm drove them westward, land was sighted, the ship struck sand, and the sea broke over her. All on board ex-

pected the ship to go to pieces immediately; the boat which they got into was swamped and upset by "a raging wave, mountain-like," and Crusoe was the only one who got ashore. His explorations later showed that he was on an uninhabited island.

It is plain from the foregoing account that this island could not possibly have been in the Pacific Ocean.

Crusoe had seen on clear days from a hill on his island land that he thought was the continent, but which he found later was islands near the mouth of the Oroonoke. While contriving means for going to the mainland, which he supposed these islands to be, Crusoe and his man Friday rescued Friday's father and a Spaniard from a party of savages who had brought them to Crusoe's island for a meal, and Crusoe learned from the Spaniard that there were Spaniards and Portuguese on Crusoe's supposed mainland who had been wrecked there in "a Spanish ship bound from the Rio de la Plata to the Havana."

The statements and quotations given above as to the course of the ship in which Crusoe was supercargo agree with an American reprint of *Robinson Crusoe*. They have been verified by comparing them with the fourth edition of the first volume (London, 1719), and with the map in the fourth edition showing the ship's course.

If the title-page of the first volume of *Robinson Crusoe*, as published in the early editions, had been uniformly retained in all reprints, the idea that Crusoe's island was in the Pacific could never have taken root. The title-page of the fourth edition of the first volume is transcribed below.

"The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner: Who lived Eight and Twenty Years all alone in an uninhabited Island on the Coast of America, near the Mouth of the Great River of Oroonoke; Having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men perished but himself. With An Account how he was at last strangely deliver'd by Pyrates.—Written by Himself.—The Fourth Edition.—To which is added a Map of the World, in which is Delineated the Voyages of Robinson Crusoe.—London: Printed by W. Taylor at the Ship in Pater-Noster-Row.—1719."

This title-page is the same as the title-page of the first edition of the first volume in Elliot Stock's facsimile reprint of *Robinson Crusoe*, ex-

cept in having *Fourth Edition* and what is said of the map.

The first edition of the first volume was published April 25, 1719, and the fourth edition of the same volume August 8 of the same year, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 14, p. 288.

With reprints scattered through the country in which the title-pages said nothing of the place where Crusoe was wrecked, a false idea of the place might easily grow up in the United States if there was any strong influence tending to start and foster a false idea about it. An influence of that kind has been abroad ever since writers associated Crusoe with Selkirk. Selkirk's solitary life on Juan Fernandez is matter of history, and it has long been customary to speak of Selkirk as the original of Defoe's Crusoe. Naturally a sincere lover of Defoe's great masterpiece is inclined to resent an imputation that seems to derogate from the genius of its maker; but if there are any great masterpieces which are so wholly original that their inception did not come from an outside source, I do not know what and where those masterpieces are.

Selkirk's account of himself in *The Englishman*, Numb. xxvi (December 1-3, 1713), taken from his lips about five and a half years before Robinson Crusoe appeared, and what Selkirk said of his life on Juan Fernandez, as reported by Captain Woodes Rogers (1712), made him a public character who could hardly have been overlooked by such a man as Defoe, and certainly the details of these accounts suggest that he was Crusoe's original. Though Selkirk was not the only recluse who has been named for that high distinction, it is reasonable to believe that Defoe meditated on the possibilities of such a life as Selkirk's until *Robinson Crusoe* was achieved.

The only parts of Captain Rogers' *Journal* that I have seen were incomplete reprints. Number xxvi of *The Englishman*,—an original copy,—is in the Yale Library.

RALPH OLMDSTED WILLIAMS.

New Haven, Conn.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

The Development of Standard English Speech in Outline. By J. M. HART. Pp. vii, 93. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1907.

Notwithstanding the larger treatises covering the subject, there was room for this little book, and the making of it has fallen into good hands. Professor Hart has an enviable reputation as an expert in English linguistics, and besides has the gift of clear and succinct expression. This gift is illustrated by the opening paragraph of his General Remarks, which also suggests the scope of the book:

'The history of the growth of modern English pronunciation is complicated. Certain features are puzzling; some are obscure and—even in the best light of our present knowledge—appear arbitrary. The chief features, however, admit of systematic explanation and can be mastered by all who will take the pains.'

The trenchant unconventionality which here and there appears will be refreshing to many readers. Here is a specimen (pp. v, vi):

'Next, in nearly all phonological discussions there is too much Ormulum; the work of Brother Orm is viewed as if it were the norm of twelfth-century speech. This is to overlook the patent fact that it represented only one small district. Lastly, I am more than puzzled by the air of confidence with which the German school blocks out mediæval England in squares like a checker-board and assigns each bit of writing, from Layamon's *Brut* to the "Alliterative Poems," to its particular little square. I must confess to being deplorably deficient in this sense of the fourth dimension.'

Perhaps mathematical, no less than non-mathematical readers, will be 'more than puzzled' by this 'fourth dimension,' but the vigor of the writing will not be questioned.

The little book, which, according to its author, 'may be said to represent Cornell aim and method,' is well conceived, and, in the main, well executed. The strictures which it occurs to me to pass are few and comparatively slight, and are such as could easily be turned to account in a second edition, if it seemed to the author worth while.

In illustrating the interchange of *i* and *e* in ME., Professor Hart says (p. 34): 'In the *Ayenbite* (fourteenth century) the Mn. E. word *sin* is written *zenne* (initial *z* for *s* is Southern dialect).' Is not this to overlook the fact that the *Ayenbite* is the most typical representative of the Kentish dialect (Morsbach, *Mitteleng. Gram.*, p. 10), and that in this dialect OE. *y* (not *i*) regularly becomes *e* (Morsbach, pp. 164, 176)? In fact, *e* for *y* is a Kentish peculiarity in Old English itself (Sievers, § 154).

On p. 40 we seem to be told that Mod. Eng. *taught* comes from OE. *tāhte* through ME. *tā(u)hte*; in other words, that OE. *āht*- becomes *āht*- in ME. Is not this to overlook the fact that *tāhte* occurred in OE., along with *tāhte* (Sievers, § 407, note 11), and that ME. *tāhte* is usually explained as a shortening of the OE. form (Morsbach, p. 136)?

In commenting (pp. 13, 22) on the length of the vowel in OE. *deōfol*, ME. (Orm) *deofless*, *defless*, and its shortness in Mod. Eng. (or 'Mn. E.,' if any one prefers), Professor Hart ignores the Scotch and Northern English *deevil*, *deil*.

Professor Hart says (p. vii): '*G. T.* (General Teutonic) is a safer abbreviation than *Germ.* (Germanic), which might be mistaken for German.' But this would not apply to *Gmc.*, for which there is sufficient precedent. He properly employs the term 'Old English,' instead of 'Anglo-Saxon'; but why not 'OE.' (see *NED.*), instead of 'O. E.?' 'Umlauted' (p. 6), 'i-umlaut' (p. 69), ought to be generally approved. 'Diphthonging,' though an unlovely word, is not without authority, and is here commonly employed; but why then also 'diphthongization' (twice on p. 3)? 'In open syllable' (p. 32) may be justified as technical phraseology, but I should have preferred the insertion of 'an.'

Is Professor Hart a spelling reformer, or not? He writes 'rimes' (p. 12), but 'levelling' (p. 22, and elsewhere).

On p. 25 occurs 'designate it with the sign *ē*'; usage seems to be in favor of 'by.'

For the sound of *j* in *joke* the author employs *dʃ*, as 'the usual sign might be confounded with an O. E. *dʒ* (p. vii).' This seems hardly likely, and, in any case, *dʒh* might have been employed, in spite of its inconsistency with *tʃ*, rather than

to employ a symbol which, strictly regarded, is incorrect.

In general, Professor Hart seems to prefer to express the long diphthongs, *ēa*, *ēo*, *īe*, by extending the macron over both vowel-signs (see particularly p. 67, bottom, and cf. p. 42, bottom); but several exceptions occur: *brēost* (p. 17); *dēor* (p. 19); *stēop*- (p. 25); *ēoh*, *ðēoh* (p. 40); *dēaf* (p. 41). With regard to *scēawian*, *ēow*, *enēow* (p. 42), I am in doubt, though probably the macron is meant for only the first vowel-sign. See also *heah*, without the macron (p. 40); *Eād-mund* (p. 14). Such discrepancies would be likely to puzzle a beginner; their occurrence is the more surprising because of the statement (p. iii): 'In preparing the manuscript for publication and in reading proof I have got much help of every sort from Assistant Professor C. S. Northup and Dr. B. S. Monroe.'

Before leaving the matter of proof-reading, I may be permitted to refer to the difficult matter of securing consistency in the hyphenation of compounds. Here, for example, we have 'vowel-lengthening' (p. 6) and 'vowel-shortening' (p. 13), 'vowel-quality' (p. 33), 'stop-*g*' (p. 75), but 'vowel quantity' (p. 10), 'vowel quality' (p. 22), 'vowel changes' (p. 45), 'vowel crisis' (p. 12), 'stop *g*' (p. 74). So 'noun-suffix' (p. 20), but 'adjective suffix' (p. 21). Other questionable forms are: 'Consonant groups' (p. 6), 'consonant changes' (p. 49), 'consonant system' (p. 49), 'consonant combinations' (p. 15), 'stem vowels' (p. 20), 'stem syllable' (p. 6), 'dialect form(s)' (pp. 7, 23); cf. 'rime-couplet' (p. 12), 'word-couplets' (p. 51), '*ch*, *j* sound' (p. 53). Since the publication of the *Standard Dictionary*, and Mr. F. H. Teall's work on this subject, greater consistency in the hyphenation of words is more practicable.

The punctuation leaves something less, if not something more, to be desired. In such tables as that on p. 14, one hardly sees the use of the periods (cf. pp. 11, 46, where they prove quite unnecessary). On p. 74, in the headings '1)', etc., either the) or the period is superfluous, and the preceding paragraph might end with a colon (so pp. 42, 43, 45, 64). On p. 16, more numerals seem necessary after 2, if each consonant-combination is to be separately treated.

Perhaps the 'guttural' of 'guttural vowels' (p. 64) needs a word of explanation. The *-ly* of p. 63 ought hardly to be derived from OE. *-lic*, *-lice*, without a reference to Old Norse influence.

All due allowance being made for these trifles, the value of the book is not seriously impaired by them. They are easily corrected, and the student will not be led seriously astray by a failure to correct them. The book ought to be of real service in diffusing sound knowledge of the relation of modern English pronunciation to that of our earlier speech. It should be welcome alike where more voluminous books dealing with the subject have penetrated, and where they have not. Its value is materially increased by the index of words, covering 15 pages.

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Hernani par VICTOR HUGO, with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary by JAMES D. BRUNER, PH. D., Associate Professor of the Romance Languages in the University of North Carolina. New York: American Book Co., 1906. 12mo., cloth, pp. 264, price 60c.

Two English editions and four American editions of Victor Hugo's *Hernani* attest the popularity of this standard play for school purposes. This verdict is amply justified by reasons that are, each alone, wellnigh quite sufficient to warrant an edition of the masterpiece. The intensely interesting human nature of the piece, its artistic literary construction, its exemplification of the principles of the Romantic school, the straightforward style and freedom from unusual difficulties of expression, the high rank of the play itself as well as that of the author, each in itself, but especially all collectively justify the numerous editions the play is likely to have long into the future.

The first edition annotated for school purposes in America appears to be that of Miss Rena Michaels (Holt & Co., 1886). This edition is noted in the first number of *M. L. N.*, 1886, p. 27, col. 54. Its principal claim to school recognition in those early days of the rise of the study of modern languages was its availability. The

need of a school text more adequate in every respect was plainly felt; for two good school editions, both copyrighted in 1891, appeared, the first edited by Prof. J. E. Matzke (Heath & Co.), the second by Prof. G. M. Harper. To what an extent, then, Prof. Bruner's edition fills a lacuna depends upon the teacher's idea of what a text-book should be, or upon what a teacher most desires to find emphasized in a school edition.

As the English editions, the Hachette, edited by Gustave Masson, and reprinted in this country by Jenkins, New York, and the Rivington, edited by Mr. H. A. Perry, appeared before the American editions, the task of annotation ought now to be reduced to the minimum of difficulty. Indeed, Prof. Harper, the editor of the Holt edition, acknowledges this fact in his Preface, saying: "It would be unfair to Dr. Matzke in particular not to pay tribute to the completeness of his notes which leave his successor little chance for originality." Incidentally this simplifies the task of the reviewer, for the statement may be conscientiously made once for all that the four American editions, including the Scott Foresman edition which appeared in 1900, edited by Prof. J. R. Effinger, Jr., as regards the text are adequately and even thoroughly annotated.

Prof. Bruner's edition is the only one which has a vocabulary. The text-book forming one of a series, the vocabulary is made in accordance with the system of the American Book Co., which is to relegate to the vocabulary difficulties of idiom, explaining peculiarities of construction in the notes, paraphrasing, but as a rule, not giving any translations. While this method, on the one hand, puts a check upon offering too many translations, on the other, it prevents oftentimes giving just what a note should give and which properly can hardly be put into the vocabulary. A play like *Hernani* is apt to be better adapted to third year students than to those who have had less experience with the language. For third year students a vocabulary in general is a luxury, not a necessity. In Prof. Bruner's edition most of the lexical difficulties, some of which in the other editions may be considered worthy of a note, are made clear in the vocabulary. This leaves the field free for the editor to make the notes serve his particular purpose. In the present case, this pur-

pose is first and foremost to reveal the artistic and literary merit of the play. Prof. Bruner has made the best possible use of his opportunity. The notes are placed, most conveniently for the editor's purpose, at the bottom of the page, enabling the student to take advantage of them at once without interrupting the connection, in fact, rather reinforcing the author's own idea. Taken together with the thirty pages of introduction, they form a lucid and suggestive interpretation, from the literary and artistic standpoint, of the characters and episodes throughout the rather complicated plot of the play.

The Introductions contained in all four of the American editions are quite complete. Prof. Matzke's is the shortest, 19 pages; Prof. Bruner's contains 30; Prof. Effinger's 34, and Prof. Harper's 42. All four editors discuss pretty fully what may be called: The origin of the Romantic drama. The Matzke and Bruner editions then follow along more closely than do the other editions the same general lines. The two former give due attention to the versification, language, first performance, plot, and the characters. The salient difference between the two editions is that each editor elaborates what to him appears particularly worthy of so doing. Thus Prof. Matzke goes farther into the subject of versification than any of the other editors, and then refers the specialist for further details to his article in *M. L. N.*, VI, p. 168, cols. 336-341. He also takes advantage of this same means of offering more detailed information in regard to the historical Hernani by referring the student to another of his articles on the last named topic in *M. L. N.*, VI, p. 37, cols. 74-82. Prof. Bruner treats more fully than do the other editors the plot and the characters. In the nature of the case, more or less of the information on each topic is repeated by each editor. For instance, the Matzke, Effinger, and Bruner editions illustrate a phase of versification, or language, by citing the historic verse 463 (not 416 as printed on p. xxv of the Matzke edition of 1891): Don Carlos. *Est-il minuit?* Don Ricardo. *Minuit bientôt.* Again, these three editions all relate the story about Mlle Mars and the celebrated verse 1028: *Vous êtes mon lion superbe et généreux!* Both the Matzke and Bruner editions deal directly with the subject in hand, the Matzke from an all-

round standpoint, the Bruner more especially from the literary and artistic. Evidently neither of these editors considers sufficiently germane for his purpose a sketch of Hugo's career. The Harper and Effinger introductions, on the contrary, contain quite a detailed account of Hugo's life and works. Moreover, the influence of the foreign drama, particularly that of Shakespeare and Schiller upon Hugo's work is dwelt upon at considerable length in the Harper and Effinger introductions. In the Harper edition, neither the plot of the play, the characters, the language, nor the first performance receive attention. The first performance, it is true, is merely touched upon, or rather alluded to: pp. xviii-xix. In place of calling attention to the plot, versification, etc., the editor gives a detailed account of the lives of Chateaubriand, Lamartine, and Lamennais: pp. xi-xiv. Considerable attention is given to De Musset, De Vigny, Balzac, George Sand, Dumas, and Sainte-Beuve: pp. xxvi-xxxi. A historical note: pp. xliii-xlvii, treating of the kings, queens, popes, cardinals, and electors from the time of the crowning of Charlemagne in 800 to the death of Charles V in 1558, takes the place of more pertinent comment bearing directly upon the subject in hand. Moreover, this entire Introduction, as relates to the editor himself or rather to his individual impressions, is written much more from the subjective standpoint than any one of the other three introductions. In proportion as it is less objective, in just about that degree does it fail to carry weight.

As regards the giving of a detailed personal sketch of an author as is usually done in text introductions, the appropriateness of so doing depends upon circumstances. In the case of an author so well known as Hugo, in view of the fact that the essential data are readily accessible in almost any biographical dictionary, their presentation in a text of this kind for students of French literature, may quite naturally be dispensed with. Unquestionably, the life of an author has oftentimes a predominating influence upon his work, as Prof. Harper clearly points out in the case of Hugo. How germane this may be to the subject presented for student reading is a question which each editor will decide for himself. In regard to the lives of other contemporary

authors whose influence makes itself more or less directly felt, it may be doubted whether detailed biographical information be sufficiently relevant to warrant its appearance in the introduction to a text for schoolroom purposes.

In brief, the comparison here instituted between the methods used by four editors, each of whom writes an introduction to the same text, well exemplifies the theme here discussed, the editor's point of view, its variety, and the cause of it. Whether a text is mainly for the study of the language, the literature, the history, the philology, phonetics, the versification, the translation, or something else, is apt to be reflected in the editor's treatment of the subject. As in education in general, the important question is: What is most worth while? For obvious reasons, there will continue to be as many different answers as there are editors.

The particular merit of Prof. Bruner's edition is its luminous and comprehensive treatment from the artistic and literary standpoint of the complicated plot and the many interesting situations of the play *Hernani*. The main subject of the drama, love, once indicated, the subordinate phases, jealousy, hatred with its consequent desire for revenge, manifest themselves in turn. The melodramatic atmosphere is constantly indicated by noting the allusions to secret doors, stairways, disguises, scenery, costumes, the antitheses, and particularly the grotesque. The melancholy of *Hernani*, the man of destiny, the fatal man, who lives *dans l'ombre*, his uncertainty and irresolution is effectively contrasted with Doña Sol's radiance, constancy, and singleness of purpose. The lighter, subordinate, more a comedy part, of Don Carlos is likewise skilfully exposed, as is also the marked quality of Castilian honor embodied in the character of Ruy Gomez. The comedy-like beginning and tragic-like ending of each act, together with the explanation of the ground for a fifth act are all presented cleverly and forcefully. Indeed, so well has Prof. Bruner done his work that he may perhaps be criticized for failing to leave to the student imagination anything to feed on.

It must be plain that such a thorough literary study of the play as it has received at the hands of Prof. Bruner renders this text of particular use

to teachers, more so even than to students. The ordinary difficulties found in the text being consigned, as previously explained, to the vocabulary, the Notes are simply complementary and supplementary to the literary Introduction. To appreciate them fully, a far more extensive knowledge of certain phases of the Greek, English, German, and French drama, not to mention the Latin, Italian, and Spanish, than is possessed by the average student, for whom the text primarily is intended, is necessary. For instance, a rapid examination of the notes alone reveals the fact that not less than twenty different plays of Shakespeare, besides the *Sonnets*, are cited in order to bring out comparisons between some Shakespearian scene and that in the play. Naturally the comparisons most frequently made are with scenes taken from the better known plays of Shakespeare. *Romeo and Juliet* is referred to at least eleven times; so, too, repeatedly, scenes from *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, *Othello*, and the *Merchant of Venice*. The works of other English authors more or less frequently cited are those of Scott, Sheridan, Beaumont and Fletcher, Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Byron, and Tennyson. Scenes from the tragedies of Euripides, Æschylus, and Sophocles are constantly brought to mind. Scenes from no less than eight of Racine's plays, five of Corneille, several from *Mérope* and *Zaïre* of Voltaire and from the works of a number of Hugo's contemporaries, are recalled in rapid succession. Hugo's own plays (*Ruy Blas*, no less than fifteen times), naturally, are made the basis of numerous comparisons. Scenes from Schiller's plays figure at least twelve times. The allusions to works in Latin, Spanish, and Italian are less numerous. Perhaps some little idea of the frequency with which the editor reinforces his exposition of the dramatic situations by comparison with scenes taken from world literature may be got on p. 51, where in a note of twenty lines references to literary masterpieces occur as follows: three French, one English, two Greek, one Italian.

It now becomes obvious that such a commentary furnishes in itself material for study in no small measure. It might be well, therefore, in order to facilitate the task of the student particularly interested in the study of comparative literature, to

have the entire literary apparatus in both Introduction and Notes carefully indexed. Moreover, in order to save time in making comparisons, it is desirable to have the number of the act and scene printed at the top of the right hand page throughout the play, as in the Heath and Holt editions. Prof. Bruner has evidently made use of the same edition in establishing his text of the play as have the other American editors, that is the *ne varietur*, published by the firm Hetzel-Quantin, Paris, although there appears to be no indication of the fact in the text-book.

The following unimportant inaccuracies, either slips or typographical inadvertencies, have been called to the reviewer's notice, some very kindly by the editor himself, who has already corrected quite a number of mistakes in the copies of the play which were electrotyped later than the copy at hand : p. 41, v. 1, *déjà-lui*, delete the hyphen ; p. 43, note v. 16 ff., read 13 ff. ; p. 44, note v. 20, *choisir d'un des deux choses*, read *d'une (choisir d'une chose ou d'une autre)* ; p. 55, note v. 169, *Guipazcoa*, read *Guipuzcoa* ; p. 74, v. 381, insert the omitted words : *de ta suite* after *ô roi !* ; p. 92, note vv. 567-70, in the first line of the poetry quoted : *je vous déthroné*, read *je vous détrône* ; p. 108, note v. 751, read 753 ; p. 120, v. 892, insert the omitted last half : *Oh ! pas même un couteau !* ; p. 126, note in the line just above v. 1003 : *Jaques*, read *Jacques* ; p. 134, v. 1106, *Livre-là*, read *Livre-la* ; p. 141, top, second line of italics, *poète*, read *porte* ; p. 162, note just above v. 1425, *Henry III et sa court*, read *cour* ; p. 166, v. 1480, *C'est*, read *Ces* ; p. 169, v. 1529, *le toscin*, read *le tocsin* ; p. 220, v. 2047, insert *des* after *les aînés* ; p. 251, under Lutzembourg, delete *in Alsace* ; p. 252, under *moins de—que*, smaller, read *shorter* ; p. 262, the word *tocsin* omitted ; p. 263, the word *vassal* omitted ; p. 264, under *voix*, note, read *vote*.

It is hoped that the fact that three creditable editions of *Hernani*, hitherto not reviewed in *M. L. N.*, receive some little attention in this notice of Prof. Bruner's welcome edition, may be accepted as an excuse for the undue length of the review.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

THE CLOAK EPISODE IN SPANISH.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—A propos of the cloak episode in Lope de Vega's *El Honrado Hermano*, recently discussed by Stiefel, Leite de Vasconcellos, and Buchanan (cf. *MLN.*, Nov., 1907), it is interesting to note that Calderon makes use of the same anecdote. In the play of *Judas Macabeo* (Hartzenbusch ed., Vol. I, *Bib. de Aut. Esp.*, p. 315), Jonatas, brother of Judas, is sent on an embassy to Lisías, ruler of Jerusalem. On being denied a seat he sits on his mantle, states his mission and leaves, saying that he is not accustomed to carry his chair with him. Lisías keeps the cloak, saying it will prove that Jonatas has fled.

GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP.

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THE "UNCOUTH SWAIN" IN MILTON'S *Lycidas*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—The explanation given by editors of the term *uncouth* in the line of *Lycidas* "Thus sang the uncouth swain to the oaks and rills" have been various and not very satisfactory. Masson and some others endeavor to explain it with the meaning of 'unknown' and suppose the poet to be thus referring to an *imaginary* shepherd. But as Milton undoubtedly means himself there is no *unknown* character. Webster's dictionary quotes the line under "uncouth" with the meaning of 'boorish, awkward,' a force certainly not intended here. The real explanation of the word is, I think, to be found in the classical source from which Milton drew so much of the language and imagery of the poem. In Vergil's *Eclogue*, III, 26, 27, we find

non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas
Stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen ?

Milton translates the second line thus, "Their lean and flashy songs grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw" and was surely thinking of the word *indocte* in the preceding line when he wrote "*uncouth* swain." The meaning therefore is 'untaught, unskilled,' and an analysis of the English word would give this meaning quite as easily as that of 'unknown.'

THOS. K. SIDEX.

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DRYDEN AND SHELLEY ON MILTON.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In *Adonais*, the fourth stanza, Shelley says of Milton:

He went, unterrified,
Into the gulf of death; but his clear Sprite
Yet reigns o'er earth; the third among the sons of light.

Rossetti comments on the last clause as follows (*Adonais*, ed. W. M. Rossetti and A. O. Prickard, p. 103): 'At first sight this phrase might seem to mean "the third-greatest poet of the world": in which case one might suppose Homer and Shakespeare to be ranked as the first and second. But it may be regarded as tolerably clear that Shelley is here thinking only of *epic* poets; and that he ranks the epic poets according to a criterion of his own, which is thus expressed in his *Defence of Poetry* (written in the same year as *Adonais*, 1821): "Homer was the first and Dante the second epic poet; that is, the second poet the series of whose creations bore a defined and intelligible relation to the knowledge and sentiment and religion of the age in which he lived, and of the ages which followed it—developing itself in correspondence with their development. . . . Milton was the third epic poet."'

It would not have been amiss to add the well-known lines of Dryden which 'appeared under the engraving prefixed to Tonson's folio edition of the *Paradise Lost*' (Dryden, *Works*, ed. Scott and Saintsbury, 11. 162):

Three poets, in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn.
The first, in loftiness of thought surpassed;
The next, in majesty; in both, the last.
The force of nature could no further go;
To make a third, she joined the former two.

'Mr. Malone,' says Scott, 'regards Dryden's hexastich as an amplification of Selvaggi's distich, addressed to Milton while at Rome'—

Græcia Mæonidem, jactet sibi Roma Maronem,
Anglia Miltonum jactat utrique parem.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that Shelley was familiar with the inscription by Dryden. If so, his tacit substitution of Dante for Virgil is all the more significant.

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A NEW MANUSCRIPT OF CHAUCER'S
Monkes Tale.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Trinity College Cambridge MS. R. 3. 19 is a heterogeneous mass of fifteenth century poetry, chiefly famous as being the source of most

of Stow's additions to Chaucer, in his 1561 collection. The manuscript has been often described, and the latest description accessible to all is in Dr. James' Catalogue of the MSS. of this library, vol. II. An additional note upon articles number 39 and 40 in his summary of contents there printed is however needed, since Dr. James did not identify these items, except under the MS. title 'Bochas.'

On folio 170b, a *prohenium* beginning

Worshipfull and dyserete that here present be
I wyll yow tell a tale, two or thre,

is to be identified as the monk's opening speech, in the Oxford Chaucer, B 3157-3180. The first line as here given is the work of the person who made these extracts; the rest are all Chaucer's. The monk's speech is written as if composed in three stanzas of eight lines each, instead of in couplets. There follows the *Monkes Tale*, B 3181-3196 (De Lucifero). Then, because Chaucer had not done justice to Adam in his one poor stanza, the scribe substituted Lydgate's long account of Adam in the *Fall of Princes*, and certain envoys from the same source, in Bk. I, chaps. 1, 3, 4, 8 (in part). This brings us to folio 179a, where the scribe went back to the *Monkes Tale*, and completed it, from Sampson to Cresus, B 3205-3956. The order and contents are as given in the latest manuscripts, except that ll. 3565-3588 were omitted—on Pedro of Cyprus and Pedro of Spain—and l. 3611 was passed over by mistake, and the stanzas following that line confused thereby. Having completed the *Monkes Tale*, and added his *Explicit*, the scribe went on with extracts and envoys from the *Fall of Princes*, in the following order: Books I, chapters 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 18, 23; II, 2, 1, 6, 12, 13, 15, 21, 22, 25, 27, 30; III, 5, 9, 10, 14, 17, 20.

This performance is interesting, as exhibiting the taste which could select this tale of all others for reading, and then supplement Chaucer by Lydgate. The manuscript belongs not far from Edward IV's time, and the fall of princes was then an absorbing topic.

For textual purposes the MS. is of little value, though excellent for its time.

HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN.

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A NOTE ON BROWNING.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In *Caliban on Setebos* Browning uses a peculiar device which he affects nowhere else (except sporadically) in his poems, and which, so far as I have observed, no other writer uses.

It is the employment of the apostrophe at the beginning of a verb to indicate the omission, not of a letter, but of the subject. The omitted subject is in every case Caliban, or a pronoun in the first or third person referring to him. Of the 120 cases in which Caliban makes himself the subject of a verb, the subject is expressed in 78. In the remaining 42 the apostrophe is used 33 times to indicate the omission of the word Caliban or an equivalent in the third person, 6 times to indicate the omission of the first personal pronoun. In three cases a past tense makes it doubtful whether the subject is in the first person or in the third.

What I would especially call attention to, however, is not the device itself, peculiarly Browningsque though it is, but the fact that it is not employed consistently, either as regards its occurrence in the poem, or as regards the different editions of the poem. The first kind of inconsistency can be made apparent by a few examples. I quote from the edition of 1864 :

- 1) 'Say, the first straggler that boasts purple spots
Shall join the file, one pincer twisted off;
'Say, this bruised fellow shall receive a worm.
- 2) Vexed, 'stitched a book of broad leaves, arrow-shaped,
Wrote thereon, he knows what, prodigious words;
Has peeled a wand and called it by a name;
Weareth at whiles for an enchanter's robe
- 3) 'Falls to make something : 'piled yon pile of turfs
- 4) Is, not to seem too happy. Sees, himself,
Yonder two flies, with purple films and pink,
Bask on the pompion-bell above : kills both.
'Sees two black painful beetles roll their ball
On head and tail as if to save their lives :
Moves them the stick away they strive to clear.

In the first example the verb following the semicolon has the apostrophe; in the second the verbs "Has" and "Weareth," also following semicolons, have no apostrophe. In the third, the verb "piled," following a colon, has the apostrophe; in the fourth the verbs "kills" and "Moves," after the same mark of punctuation, have none. Notice also that the verb "Sees" in the first line of the fourth example is un-apostrophed. The number of such inconsistencies is five.

The variations in the different editions may be shown as follows :

- | | | |
|------|--|---------------|
| 1864 | 'Would teach the reasoning couple what
"must" means | |
| 1865 | 'Would | |
| 1868 | 'Would | |
| 1887 | 'Would | |
| 1889 | Would | |
| 1864 | Is, not to seem too happy. | Sees, himself |
| 1865 | | 'Sees |
| 1868 | | 'Sees |
| 1887 | | 'Sees |
| 1889 | | 'Sees |

1864 Moves them the stick away they strive to clear

1865 Moves

1868 Moves

1887 'Moves

1889 Moves

If there is in the poem itself any reason for these seeming inconsistencies or for the changes in the different editions, I have not been able to discover it. Perhaps some one, who has given more attention to Browning's idiosyncracies than I have, may be moved to offer an explanation.

I know but three other examples of this use of the apostrophe by Browning : one in *Fra Lippo Lippi*, and two in *The Inn Album*.

FRED NEWTON SCOTT.

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SOME WORDS USED IN *King Leir*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—Notice of a forthcoming edition, in England, of the pre-Shaksperian play of *King Leir*, may lend interest to the following notes concerning words used in that play in somewhat unfamiliar senses. The latest section of the *New English Dictionary*, issued January 1, 1908, cites one line from the *Leir*, under date of 1593, to illustrate the use of the verb *postulate*, meaning 'beg or demand.' This is the sole reference to the play that I have seen in Dr. Murray's work.

1. *Congratulate* = 'requite, recompense.'

"*Leir*. But how shall we *congratulate* their kindnesse?
Perillus. Infaith I know not how sufficiently;
But the best meane that I can thinke on is this :
Ile offer them my dublet in requital."

Under the word *gratulate*, *N. E. D.* cites two references dated 1611 and 1612 respectively, to establish the definition, 'reward or recompense.' I have found no second instance of *congratulate* used in this sense.

2. *Indurable* = 'unendurable, unbearable.'

"ill befitting for your reverend age,
To come on foot a journey so *indurable*."

N. E. D. contains this definition, but the only citation is from Topsell, *Four-footed Beasts*, 1607. As already stated, the *Leir* is about fifteen years earlier.

3. *Disconsolate* = 'make disconsolate.'

"Ah, do not so *disconsolate* yourselfe."

N. E. D. quotes the exact words to establish this definition, but attributes them to Yarrington's *Two Lamentable Tragedies*, published in 1601,

where they are actually found. As a matter of fact, Yarrington's play is founded on a murder which occurred in London in August, 1594, while we have the best evidence that *Leir* was on the stage in April, 1594, and was entered for publication in May, 1594. Chances strongly favor the author of *King Leir* as the originator of the line quoted.

4. *Disaster* = 'disastrous.'

"Oh, what *disaster* chaunce hath bin the cause,
To make your cheeks so hollow, spare and leane?"

Similarly in the First Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597 :

"Ah Romeo, Romeo, what *disaster* hap
Hath seuerd thee from thy true Juliet?"¹

This definition is found in *N. E. D.*, supported by citations from Greene, *Never Too Late*, 1590 ; the play of *Look About You*, 1600 ; and Knolles, *History of the Turks*, 1603.

In any theories as to the authorship of the *Leir*, the vocabulary of the writer should be taken into account.

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A SHAKSPEARE REMINISCENCE IN GOETHE'S *Iphigenie*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—In the second act of *Iphigenie*, where Orest in utter despair speaks with Pylades and reviews the past, occurs the passage :

Wie oft, wenn still Elektra, meine Schwester,
Am Feuer in der tiefen Halle sass,
Drängt' ich beklommen mich an ihren Schoss
Und starrte, wie sie bitter weinte, sie
Mit grossen Augen an. Dann sagte sie
Von unserm hohen Vater viel : wie sehr
Verlangt' ich, ihn zu sehn, bei ihm zu sein !
Mich wünscht' ich bald nach Troja, ihn bald her.
Es kam der Tag . . . 620-628.

The scene here described and the rhythm of this passage kept recurring to my mind, perplexingly, as something very familiar, until the following occurred to me :

Her father lov'd me, oft invited me,
Still question'd me the story of my life
From year to year,—the battles, sieges, fortunes,
That I have pass'd.

This to hear
Would Desdemona seriously incline :
I did consent,
And often did beguile her of her tears,
My story being done,
She gave me for my pains a world of sighs:

¹ Furness, *Romeo and Juliet*, p. 336.

She swore, in faith, 't was strange, 't was passing strange,
'T was pitiful, 't was wondrous pitiful ;
She wish'd she had not heard it, yet she wish'd
That heaven had made her such a man ; she thanked me,
And bade me, if I had a friend . . .

Upon this hint I spake ;
I, 3, 128-166.

The scene in both is similar—an older, experienced person relating a story of wonderful, heroic deeds to a younger, inexperienced person. The effect of the story on the listener is similar—conflicting emotions, conflicting desires, the wish to be able to do the same. The short sentences which form the climax also add to the similarity. But what points to a reminiscence is the employment of the same rhythmic means to describe the psychological state of the listener, the balanced, antithetical rhythm, which is so unusually striking in the passage from *Othello*. Furthermore, we know that Goethe became acquainted with Shakspeare through Dodd's *Beauties of Shakspeare*, which appeared in 1752 ; I was not able to secure this first edition, but the edition of 1818 (London) gives, pp. 322-324, *Othello's* speech entire, and it may be assumed that the first edition, and the edition of 1780 also included this passage, since the unfortunate divine was executed in 1777. It is, of course, impossible to give final proof, that we have here a reminiscence, but it may be found of interest that two master poets have chosen here the same rhythmic means to heighten the description of the same psychological state.

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COLERIDGE'S LINES ON DONNE.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—In *The Rhetoric of John Donne's Verse*, pp. 30-32, I call attention to Grosart's mistake in attributing to Hartley Coleridge the lines his father wrote on Donne. After presenting arguments in proof of my assertion that Grosart is mistaken, I quote Henry Nelson Coleridge as definitely settling the matter.

In view of the foregoing, a recent letter from Ernest Hartley Coleridge contains a statement of interest. He says : "My sister, Miss Christabel Coleridge, at whose house I am staying, has in her possession the copy of *Anderson's British Poets* which belonged to S. T. C. and was bequeathed by him to his son Hartley. The volume had passed through Wordsworth's hands and in one or two places had been annotated by him. S. T. C. contributes only one not very important or illustrative note to Donne . . . a foot-note to the lines 'on the Blessed Virgin Mary.' . . . At the end

of the volume [vol. iv, ed. 1793] on a blank page are Hartley's lines beginning

'Brief as the reign of pure poetic Truth'—

and containing these lines which I have copied from the autograph—

'Thus Donne—not first—but greatest of the line—
Of stubborn thoughts a garland thought to twine;
To his fair maid brought cabalistic posies,
And sang quaint ditties of metempsychosis:
"Twists iron pokers into true love knots,"
Coining hard words not found in polyglots.'

You will, therefore, see that the quotation made shows Hartley as including in his own verses a line of his father's—and this bears out your contention.

"S. T. C.'s lines were first published in *Literary Remains* in 1836, and there in print most probably Hartley saw them for the first time. His lines were, I think, written in 1843. . . ."

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LONGFELLOW AND THE HEXAMETER.¹

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—When Longfellow published his *Ballads and Other Poems* in 1841 he made in the introduction to his translation of Tegnér's *Children of the Lord's Supper* the following statement:

"I have preserved even the measure, that inexorable hexameter, in which, it must be confessed, the motions of the English muse are not unlike those of a prisoner dancing to the music of his chains; and perhaps, as Dr. Johnson said of the dancing dog, the wonder is not that she should do it well, but that she should do it at all." It may occasion some surprise to hear a poet speaking thus of a meter in 1841 and resolving to choose it for an original epic in 1845. Such is, however, the ease and the poet's conviction was strong enough to triumph over the fears of his best friends. One year later still he declares that same hexameter, which had earlier seemed to him as an oppressor of the language, to be a benefactor in disguise. "The English world," he says, "is not yet alive to the beauties of that meter."

What perhaps suggested to Longfellow that he was to accomplish to some extent at least what Clough and Southey had failed to accomplish? The years 1845, 1846, 1847 abound in instances that show him enthusiastically occupied with the possibilities of the hexameter in English. He talks hexameters with Felton on the street corner;

he reads a hexameter translation of Homer in *Blackwood*, and praises it; he ruins an evening with the *Vision of Judgement* and exclaims (yes, even our mild Longfellow!): "It is enough to damn the author and his hexameters forever!" Where may we look for the initial impulse of these enthusiasms? Perhaps in the reception accorded those first hexameters in the translation of Tegnér (which are by the way crude enough)? Hardly. The deed was not convincing. No one called it out and out a success; many said it was a failure. Allston wrote without enthusiasm; Prescott even with pessimism. Felton and Sumner had been so little convinced that they advised a different measure for *Evangeline*. Did an encouraging word come from any important authority? It did. That authority was in Germany, where the admissibility of the hexameter was established by *Hermann und Dorothea*.

On the seventeenth of September, 1842, Longfellow, then in Marienberg, wrote a short letter to Ferdinand Freiligrath, in which occurs a sentence seemingly without especial bearing, unless one happens to be looking for a solution that makes it significant. "Have you seen," he asks, "the *Magazin für ausländische Litteratur*? It has a paragraph on English hexameters, in which an extract is given from my translation of Tegnér." Amid his own doubts and those of his friends the poet found in the paragraph here referred to the unqualified approval of an influential magazine.

"Better than did Southey and Taylor, a modern American poet has succeeded in his attempts in the English hexameter. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, author of *Hyperion*, who has been frequently mentioned in these pages, has favored us, in his recently published *Ballads and Other Poems*, with a translation of the beautiful Swedish poem of Tegnér, the *Children of the Lord's Supper*. As is well known the Swedish tongue is able to reproduce the ancient measure with greater fidelity and fuller tones than even the German. Longfellow has endeavored to imitate the Swedish, and we consider that he has produced the best English hexameters in existence up to the present."

These words would not have been so significant had not the problem of the English hexameter been so long before the world of critics and poets. The former had asserted what the latter had failed to disprove, the impossibility of good hexameters in our language. Here was an excellent opportunity to confound the theories of critics and surpass the attempts of former poets. And the resulting hexameters in *Evangeline*, inevitably tiresome as they are, show a good proportion of the varieties of rhythmic modulation possible to that meter in English.

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¹ Adapted from a dissertation by the writer of this note, entitled: *Longfellow's Wechselbeziehungen zu der deutschen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1907.

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THE WORKS OF JEAN RENART, POET, AND THEIR RELATION TO GALERAN DE BRETAGNE. II.

The conviction that Jean Renart is the author of the three poems mentioned above springs from their correspondence of idea and purpose, the similarity of their versification, the close resemblance of some of their sentences, phrases and use of individual words. That is, the conviction rests on what might be termed positive testimony. Such testimony, however, might not be considered as wholly convincing. If any other kind of evidence is available it would be well to adduce it. In the case of Jean Renart this other evidence exists, negative evidence, to be sure, but of such a nature as to strengthen our faith in the positive. The poems of *Ombre*, *Eseoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole* are strikingly like one another in essential particulars. But there are two poems which belong to the same kind of literature, are contemporaneous perhaps with Jean Renart's works, yet in one or more of these essential features are clearly unlike them. These poems are *Guillaume de Palerne* and *Galeran de Bretagne*.

Guillaume de Palerne has come down to us in a single manuscript. It is one of two poems contained in that manuscript. The other is the poem of *Eseoufle*, which also is not preserved otherwise. Because of this close external union of two *romans d'aventure*, it was once supposed that they were the work of one author. A superficial examination, however, was sufficient to disprove this notion. A more careful scrutiny reveals their great dissimilarity. *Guillaume de Palerne* discourses on true love, its physical effects and its trials, quite after the manner of the older romantic school (1150-1180). It delights in monologs and formal speeches. It abounds in dialog. It uses that kind of repetition, by which the last hemistich of one couplet becomes the first hemistich of the next (ll. 1708, 1709 ; 6782, 6783), or by which both hemistiches are repeated in in-

verse order (ll. 5923, 5924). We have noted the subordination of the psychology of love to sociology in *Eseoufle*. Its author is equally guiltless of the mannerisms of *Guillaume de Palerne*. Then over against the many allusions of *Eseoufle* (and its fellows) to Medieval literature we can set but one reference in *Guillaume de Palerne*—an indefinite citation of Alexander's good sense. The versification of Renart's poems and *Guillaume de Palerne* is also quite unlike. For the 62 % of broken couplets in *Eseoufle* and the 3.5 % of three-line sentences which follow the break, *Guillaume de Palerne* offers 28 % and 23 % respectively. In phrase and expression there is no resemblance at all between the two poems.

The negative argument derived from *Guillaume de Palerne* is clear. He who runs may read. Not so with *Galeran de Bretagne*. For here we have the idea of *Eseoufle* and a part even of its plot: A girl, bereft of her lover, wanders away alone, reaches the house of a widow, is welcomed there, makes friends with the widow's daughter, and supports herself and her friend by her industry and accomplishments. This episode is a leading one in both poems. It does not appear in the *lai* of Marie de France, which *Galeran de Bretagne* closely imitates—the *lai* or its original—in other essential respects. There is some reason, therefore, for believing that this digression came to the author of *Galeran*, a certain Renaut, through the romance of *Eseoufle*.

Why could we not suppose that the author of the two poems is one and the same man and that Renaut is a wrong reading for Renart? The thought and purpose of the romances are similar. Both contain abundant allusions to Medieval literature. Some words, as *sidele*, for instance, have the same peculiar meaning in both. Nor is their versification widely apart. *Galeran* offers 48 % of broken couplets and 11 % of three-line sentences following the break, as contrasted with *Eseoufle's* 62 % (but also 58 % in *Guillaume de Dole*) and 3.5 % (also 7 % in *Guillaume de Dole*) respectively. *Galeran's* percentage of feminine

rimes is 48, compared with *Escoufle's* 45. The overflow verses in *Galeran* run as high as twenty-one in a thousand lines, or about the proportion that we found in *Ombre*. All these facts clearly point to the same school of poetic art, perhaps to the same period of that art's development, possibly even to the same poet.

But an intensive study of *Galeran de Bretagne* reveals important differences between it on the one hand and the works of Jean Renart on the other. *Galeran* lays especial weight on the love episodes, and makes them quite as prominent as its pictures of manners and society. In the treatment of its material it employs some of the leading characteristics of the older romantic school, particularly in its use of erotic monologues, where hero and heroine carry on mental debates with themselves, with questions and answers. One subtle notion of its author, the force of nature's voice in indicating relationships, is wholly lacking in Jean Renart. Furthermore, when we compare the part of the plot we have summarized with the same episodes in *Escoufle*, we are struck by the different ways of expressing the same idea. For example, both poems praise the piety of the heroine when thrown on her own resources, yet they are quite unlike in describing it:

Ja son vuel n'eüst esté preu
A sainte eglise por ouer.
Escoufle, 5504, 5505.
Ne se muct oncques de l'ostel
Fors quant elle va au moustier.
Galeran, 4303, 4304.

So the trades she exercises in self-support are the same, but they are defused in different terms, as:

A laver les chiés as haus homes. *Escoufle*, 5509.
Et des chiez laver pour maaïlle. *Galeran*, 3868.

Indeed, if we look to *Galeran* for the repetition of any phrase employed by Jean Renart, we find but one instance, and that instance in a passage which recalls, not the language of *Escoufle*, but of *Ombre*:

Il vos venroit mieus estre pris
As Turs et menés el Chaire!
Ombre, 242, 243.
Mieulx vous vauldroit estre outre mer
Et estre esclaves au Kahaire.
Galeran, 6383, 6384.

There remains, however, an interesting feature

of *Galeran* which reminds one of Jean Renart, a feature which is absent from *Escoufle* and *Ombre*, but which forms the chief characteristic of *Guillaume de Dole*. The heroine of *Galeran* is going to the wedding of her recreant lover, and as she rides she sings her sorrows:

Je vois as nocces mon ami;
Plus dolente de moi n'i va.
Galeran, 6987, 6988.

These lines rime with the verses on either side. They form the halves of two narrative couplets. Yet their burden, and the material fact that they occur elsewhere in a pastourelle,²⁰ show that here we have to do with a theme of popular poetry. And this is not the only place where the songs of the people seem to be echoed by the lines of *Galeran*.²¹

Now we know that the author of *Guillaume de Dole* lays formal claim (ll. 8-12) to a poetic invention by which the strophes of lyric poetry are mingled with narrative couplets. And, if we may believe him, *Guillaume de Dole* is the first poem to benefit by this invention. But what of the lyric strains in *Galeran*? An easy solution of the problem would be to admit Renart's claim, and date *Galeran* after *Guillaume de Dole*. Unfortunately, however, *Galeran* seems to offer the first draft of the idea, a draft which *Guillaume de Dole* has only improved upon. Another way of overcoming the difficulty would be to interpret Renart's words in a special sense, that *Guillaume de Dole* is the first poem in which lyric strophes are bodily introduced, not assimilated to the couplet, as in *Galeran*. Perhaps this explanation is the right one. It seems quite plausible. Still, whatever be the meaning we assign to the statement of Jean Renart, we cannot consider the fact to be other than significant that *Galeran de Bretagne*, after paralleling a leading episode of *Escoufle*, and using a phrase which, so far as we know, is peculiar to itself and *Ombre*, should proceed to approximate the distinguishing feature of *Guillaume de Dole*. A consideration of all these points taken together offers us three possible solutions: all four poems are the work of one man,

²⁰ Bartsch: *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourelle*, p. 214, no. 100, ll. 11, 12.

²¹ See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIII, cols. 350, 351.

or the author of *Galeran* knew two, if not three, of the poems of Renart, or Renart was acquainted with Renaut's *Galeran*.

The first solution is hardly tenable. The poems of *Ombre*, *Escoufle* and *Guillaume de Dole* agree with one another in many ways, particularly in sentences, phrases and expressions. They resemble *Galeran* only in their general spirit and versification, while the minor and more intimate likenesses are lacking, excepting in the case of one isolated expression. We could not, therefore, feel justified in writing Renaut Renart. The absence of these essential correspondences militates against it.

The second choice offered avoids this fundamental objection but raises another. From the comparison of one of the episodes and the phrase already referred to, it might seem that Renaut was acquainted with *Escoufle* and *Ombre*. It is not probable that he knew *Guillaume de Dole*, because of the timid manner in which he risks his citation from folk poetry. The example which *Guillaume de Dole* sets in this respect should have made Renaut much bolder. Still, there is good ground for believing that he followed Jean Renart's first two poems, particularly as the digression from the story of Marie's *lai* might have been suggested by the success of *Escoufle's* venture. But, as we have already said, the thought of *Galeran*, and some of its features of style, reveal a close connection with the sentiment and manner of the older romatic school. Now, *Escoufle* differs from that school in its accentuated tendency towards the description of customs and society and in its avoidance of amatory psychology. Judging, therefore, by the regular development of ideas in Medieval literature, *Galeran* is surely the earlier poem. This criterion, however, is not a reliable one, for in some quarters notions might still hold which had become obsolete in others.

The third choice offered is that Renart knew *Galeran de Bretagne* and was influenced by it in all three of his poems, an alternative which is preferable to the other, where Renaut is required to make excerpts from two works of the same author, one being of very slight significance. Against this more natural conclusion—that one poem was known to Renart rather than two (or three(?)) to Renaut—we set the unexplained

digression of *Galeran* from the plot of Marie's *lai*, and the statement of Renart in *Guillaume de Dole* that he has invented a new kind of composition in that poem. On the other hand, Renaut could have digressed from his model of his own accord, for the sake of variety, and from a desire not to be taken for a mere imitator. Also—and this is more convincing—the insertion of lyrics into *Guillaume de Dole* might have been suggested by their veiled introduction into *Galeran*. Their appearance as separate poems, which break up the continuity of the narrative couplets for the greater part, would thus have been prepared beforehand, and they would have found an audience already prejudiced to a certain extent in their favor. Our own opinion is that the arguments in favor of the priority of *Galeran* are somewhat stronger than the arguments against it. But, whatever an individual view may be, the facts seem to show a connection between *Galeran* on the one hand and *Escoufle* and *Ombre* on the other. These facts are not sufficient to justify a belief in the common authorship of the three poems, because they fail to include the vital characteristic of Jean Renart, which is the repetition of rimes, phrases and expressions. And it is this absence of proof of a common authorship, which furnishes us with the negative argument we have sought, and confirms our faith in the positive proofs of the literary solidarity of *Escoufle*, *Ombre* and *Guillaume de Dole*.

The date of *Galeran de Bretagne* has already been discussed in this journal.²² We are still inclined, after this more thorough study, to place it before the death of Arthur of Brittany (1203). Its ideas and manner would class it among the poems of transition, between the older group, which centered all its thought on the trials and rewards of true love, and the younger narratives of court life. *Galeran* still puts the love story first, but at the same time shows the growing fondness for the portrayal of contemporaneous manners. It would, therefore, follow *Guillaume de Palerne*, where the love story is predominant, and precede *Escoufle*, where the description of manners is emphasized. But leaving these particular comparisons aside, we know that poems of

²² Vol. XIII, col. 349.

divided interest do not appear before the last decade of the twelfth century. At the end of the century they are supplanted by the genuine tale of social customs or the narrative of adventure. Should *Galeran* be assigned to the years between 1192 and 1197, there is a strong probability that this time limit would include the date of its composition.

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HERODIAS THE WILD HUNTRESS IN THE LEGEND OF THE MIDDLE AGES. II.

In a pseudo-Augustinian treatise, *De fide et spe*, which dates back to the sixth century and is absolutely free from all influence of Germanic mythology, we find the legend of Diana, Herodias and Minerva the Wild Huntresses in a form almost identical with that in the Canon *Episcopi*. This offers a very strong argument against Jacob Grimm's theory that the legend of Herodias, the leader of the Furious Host, nay, all the horrible delusions of witchcraft which culminated in the "pious incineration" of hundred of thousands of wretched women have attained their full growth on the soil of Germanic mythology. The mythological conceptions of our forbears, as Grimm admits, know of no incarnate principle of Evil. This occasional remark of Jacob Grimm amounts to a complete refutation of his theory, for it is the personified principle of Evil, and nothing short of it, that is required in order to understand these dreadful delusions.

According to the ideas embodied in Germanic mythology, the practice of magic arts was no sin, no horrible transgression; nay, Wotan is praised as the source of all magic lore. No natural religion has ever reached the abstraction "absolute good" no more than "absolute Evil." Dissenting from Grimm's theory as to the origin of the Herodias legend, I, however, by no means intend to deny accretions from German mythology, particularly, that Herodias has traits in common with Holda or Bertha. This kind of syncretism rules supreme throughout the realm of mythology. It

is, for instance, a familiar fact that the Greeks and Romans obstinately insisted on identifying their own Gods with the Deities worshipped by the nations and tribes with whom they got in contact, or vice versa.

In the tenth century the wide spread attained by the Herodias legend is attested by Ratherius, bishop of Verona († 974), in his *Preloquia*. He gives expression to his deep indignation as follows: "What shall I say of those impious people who utterly forgetful of their immortal souls, do reverent homage to Herodiad, the murderess of Christ's precursor and Baptist, and acknowledge her as their sovereign, nay as their Goddess. In their lamentable demeritation, they claim that the third part of the world is subject to her sovereignty. As if this was a fit reward for the murder of the prophet. It clearly appears that the demons have their hand in the matter, who by their hellish prestiges delude the unhappy women, and sometimes even men, who deserve more severe censure than the women."

The pious bishop very naturally sees in the Herodias an instrument sent forth from out the gates of hell to work the destruction of Christian souls. "The third part of the world" which popular fancy awarded to Herodias in the tenth century, admits of different interpretation. It is, however, clear that a spiritual kingdom is understood. Later on, we shall find this third part of the world defined as the unbaptized children and elves, gnomes, beings whom the people believed to be in possession of immortal souls and capable of salvation.

A very interesting testimony concerning our legend in the twelfth century is found in the second book of the *Polyeraticus* of John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres († 1182). This learned and truly upright man was in many respects ahead of his time; but Jules Baissac who quotes the passage of the *Polyeraticus* on page 286 of his work, does, in my opinion, a very poor service to the bishop, by intimating that he was too much enlightened to believe in the reality of the Devil. Baissac seems entirely to forget that the combat against the infernal powers was by all ecclesiastic authorities considered the true object of the church. He has forgotten his own remark on page 48:

"Le diable n'est pas tout le christianisme,

comme l'a cru, ou du moins, comme l'a dit Voltaire ; mais il en est partie intégrante, essentielle même. Dieu et le Diable, ainsi que s'exprime très justement Nicole, c'est toute la religion."

The passage in the *Polyeraticus* reads, as follows : "The Evil Spirit, with the permission of God has pushed so far the license of his malice that some people miserably and falsely attribute external reality to what happens only in their minds, on account of their perverted imagination. Thus such lamentably deluded persons assert and affirm, that a certain Noctiluca (an epithet of Diana) or Herodiad, as sovereign queen of the Night, convoques nightly assemblies, where great and magnificent banquets are served. Here, as they claim, all kinds of exercises take place, and some are punished, others rewarded according to their merits. They, moreover, believe that children at those feasts are sacrificed to the lamies, are cut into pieces and eagerly devoured, later they are thrown up and, thanks to the kindness of the sovereign queen, again restored to life and transferred to their cradles. Who can be blind enough not to see that all this is nothing but a malicious illusion wrought by the demons? We must not overlook the fact that those to whom such monstrosities happen, are mostly poor women or ignorant and stupid men. The best remedy against this malady is to hold on firmly to Faith and to lend no ear to such lies and not to pay much attention to such follies." It would have been a good thing for European civilization if this wise word of the bishop had been borne in mind by the theologians of the following centuries. In the report of John of Salisbury there is a feature which attained an awful celebrity in the trials of witches, to wit the killing and devouring of children in honour of Herodias, the leader of the roaming witches.

From a close contemporary of Thomas Aquinas, Angerius II, Episcopus Conseranus, we have a statement of the popular superstition of the nightly roamings, whercin Herodias is associated with Diana and Bensozia. He tells us like John of Salisbury : "This jaunt is a delusion of the Devil." He seems to have in mind the same dream-like change or amalgamation of personality. Ducange, *Lexicon mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, admits his absolute ignorance of the etymology of

the name. It is, however, probably a corruption from *bona socia*, "good companion." The name expresses the kindly temper of the mythological lady, who thus seems to be a very near relation of the fairy Abundia who plays such a prominent part in the *Roman de la Rose*.

Gulielmus Alvernus (Guillaume d'Auvergne), bishop of Paris († 1248), in the second part of his treatise *De Universo*, chapter 12, complains of the widely spread superstition concerning Domina Satia or Abundia and the *bonae mulieres*. He gives the etymology of these names in the following sentence : "... et vocant eam Satiam a satietate et Dominam Abuudiam pro abundantia quam eam praestare dicunt domibus quas frequentaverit." It hardly requires a remark that he sees herein the prestiges of the Evil One. Dame Abonde translated into mythological German would be *Vrowe Holda*. We use in modern German the term "In Hülle und Fülle." In this alliterative combination Hülle, probably points back to Holda. This remark is no digression, for in the most interesting presentation of the Herodias legend in the middle ages, Herodias is expressly identified with Pharaildis, i. e., *Frau Hilda*.

Thus we come to the second point, the love element in the Herodias legend. The idea of Herodias, or Salome being in love with the preacher in the Desert, "who had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins ; and his meat was locusts and wild honey," as presented in Heine's *Atta Troll*, Sudermann's *Johannes* and Oscar Wilde's *Salome*, is liable to impress, even a man of considerable critical faculty, as distinctly modern, romantic, perverted, etc. The love element, however, has its origin in the twelfth century and was introduced by the author of *Reinardus* (or rather *Isengrimus*, compare the edition by F. Voigt, Halle, 1884), a satirical poem which holds up to ridicule the arrogance, ignorance and greediness of the monks and the exaggerated asceticism of Clugny and Citeaux. Gervinus rightly praises the elegant versification in elegiac metre, but charges the author with low motives ; he has, however, nothing to say about the "Herodias episode." Monc, who in 1836 published the *Reinardus* with the assistance of Jacob Grimm, marks this episode by brackets as

an interpolation, it seems to me without sufficient reason; the propensity for episodes being the most conspicuous feature of the author. The question concerning the authenticity of this episode is, however, of no great importance for our purpose, as the approximate date is not involved in doubt.

In the version of the author of the *Reinardus* or *Isengrimus*, Herodias, the daughter, bears no moral responsibility for the murder of John the Baptist. The princess, a charming and innocent maiden, was deeply impressed by John the Baptist and earnestly desired to be united to him in true love. King Herod, considering such an alliance a tarnish on the fair escutcheon of his royal house, resorted to the execution of the Saint; especially because the love-lorn princess had taken a solemn oath that she would become no other man's spouse. After the execution of her beloved John the Baptist, the distracted princess gave order to bring his head to her. While she tearfully tries to clasp the bleeding head of the beloved man and to kiss his lips, the head of the irate Saint drew back and began to blow hard at her. It then took its way through the *impluvium* whirling the unhappy girl into the air. The sentimental poet is rather enraged against John the Baptist, whose persecution of the girl he had never loved, seems to him wanton cruelty; he observes rather cynically that the Saints do whatsoever they please. Thus Herodias is not allowed to die, she is condemned to eternal suffering and unrest. "Only from midnight till the first cock-crow she sits on oaks and hazeltrees; the rest of her time she roams through the air followed by an innumerable retinue, to wit, the third part of the world. Now she is known as Pharaïldis, she who was formerly Herodias the incomparable dancer." None tried to explain the new name of Herodias by the life of a saint of that name in Flanders; but as there is not the slightest connection between such a saint, whatever his merits may have been, and Herodias-Pharaïldis, the attempted explanation has no value. Here we have to do with an accretion from Teutonic mythology as mentioned above. At the hands of no other poet Salome received such tenderly reverential treatment; Oscar Wilde makes her a monster of iniquity. She is finally killed by order of the tyrant Herod, who is shocked by her diabolical wickedness.

Heinrich Heine says concerning Herodias (Salome's mother):

Und das dritte Frauenbild,
Das dein Herz so tief bewegte,
War es eine Teufelin,
Wie die andern zwei Gestalten?
Ob's ein Teufel oder Engel,
Weiss ich nicht. Genau bei Weibern
Weiss man niemals wo der Engel
Aufhört und der Teufel anfängt.

What Heine says about women generally, applies to all mythological personalities; there is a truly Heraclitic evolution "upwards and downwards" about them. There is no conception of absolute good or absolute evil in popular mythology. Moncure D. Conway, in his instructive book, *Demonology and Devil Lore*, has given a strong array of instances for this evolution from comparatively good deities to comparatively bad ones and vice versa.

In concluding this article, I mention only as a curiosity the etymology—quoted in Ducange—by Gobelinus Decanus Bilefeldensis († 1418), who reduces the legend of Herodias to a combination and corruption of the two words Hera and Diana.

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SIR THOPAS AND SIR GUY. II.

Passing from the story of the two poems to their form, we again find Chaucer's poem strongly suggestive of *Sir Guy*. At first sight, the comparison is disappointing for the Auchinleck *Guy* does not begin in the tail-rhyme strophe which Chaucer uses. This is important, because it is evident that much of the point of the parody lies in the use of this measure. Indeed, it seems the chief point in common among the "romances of prys," so far as we know them.²⁷ It is gratifying, therefore, to find that the translator of *Guy* adopts this measure at about line 7300, where he makes

²⁷ To this *Ypotis* is an exception, as it is in couplet form. This, together with the absence of any phrases parallel to Chaucer's, makes one a little suspicious that it is not this particular poem to which he refers.

a new beginning.²⁸ It is after this point that we find more frequent suggestions of Chaucer's poem.

It is in comparing the phraseology of the two poems that the most suggestive resemblances appear. Yet since the point of *Sir Thopas* consists in using the most familiar romance-phrases—of which it is a perfect mosaic—and since *Sir Guy* is specially conventional in its wording, it would seem that resemblance was inevitable and therefore of no significance. When we find, however, that in the two hundred lines of *Sir Thopas*, there occur about fifty phrases or words which are in *Sir Guy*, and only eighteen which are in *Sir Bevis*—next in resemblance—it seems fair to take account of them.²⁹ These fifty phrases, moreover, are special favorites with the translator of *Guy*, as he uses each more than once, some, over and over. It is just such repetitions in the subject, that the writer of a parody loves to seize upon. For instance, over forty times in *Sir Guy* a knight comes "pricking." It is surely not by accident that Chaucer repeats the word eight times in eighty-four lines.³⁰ It is common in other romances, but in none have I found it so prominent. The same is true of "glod," "of prys," "verrament" and many others, which Chaucer uses here but not elsewhere. Five times in *Sir Guy* appears the oath "by Termagaunt," but nowhere in Chaucer except in *Sir Thopas*.³¹ One set of phrases, even more prominent in *Guy* than in most romances—the formulas of story-telling—is strongly emphasized in *Sir Thopas*. The translator is fond of insisting upon the truth of his tale, specially when inspiration fails, and "for sope to say" conveniently fills out a line. Chaucer does not always despise this expedient in serious work, but in *Sir Thopas* he evidently employs it for reminiscent effect.

²⁸ Zupitza counts the couplet portion and that in the tail-rhyme strophe as two separate versions (edition from Camb. ms., E. E. T. S., London, 1875-76, p. v). In some comparison of the vocabulary, word by word, I find nothing to indicate a difference in date or in translators.

²⁹ See appended table of correspondences of phrase.

³⁰ It should perhaps be noted that he uses "priked" three times in twenty-four lines in the *Prologue to the Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, ll. 8 ff., with no apparent thought of parody.

³¹ *Sir Thopas*, l. 99.

Some of his phrases are identical with those of *Sir Guy*,³² as,

For sope y ȝow telle may.

One passage seems a direct imitation. The lines³³

For in that contree was ther noon
That to him dorste ryde or goon
Neither wyf ne childe,

might well be modelled on these from *Sir Guy*,³⁴

In þis world is man non
þat oȝaines him, durst gon
Herl, baroun no knyȝt.³⁵

One other phrase, extremely common in *Sir Guy*, Chaucer uses in a way which is interesting, though it may indicate nothing. Over and over again, *Guy*, or some one near him, says, "god y the biteche" or some variant. Generally it is a sincere blessing, but once we find an indignant

"þe deuel biteche ich gon ichon."³⁶

Chaucer does not use it in any of his tales as if it were a common curse, nor does he introduce it into *Sir Thopas*. In the poet's comment, however, upon the tale, he exclaims,³⁷

Now swiche a rym the deuel I biteche.

May it not well be another echo of the old romance?

I have tried to show that both in the incidents and style of *Sir Thopas* there are enough resemblances to *Guy of Warwick* to suggest a strong

³² See appended table.

³³ *Sir Thopas*, ll. 93 ff.

³⁴ *Guy of Warwick*, 148 : 7 ff.

³⁵ There are a few passages apparently taken directly out of other romances, as,—

Yet listeth, lordes, to my tale
Merier than the nightingale
For now I wol yow rounce.

Sir Thopas, 122 ff.

and

Lordinges, herkneþ to me tale!
Is merier þan þe nytingale
þat y schel singe;
Of a knyȝt ich wile ȝow rounce.

Bevis of Hampton, l. 1 ff.

"a palpable imitation," (Skeat's note on passage in *Sir Thopas* in his *Chaucer*, v, 193); cf. also *Sir Thopas*, 177 ff. with *Sir Degrevant*, 353 f., ed. Halliwell, *Thornton Romances*, p. 177 ff.

³⁶ *Guy of Warwick*, l. 5834.

³⁷ *Prologue to Melibeus*, l. 6. Skeat's *Chaucer*, iv, p. 197.

probability that there is a closer connection between the two than between *Sir Thopas* and any other known romance. Let me, in conclusion, guard against misunderstanding. I do not believe that *Sir Thopas* is a parody of *Guy of Warwick*, nor of any other single tale. In its use of the jingling tail-rhyme strophe, and its conventional material and phraseology, it parodies a certain type of romance, abundant and popular. To appreciate its point and brilliant humor, one must be very familiar with this type, but it is dangerous work to try to identify any special prototype by means of phrases. Arguments based upon such resemblances are acknowledged to be misleading and often worthless. Yet is it impossible that Chaucer, while parodying the type, may have had specially in mind a romance with which he was so familiar that its incidents and words came first to his mind? It is such a place I would claim for *Guy of Warwick*. Any justification of this opinion must come from the cumulative evidence of many minor points of agreement such as I have tried in this paper to establish. It is not, I believe, by accident that in no other known romance are there one-third as many such resemblances to *Sir Thopas* as in *Guy of Warwick*.

CORRESPONDING PHRASES IN *Sir Thopas* AND
Guy of Warwick.³⁸

<i>Sir Thopas</i> .	<i>Guy of Warwick</i> .
1. Listeth, lordes	Lordinges, he seyde, herkenenow. l. 5587. Lordinges, listenen to me now. l. 2449f.
1. in good entent	with gode entent. ll. 1761, 2134, 3818.
2. And I wol telle ver- rayment	verrament (passim.)
4. Al of a knyght was fair and gent.	Out of the lystys rode a knyght That was feyre, gent and wyght 567f. gent e bel (Fr. vers. Corp. Ch. ms.).
5. In bataille and in tourneyment	per ben þe iustes & þe tur- nament 1266. Of turnement and bitayle 466.

³⁸ Line references are to Zupitza's edition of the Auchinleck ms., E. E. T. S., London, 1883.

7. Y. born he was in fer contrec.	Ich was y. born in that cuntre 938, 1746. Icham a man of fer cuntre. 170, 7. That come oute of farre contre 7342 (Caius). When þon sit in fer cuntre 33, 7. A kniȝt icbain of fer cuntre 1635. A man icham of fer cuntre 6117.
11. And lord he was of contree	All that contree tho was mys 52 (Caius). (sires ert de tuit le pais).
13. Sir Thopas wex a doghty swayn	Erl, baroun, sweyn & grone 234. Ne was þer noȝer sweyn no knaue 721.
18. He hadde a semely nose.	Browes bente and nose well- sittyng 68 (Caius).
19. His heer, his berd was lyk saffroun.	His here þat was ȝalu and briȝt. 1107.
23. His robe was of cic- latoun	Gode cloþes of sikelatoun & Alisaundrinis 2835.
26 ff. He coude hunt at wilde deer, And ryde an hawk- ing for rivoer With grey goshaue ou honde.	To pleyn hem þai went by riuer, þat of wilde foule ful were To her wille an hunting hij gos 'To chase the hert & þe ros. 2797 ff. Gon he wil to the riuer Him to solas & play þer : : : : : : To þe river þai ben y. gon Where foules were mani on 3153 ff. In þat on half ben þe riuer In þat oper half forest wiȝ wilde dere 6341 f. Gy a forster fader hadde þat him lerd & him radde Of wodes & river & oper game. 169 ff.
31 ff. Ful many a mayde, bright in bour The moorne for him, par amour, Whan hem were bet to slepe.	þat day Gij dede his miȝt To serve þritti maidens briȝt All an-amoured on him þai were, & loved Gij for his fin chere þer-of no ȝaf he riȝt nouȝt 237 ff.
37 f. And so bifel upon a day	As of an Erle y shall yow telle 21.

- For sothe as I yow telle may
124. For now, I wol yow rounne
179. To telle it wol I fonde.
185. Amon I wol yow telle
40. He worth upon his stede grey
- 43 ff. He priketh through a fair forest,
✓ Ther-inne is many a wilde best
Ye bothe hukke & hare
- 61 f. Sir Thopas fil in lovelonginge
Al whan he herde the thrustel singe.
63. And priked as he were wood
85. By dale and eek by donne.
86. Into his sadel he elamb anoon
✓
93. For in that contree was ther noon
That to him dorste ryde or goon
Neither wyf ne childe
✓
98. A perilous man of dede
- All y kanne tell yow that 30.
All y kanne tell yow as it ys 32.
That y yow telle, soþe it is 62.
For soþe y 3ou telle may 7292.
Alle for soþe y telle it to þe 3398.
Alle for soþe y yow telle 3440.
For soþe y telle þe 79, 9.
As y { þe 152, 3,
 3e telle may 222, 3
Opon a mule sehe warþ anon 4723.
Nim þe stede & worþ þeron 6986.
þai eumen into a fair forest þer þai fond a bore, a wilde best. 6719 f.
- So michel he herd þe foules sing,
þat him þouȝt he was in gret longing. 4519 f.
& priked riȝt as he wer wode 181, 10, 3021.
Over þe dounes & þe valeys 3876.
Over þe dounes & þe dales snelle 4038.
Barfot by down & dale 29, 9, 42, 8.
On hors he lepe wiþ-uten stirop 3864.
Wiþ-uten stirop he lepe þer-on 5757.
Gij lepe on a mule ambling 7119.
In all England ne was ther none
That durstein wrath ayenste hym goon 46 f.
In þis world is man non þat ogaines him durst gon
Herl, beroun, ne knyȝt. 148, 7 ff.
þat douhti man of dede 10, 6 and 12.
þat douhti beþ of dede 31, 3.
þat douhti were of dede 74, 6.
99. hy Termagaunt
104. With harpe and pyþe and simphonye.
106. al-so mote I thee
113. Shal I pereen, if I may
129. To make him hothe game and glee
152. And over that a fyn hauberk
Was al y-wrought of Jewes werk
Ful strong it was of plate
- 158 ff. His sheeld was al of gold so reed
And ther-in was a bores heed
A charboele bisyde
163. Bityde what hityde
171. That bodeth werre and no-thing pees.
34. But he was chast and no lechour.
- 173 ff. His stede was al dappel-grey
It gooth an ambel in the way
Ful softly and rounde
- Bi Termagaunt & bi Mahoun. þe swete 3536, 3701.
Mynstrels many þere were. Mo never at one fest were. þere was harp and tympanie
Feþele, beme and cymphanie. Fragment of *Guy* in Sloane ms.
Mote I þe 110, 2, 116, 2.
þat he wald been awreke þat day
Of Gij of Warwike ȝif he may 1276.
ȝif he may, to deþ he wille him do. 3090.
Sir Gij answer[d]. ȝif I mai
þer-of him worth his fille to-day, 5057.
I schel the sle hir ȝif I mai 2355.
Wiþ joye & mirþe, gamen & gle 4930.
þe hauberk he hadde was reuis (?)
þat was king Clarel, y-wis In Jerusalem when he was þare 91, 4.
On he had a good haw herke
Hit was of a full good werke In fer lond was hit wrought. 8093 (Caius.)
An helme he hadde
In þe frunt stode a charhukel ston
As briȝt as ani sonne it schon 249, 7 ff.
Of charbukel þe pomel 167, 3.
What so betide 561.
þat liveþ in joie and nouȝt in care 1034.
þat was meeche & noȝing lite 41, 2.
Sori he was & no-ȝing glad 1546.
Now cometh Gȝ soft ride-ing
Opon a mulet ambling. ✓ 1328 f.
Gȝ lepe on a mule ambling ✓ 7119.

- 180 ff. Now hold your mouth par char-
itee
Bothe knyght and
lady free.
And herkneth to
my spelle.
Listenē now & sitte stille
3997.
Of Gyes felawes y wille
yow telle
So y finde in my spelle
4792 f.
Now wende we oȝain to our
spelle 4819.
bat ich ne can be noumbre
telle
Noiȝer in rime no in spelle
3609 f.
186. romances of pry. of prys (passim).
190. But Sir Thopas, he Of all faire she was the
berceth the flour floure 101.
Of royal chivalry. be floure of knyȝtes is sleyn
his day 1560.
In warld ȝai bere be flour
67, 12.
Cheualrie 1976, 2921.
192. His gode stede al he Everiche of ous his stede
bistrood, bistrode
& riden ous forȝ wiȝouten
abode 4659 f.
His gode stede he bi-strood
6411.
193. And forth upon his glod (Passim).
way he glod.
206. So worthy under Ded wounded under wede
wede. 53, 6.
bat worȝly were in wede
10, 9, 18, 3.

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EIN UNVERSTANDENER AHD. SPOTTVERS.

Nicht unbekannt aber wenig beachtet ist ein ahd. vers geblieben, der im *codex Sangall.* 105, S. 204 überliefert ist. Zuerst von Hattemer gedruckt (dessen lesung jedoch fehlerhaft war), hat die zeile meines wissens nur durch Müllenhoff (*zs.* 18, 261) und Koegel (*lit. gesch.*, 1, 2, 165) eine erörterung erfahren. Ersterer, der auf die handschriftliche überlieferung wieder zurückging, stellt als richtige lesung folgendes fest:

Churo comsic herenlant aller oter (1) estilant.

Da diese worte von M. als "federgekritzel" bezeichnet sind, könnte eine auslegung von vorn

herein als aussichtslos erscheinen, sprächen nicht zwei erwägungen dafür, dass der schreiber in der tat etwas vernünftiges im sinne hatte. Zunächst stehen in dem codex kurz vorher (S. 202) von derselben hand geschrieben die worte:

h. ro comsic herrelant.

Offenbar war der schreiber mit diesem beginnen unzufrieden, da das geschriebene die worte, wie sie ihm im ohre klangen, nicht wiedergab. Da er nun einen zweiten und zwar glücklicheren ansatz macht, können wir getrost den schluss ziehen, dass es dem manne ohne zweifel darum zu tun war, einen ihm bekannten oder von ihm verfassten vers richtig aufzuschreiben. Zweitens, was den rhythmus anlangt, ist der vers über alle kritik erhaben. Hebung und senkung folgen einander regelrecht und zwar ohne auftakt oder auflösung. Die beiden halbzeilen sind durch cäsura getrennt und durch reim gebunden. Dass der dichter (wenn wir den unbekannten mit diesem titel beehren dürfen) einen formell so vollkommenen vers ohne rechten inneren sinn verfasst hätte will niemandem einleuchten. Eine weitere frage, auf die man gern eine antwort hätte, ehe man sich an eine auslegung wagt, ist die. Ist diese zeile bloss der anfang eines längeren liedes, bz. gedichtes oder ist sie als geschlossenes ganzes zu betrachten? Letzteres möchte ich bejahen. Wol finden wir in der altgerman. literatur bruchstücke genug, wo der schreiber wegen fehlenden raumes schluss machen muss, ehe er das ende erreicht hat. Mir ist aber kein fall bekannt, wo man bloss eine zeile eines längeren gedichts geschrieben hätte—und das zweimal—um dann ohne sichtbaren grund alles weitere unterbleiben zu lassen.

Ohne auf M.'s ausführungen einzugehen, die jeder leicht für sich nachschlagen kann, begnüge ich mich damit, sein endresultat zu geben:

"Küre (ein in bezug auf speisen wälderischer) kam sich her ins land, aller schätze leisteland (ein land, welches leistet)."

Hierzu bemerkt Koegel: "was M. über die zweite halbzeile vorträgt befriedigt wenig." Und zu dieser unbefriedigenden erklärung zu gelangen, muss M. verschiedene bedenckliche schwierigkeiten, die er freilich selber nicht gering schätzt, über den haufen werfen. Aus M.'s schlussworten: "aber wer besseres weiss, halte damit nicht zurück"

erhellte, dass er seiner eigenen auslegung keinen hohen wert beimisst. Was K. beiträgt, erscheint in der form einer frage und lautet: "Sollten nicht auch *aller* = *alaheri* und *öter* = *otheri* so gut wie *lestilant* appellativisch gebrauchte eigennamen sein mit sarkastischem sinne, ähnlich wie *rieholf*, *bitterolf*, *triegolf*, *wanolf* (Gramm. 2, 314 N. A.)?" Darauf können wir sicher neu antworten. Wenn wir zugeben sollten, dass *aller* *oter* und *lestiland* ursprünglich eigen- bz. beinamen gewesen sein können, müsste zu der zeit, wo **alaheri* zu *aller* geworden war, schon längst jede spur eines sich daran kuüpfenden sarkasmus verschwunden sein. Übrigens könnte man schwermlich einen fall anführen, wo einem manne aus ahd. zeit mehr als ein neckname beigelegt wurde.

Gegen beide auslegungen des verses könnte man feruer geltend machen, dass sie wenig zusammenhang zwischen den beiden verschälften herstellen.

Wenu wir mit K. *aller oter* und *lestilant* für appellativa halten sollten, so träte die eigentliche aussage des verses, dass nämlich Churo hierher ins land kam, sehr an bedeutung zurück, indem sie nur ein dürftiges bindeglied zwischen dem von dem dichter verspotteten und seinen epitheta abgäbe. Nach M. soll der Churo bloss deswegen ins land gekommen sein, weil er da vermuthlich köstlichere leckerbissen zu bekommen hoffte als daheim. Aber da müsste doch, abgesehen von der inneren unwahrscheinlichkeit der sache, die zweite hälfte des verses in irgend welchem causalen zusammenhang zur erstereu stehen, was auf keine weise ausgedeutet ist.

Ausser der form des namens Churo haben weder M. noch K. gründe dafür angeführt, warum sie die zeile für einen spottvers hielten. Und das ist wol auch überflüssig. Jedenfalls stehe ich nicht an, den beiden gelehrten darin recht zu geben, wenn ich auch nichts weiteres darüber zu sagen wüsste. Sie "klingt" eben spöttisch, nicht etwa episch, lyrisch oder historisch.

Indem ich den vers von neuem zu erklären versuche, gehe ich von dem namen Churo aus. Schon M. bemerkt: "Churo ist kein rechter name" und weist, wie auch K., auf den vollnamen Churwald hin (Piper, *Lib. Confrat.*, 2, 234, 34). Die entstehung des verses stelle ich mir nun folgendermassen vor, ohne natürlich gleiche glaubwürdigkeit für alle nebumstände wie für die hauptmomente zu beanspruchen.

Ein klosterschüler in St. Gallen, der zugleich dichter und schreiber des verses war (denn eines so ephemerem und inhaltsleeren produktes wird sich wol kaum ein anderer angenommen haben), ist durch die grammatisch-lexicallischen übungen im schulzimmer auf das vergnügen des etymologisierens geführt worden. Churwald, der name eines mitschülers oder sonstigen angehörigen des klostere, bietet ihm für die ausübung seiner neugelernten kunst erwünschte gelegenheit. Der vers, den er darauf macht, dient also bloss dazu, die etymologische bedeutung des namens ins licht zu setzen und lautet:

Churo com sic her enlant allero terrestrilant(e)

Hierbei gewinnt die scheinbar wenig sagende äusserung, dass Churo hierher ins land kam, sehr an bedeutung, denn der gedankengang war:

Churo (obwol "fremder," ahd. *walh*, *walah*) ist hierher in dieses land gekommen von allen weltlanden (in die er hätte gehen können)! Unter die einwände, die man gegen diese auslegung vorbringen könnte, kann jedenfalls die worttrennung nicht gerechnet werden. Sicherlich wird mau weder *oter* noch *lestilant* je erklären können, weil es im ahd. keine solchen wörter gegeben hat. Die worttrennung des schreibers ist offenbar nicht dem sinne sondern dem rhythmus zu liebe geschehen. Und von diesem gesichtspunkte aus ist sie ganz richtig. Jedes glied des verses erscheint als zwei- bz. dreisilbig, weil hebung und senkung zusammen, jede einsilbig, den takt ausmachen. Daher:

Churo, comsic, aller, oter
herenlant, lestilant.

Die beiden letzten erscheinen als dreisilbig, weil der dichter die darauf folgende pause nicht als einen teil des rhythmus erkannte, wenn er es auch wol empfunden hat. Daher schliesst er das rhythmisch allein stehende *lant* in beiden verschälften an das vorhergehende.

Auch darf es nicht befremden, dass ein klosterschüler des 11. jahrhunderts ein lateinisches wort unter sein deutsch einmischte. Mau denkt sofort an die schriften Notkers. Und Notker kann sehr wol sein lehrer gewesen sein. Jedenfalls hat der jüngling aus dem munde des *magister scholarum*, wer es auch gewesen sein mag, abwechselnd deutsch und latein gehört. Auch ist es leicht erklärlich, wie der ungeübte schreiber *terresti* für

terrestri schreibt. In der zweiten verschäfte kommen die liquiden *l* und *r* sieben mal vor. Kein wunder, dass eines unterblieben ist, zumal da der junge gelehrte sein latein eher durchs ohr als durch das auge lernte, wobei er das dritte *r* in *terrestri* wol noch nie richtig gehört hatte. Was das anlautende *l* von *lestilant* anlangt, genügt es auf M.'s beschreibung der überlieferung hinzuweisen: "das *estilant* ist sicher, sicher ist aber auch, dass noch ein buchstabe vorhergieng, wahrscheinlich *l* oder *eu* ähnlicher; er ist undeutlich." Daraus können wir schliessen, dass der betreffende buchstabe nur einen senkrechten strich hatte und nicht etwa ein *m*, *n*, *d* oder ähnlicher war. Sehr leicht könnte man ein *l* für ein *r* verlesen, wenn der oben nach rechts biegende strich des *r* verwischt und undeutlich geworden war.

Der grund, warum der dichter *terrestrilant* anstatt *terrestrium lant* schrieb ist leicht einzusehen. Er dachte eben deutsch, während er ein lateinisches wort gebrauchte. Da dasselbe gelegentlich keinem geringeren als dem *magister* Notker selber passierte, um von anderen beispielen zu schweigen, brauchen wir uns darüber nicht zu verwundern.

Im sinne hatte er wol ein compositum wie **werklant*, *erdrih*, das aber wegen des rhythmus oder aber des reimes nicht hineinpassen wollte.

Für das lateinische besass er fühlung genug, ein **terralant* oder dergleichen zu vermeiden und verfiel endlich auf *terrestrilant*, welches alle bedingungen erfüllte und wogegen sich sein deutschlateinisches sprachgefühl nicht sträubte.

Indem M. *oter* als **otiro* auffasst, bemerkt er: "da ferner *Ezzo*, *Otloh*, *Williram* verkürzungen wie *aller* von *allero* auch vor consonanten zulassen so kann *otir* für *otiro* nicht befremden." Noch weniger das fehlen eines endungsvocals *e* oder *o* des gen. pl. bei *terrestrilant*. Es ist eben dem reimzwang zuzuschreiben.

Zum schluss verweise ich auf die bemerkung Notkers zu Psalm 68, 13 "so tuont noh kenuoge, singent fone demo, der in iro unreht weret." Diese worte deutet Steinmeyer und auch Koegel gewiss mit recht dahin, dass der spottvers im 11. jahrhundert noch immer beliebt war.

Und nicht am wenigsten, möchte ich glauben, unter den jungen leuten im schulzimmer.

BROWNING'S DRAMATIC MONOLOGS.

The poetic form which we call the dramatic monolog has not yet been made the subject of a thorough investigation. Such an investigation would trace the development of the dramatic monolog from the beginnings of literature, making clear its relations to other forms, and would evidently involve no little labor.¹ What here follows is intended merely to suggest certain facts about the monologs of Robert Browning, who, as everyone knows, was the first to bring the form into distinct prominence, gave it greatly increased significance, and in it achieved his most conspicuous successes.

It does not appear that Browning himself used the term "dramatic monolog," though he did use the word "dramatic" (or "Dramatis") in the titles of five out of his ten independent collections of short poems. On examination, his dramatic monolog is found to be represented as a literal transcript of words spoken, written, or thought at some definite time by some person who may be either historical or imaginary. This is ordinarily true of the whole poem from the first word to the last, but in a few cases there is a brief introductory or concluding descriptive or narrative paragraph supplied by Browning himself or by some other person not the monologist. The poem presents vividly a scene or action of external crisis or of moral significance or a problem of moral significance, and is generally devoted also with equal or greater directness to the analysis or delineation of one or more characters or moods. The situation, that is, as hardly needs to be said, is used to re-

¹ Note here that it is in some respects arbitrary to distinguish the separate monolog and soliloquy from those which occur frequently in composite poems and in plays (cf. particularly Browning's own *Paracelsus*, which is somewhere between a play and a series of monologs). Professor Kittredge suggests the connection with autobiographical speeches like those in the *Mirror for Magistrates* and some of the later prologs in the *Canterbury Tales*, for example, that of the Pardoner. The latter is partly modelled on the speech of Fals-Semhant in the *Romanse of the Rose* (which speech, because of interruptions, is not formally in the strictest sense a monolog), and indeed the harangue put by the poet with satirical intent into the mouth of one of his characters may perhaps be called a distinct poetical type.

veal the character. Most frequently the scene, or problem, and principal character are those immediate in the poem—that is, we hear the character who is being analyzed (by Browning) speaking in person, often in the significant scene itself. Sometimes, however, the method is in one degree or another less direct—the speaker himself analyzes a problem not mainly relating to himself, analyzes another character, or narrates the story of the significant action. But in the latter case the speaker is generally represented as having been one of the chief participants, and in either case his own character or mood is seldom of secondary interest. In the monologs of most distinctive types there is a listener (or listeners), and theoretically poems in which this is not true, soliloquies that is, are not dramatic monologs. (At least, I suppose this to be the general opinion.) Practically, however, the two forms shade into each other by imperceptible gradations, and in Browning's poetry, certainly, the impossibility of distinguishing them sharply must become evident to any investigator. A lyrical element is often present in the monologs, but obviously poems in which Browning in his person, addressing either the reader or one of his own friends, voices his own emotions or opinions, are not dramatic monologs. For example, *One Word More* is clearly a subjective lyric, and *La Saisiaz* and the first part of *Red Cotton N. C. C.* are more subjective than dramatic. On the other hand, it is scarcely possible to exclude from the category certain non-lyrical poems, at least the *Parleyings*, in which Browning is the speaker. The line of distinction here is indefinite. Sometimes, again, a poem—such as *Old Pictures*—affords no conclusive indication whether it is supposed to be uttered by Browning or by some imaginary person. In these cases a classifier must exercise his individual judgment.

The following grouping of Browning's dramatic monologs seems to me defensible, though like all such attempts it is open to various objections, general and particular. Some of the poems might with equal reason be assigned to either of two, or more, groups; but none which is in all respects a unit is here named more than once. The order of the poems in each group or sub-group is chronological. Some of the titles are abbreviated.

I. The most typical dramatic monologs. They

introduce the reader to the scene of the action or significant conversation itself. There is a listener (or listeners), who is personally addressed and ordinarily clearly visualized and who sometimes interrupts the speaker by observations or questions, which are not directly introduced into the poem (if they were, it would be a dialog), but which the speaker's own words plainly indicate and sometimes repeat. These poems do not consist of mere expressions of love, and in some of them vigorous action is implied. *Pauline. My Last Duchess. In a Gondola. The Laboratory. The Bishop Orders his Tomb. The Englishman in Italy* (unique in being primarily descriptive). *Easter-Day. Fra Lippo Lippi. A Toccata of Galuppi.* (In this poem and the next the speaker addresses the dead musician, but the latter's spirit may be said to be effectively present in his music.) *Master Hugues. Bishop Blougram. Andrea del Sarto. Holy-Cross Day. Dis Aliter Visum. Confessions. Youth and Art. Mr. Sludge. The Ring and the Book, ii-vii, ix, xi. Prince H. S. Fifine. At the "Mermaid." A Forgiveness. Epilogue to The Two Poets of Croisic. Pheidippides. Cristina and Monaldeschi. Bad Dreams, ii-iv. Imperante Augusto.*

II. Poems similar to those in I, except chiefly that they consist of expressions of love, made to the loved person. The lyrical element is therefore generally strong and the rôle of the second person generally less dramatically vivid; nevertheless, they might be made a subdivision of I: *Rudel, iii. The Lost Mistress. A Lover's Quarrel. Evelyn Hope. A Woman's Last Word. By the Fireside. Any Wife to Any Husband. A Serenade at the Villa. Respectability. Two in the Campagna. Another Way of Love. The Worst of It.* (Here the second person is not present.) *Too Late. Eurydice to Orpheus. Numpholeptos. Appearances. St. Martin's Summer. Mary Wollstonecraft. Bad Dreams, i.*

III. The speaker narrates the story of a stirring or terrible action or scene in which he himself was generally one of the chief participants. The listener (or listeners) is not ordinarily named or individualized, and by the nature of the case his personality and the scene of the narration have nothing to do with the action narrated: *Porphyrion's Lover. Count Gismond. Incident of the French*

Camp. Artemis Prologizes. How They Brought the Good News. The Italian in England. The Confessional. The Flight of the Duchess. Saul. The Glove. Christmas-Eve. Childe Roland. The Heretic's Tragedy. Balaustion's Adventure. Aris-tophanes' Apology. Filippo Baldinucchi. Martin Relp. Clive.

IV. Letters or written records, otherwise similar to the poems in I or III. They may be either narrative in form or wholly analytic. The person addressed is generally individualized: *An Epistle . . . of Karshish. Cleon. A Death in the Desert. The Ring and the Book, xii* (mostly).

V. The speaker, in the presence of a listener or listeners, states a problem, or analyzes a situation or character, or discourses. The personality of the listener and the scene of the poem are generally of little or no importance; sometimes, indeed, the speaker really addresses the readers. Some of the poems here placed are in the form of narratives, but in them the action is not stirring—the analytic element decidedly preponderates over the externally dramatic. We may subdivide according as the poem does or does not concern the speaker's love. *a. Of love: Cristina. Time's Revenges. A Light Woman. Epilogue to Fifi-ne. Bifurcation. Inapprehensiveness. b. Not of love: Parting at Morning. Instans Tyrannus. How It Strikes a Contemporary. Before. Protus. A Grammarian's Funeral. Rabbi ben Ezra. A Likeness. Epilogue to Dramatis Personae. Fears and Scruples. Ponte del Angelo. Development. Rephan.*

VI. Patriotic or partisan lyrics represented as spoken or sung by imaginary persons: *Give a Rouse. Boot and Saddle.*

VII. Soliloquies. Listeners are not present, or if present at most exert no personal influence. The speaker may be the analyst, as in V, or may be himself the primary subject of the analysis, as generally in I. Divisions VII and V are closely related. We may subdivide according as the sentiment is or is not that of love. *a. Of love: Rudel, i and ii. The Flower's Name. Meeting at Night. Love among the Ruins. Mesmerism. A Pretty Woman. Love in a Life. Life in a Love. The Last Ride. In Three Days. In a Year. One Way of Love. James Lee's Wife. Rosny. b. Not of love: Johannes Agricola. Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister. Waring. Through the*

Metidja. Pictor Ignotus. Sibrandus Schafna-burgensis. Up at a Villa. The Patriot. After. Old Pictures. Abt Vogler. Catiban. The Ring and the Book, viii, x. Pisgah Sights. Ixion.

VIII. Browning himself discussing some general problem, addresses some person not of his own friends. In fact, all the poems here placed are addressed to persons who lived and died before Browning's time. All the *Parleyings* (excluding the Prologue and Epilogue).²

Only a little thought, exercised upon an equally small acquaintance with poetry, is needed not only to show the erroneousness of the statement sometimes made that Browning invented or "practically invented" the dramatic monolog, but to suggest previous examples of poems of all the above types, except, perhaps, I and VIII. Indeed, even poems possessing most of the characteristics specified for I, though certainly not common, were not altogether unknown before his time. In two or three of Southey's five melodramatic *Monodramas*, for example, the personality of the listeners is felt and the effect of the speakers' words on them clearly indicated. But few authors or none before Browning had given to the rôle of the second person in a pure monolog so

² I have not mentioned *Ivan Ivanovich* and *Donald*, which are interesting subjects for consideration by any one who likes to split hairs in these matters. I have also omitted from the classification the following poems, which, it seems to me, are most naturally to be taken as direct utterances of Browning himself as man or as poet. At least no one would call them dramatic monologs if they had been written by anyone else. It is possible, however, that Browning himself thought of some or all of them as belonging to the category. For several of them were published in his earlier "dramatic" volumes; and, with the exception of the first, which he did not himself republish, of *Transcendentalism*, which he retained in *Men and Women*, and of those which were published after he made the final arrangement of his earlier "dramatic" groups, they were all included in these "dramatic" groups as rearranged. But this is not a conclusive indication, since the "dramatic" volumes and groups contain some simple narratives and some poems, certainly personal utterances of Browning. The poems are: *Sonnet—"Eyes calm." Marching Along. The Lost Leader. Home Thoughts, I and II. Earth's Immortalities. Song—"Nay but you." Nationality in Drinks. Memorabilia. De Gustibus. Women and Roses. "Transcendentalism." Prologue to Fifi-ne. House. Shop. Natural Magic. Magical Nature. Never the Time and the Place. The seven short love lyrics in Asolando.*

(*Fra Lippo Lippi, Andrea del Sarto, Mr. Sludge*, much dramatic vividness as Browning gives it in and some others of his poems. In such poems Browning, while not distracting attention from the central character, brings the monolog in dramatic effect near to the dialog. Furthermore, he made the monolog and the soliloquy the main instruments, or instrument, for his searching analysis of character, situation, and moral problems. The genius which he thus displayed, while it did not effect the miracle of absolute invention, none the less gives him an unquestionable place in that long line of innovators to whom we owe the development of our various literary forms.

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THE EARLY ECLOGUES OF BOCCACCIO AND THEIR RELATION TO THOSE OF PETRARCH.

Boccaccio's account of the history of pastoral poetry¹ implies, it would seem, that his own eclogues followed those of his revered master Petrarch. Theocritus, he observes, who "hid no meaning under the bark" of his pastoral names and scenes, and Virgil, who sometimes put meaning under the bark, were succeeded by a line of *ignobiles*. After them came Petrarch, who used pastoral allegory systematically. Finally, Boccaccio speaks of his own eclogues, stating that in them he adopts the partially allegorical method of Virgil. As he puts himself last in the series, one would not suspect that he had led the way for Petrarch—yet such, I am convinced, is the case. I will not discuss the matter here in detail, but one bit of evidence seems of sufficient interest to justify the present note.

In Eclogue I, a love-lorn shepherd is given the familiarly pastoral name of Damon. Boccaccio, pondering a suitable title for a second shepherd, to whom the first entrusts his flocks, recalls, it would seem, the story of Damon and Pythias,

which he had read in Valerius Maximus.² This latter fact we learn from his comment on his eighth eclogue, when the two characters again appear and are called *duo amicissimi homines, ut illi fuerunt, de quibus Valerius ubi supra*. Now Boccaccio names his second shepherd in both instances *Phytias*, which, like our *Pythias*, is an incorrect form for *Phintias* (*Φιντίας*). Editors of Valerius Maximus before Halm have *Phintias*, though the best mss. give *pinthias*. As mss. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have, among various errors, *phitias* and *phytias*, Boccaccio is probably not guilty of an innovation. It is significant that the same name with the same mistake appears in the second eclogue of Petrarch. Petrarch employs it with no special meaning, just as though it were a traditional pastoral name; but it had never appeared before in the history of the pastoral. We see the reason why Boccaccio adopted it; we infer that Petrarch took it from him. It is, of course, possible that Petrarch adopted the name independently for no particular reason and that Boccaccio followed him. But this is the less probable supposition. Further investigation may find corroborative evidence³ to show that Boccaccio did not in his eclogues blindly follow Petrarch's lead, but that the relation between them was one of friendly interchange and mutual inspiration.

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PAMPINEA AND ABROTONIA.

The purposes of this study are the exhibition of the evidence concerning those love affairs of Boccaccio which preceded his love for Maria, and the establishment of the importance in the experience of Boccaccio of the latest of those love affairs.

It is generally recognized that love affairs earlier than that with Maria, appear in literary disguise in the story of Idalagos in the fifth book of the

² IV, 7, Ext. 1.

¹ In his letter to Fra Martino da Signa; see Corazzini's edition of the *Lettere*, pp. 267 ff.

³ See, for instance, Mr. E. H. Wilkins's article in the present number of *Modern Language Notes*, p. 115, n. 35.

*Filocolo*¹ and in the story of Caleone in the story of Fiammetta in the *Ameto*.²

Idalagos states that he retired into a wood in order to engage in solitary study, that he found the wood frequented by ladies, and that he observed them with pleasure, though fearing and avoiding the darts of Cupid. He then continues:

“disposto a fuggir quelli [dardi], prima alla cetera d’Orfeo, e poi ad essere arciero mi diedi: e prima colla paura del mio arco, del numero delle belle donne, le quali già per lunga usanza tutte conosceva, una bianca colomba levai, e poi fra’ giovani arbuseelli la segui’ con le mie saette più tempo, vago delle sue piume. Nè per non poterla avere punse però mai di malinconia il cuore, che più del suo valore che d’altro si diletta-³va, dallo studio di costei seguire. Dal luogo medesimo levata mi tolse una nera merla, la quale movendo col becco rosso modi piacevoli di cantare, oltremodo desiderar mi si fece, non però in me voltandola le mie saette, e più volte fu ch’io credetti quella ricogliere negli apparecchiati seni. E di questo intendimento un pappagallo mi tolse, dalle mani uscito ad una donna della piacevole schiera. A seguir costui si dispose alquanto più l’aumo eh’aleuno degli altri uccelli, il quale andando le sue verdi piume ventilando fra le frondi del suo colore agli occhi mi si tolse, nè vidi come.”⁴

He then states that he next started a pheasant which turned into a woman with whom he felt himself in love. It is generally recognized that this pheasant and woman represent Maria. Idalagos then continues:—

“Sentendo il cuore già tutto degli amorosi veleni lungamente fuggiti contaminato, allora conoscendomi preso in quel laceio dal quale molto con discrezione m’era guardato . . .”⁵

¹ G. Boccaccio, *Filocolo*, vol. II (= Boccaccio, *Opere volgari*, vol. VIII), Firenze, 1829, pp. 233–250. The story of Idalagos was written after the infidelity of Maria, which occurred about 1333.

² Boccaccio, *L’Ameto* (in *Opere volgari*, vol. XV), Firenze, 1834, pp. 148–155; *Opere minori*, Milano, 1879, pp. 225–228. I quote from the latter edition. The story of Fiammetta was written after the return to Florence, which occurred about 1340, and before Boccaccio heard of the death of King Robert, which occurred January 19, 1343.

³ Rather: “. . . si diletta-³va. Dallo studio di costei seguire, dal luogo medesimo levata, mi tolse . . .”

⁴ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 246–247.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

Caleone states that, as his journey to Naples was nearing completion, he had a vision in which there appeared to him a very beautiful young woman, and that the vision was dispelled by the turning of his horse. He then continues:—

“mi vidi alla entrata de’ luoghi cercati, ove io entrai, e l’età pubescente di nuovo, senza ridurre la veduta donna, ne’ miei pensieri, vi trassi. E come gli altri giovani le chiare bellezze delle donne di questa terra andavano riguardando, ed io, tra le quali una giovane Ninfa, chiamata Pampinea,⁶ fattomi del suo amore degno, in quello mi tenne non poco di tempo; ma a questa la vista d’un’altra, chiamata Abrotonia,⁷ mi tolse, e femmi suo; ella certo avanzava di bellezza Pampinea e di nobiltà, e con atti piacevoli mi dava d’amarla cagione. Ma poi fattomi de’ suoi abbracciamenti contento, quelli mi concesse non lunga stagione; perocchè io non so da che spirito mossa, verso di me turbata, del tutto a me negandosi, mi era materia di pessima vita. Io ricercai molte volte la grazia perduta, nè quella mai potei riavere; per la qual cosa un dì da greve doglia sospinto, ardito divenni oltre il dovere, ed in parte, ove lei sola trovai, così le dissi: Nobile giovane, s’egli è possibile, che mai il tuo amore mi si renda, ora, i molti prieghi ragunati in uno, il dimando; a cui ella rispose: Giovane, la tua bellezza di quello ti fece degno; ma la tua iniquità di quello t’ha indegno renduto; e però senza speranza di riaverlo giammai vivi omai come ti piace; e questo detto, come se di me dubitasse si partì frettolosa.”⁸

He then states that his grief was great beyond parallel and beyond expression; that he went to his room and there thought over his woe; that his sleep that night was troubled by terrible dreams and by a vision in which Pampinea and Abrotonia appeared to him, insulting and mocking

⁶ The name *Pampinea* is apparently constructed from the Latin adjective *pampineus*. It may possibly have been suggested by the family name *Della Vigna*. A. Albertazzi (*Parvenze e sembianze*, Bologna, 1892, p. 163, n.) interprets the name as meaning “la rigogliosa.”

⁷ The name *Abrotonia* is perhaps constructed from the name of the shrub southernwood (*Artemisia abrotanum*), in Latin *abrotanum*, *abrotonum*, in Italian *abrotano*, *abrotano*, *abrotino*, *abruotino*. The shrub is native in southern Europe, and is cultivated for the sweet odor of its foliage. The name may have been designed as a companion name to *Pampinea*. E. Rossi (*Dalla mente e dal cuore di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Bologna, 1900, p. 150) thinks the name constructed from the Greek words *ἀβρός*, ‘soft,’ and *τόνος*, ‘tone.’

⁸ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 225–226.

him; that he said to them, "O giovani sehnitrici de' danni dati, e di ehi con sommo studio per addietro v'ha onorate, levatevi di qui, questa noja non si convieue a me per premio de' eantati versi in vostra laude e delle avute fatiche";⁹ that Abrotonia replied, "Brieve ti fia la nostra noja, e tosto ti fia palese per eui più altamente canterai che per noi, che qui venute semo a porti silenzio, se più ne volessi cantare";⁹ that he replied, "cessino gli Iddii ehe questo sia, che io mai più (se della signoria eseo di voi, come io disio) diventi d'alcuna, o che più per me Calliope dia forma a nuovi versi";⁹ that they then stated that another lady was to rule him more tyrannously than they had done, promised to show her to him, and then departed, their departure interrupting the vision; that after an interval of wakefulness he fell asleep; that Pampinea and Abrotonia reappeared to him, bringing with them a very beautiful young woman whom he recognized as the lady of the first vision, which had occurred six years earlier; and that the joy and wonder of the recognition dispelled the vision and his sleep. He states further that sixteen months later he saw Fiammetta and recognized her as the lady of the visions. He then continues:—

"alle vostre bellezze il euore, il quale avea proposto di sempre tenere serrato, apersi." ¹⁰

It is inherently probable that two of the three love affairs indicated in the story of Idalagos by the pursuits of the dove, the blackbird and the parrot, coincide with the two affairs reflected in the story of Caleone by the affairs with Pampinea and Abrotonia.

V. Crescini,¹¹ Rossi¹² and A. Della Torre¹³ maintain that the pursuit of the dove represents the affair with the original of Pampinea and the pursuit of the blackbird the affair with the original of Abrotonia. Crescini suggests that the pursuit of the parrot, instead of representing an actual love affair, may correspond to the second prophetic vision of Caleone. Rossi thinks that

the pursuit of the parrot represents an actual love affair between the affair with the original of Abrotonia and that with Maria, and that the heroine of this affair is the original of the Neifile of the frame-story of the *Decameron*.

Crescini's arguments are as follows. Idalagos pursues the dove "più tempo": Caleone serves Pampinea "non poco di tempo." Idalagos says of the blackbird, "movendo col becco rosso modi piacevoli di cantare, oltremodo desiderar mi si fece": Caleone says of Abrotonia, "eon atti piacevoli mi dava d'amarla cagione." The parrot's plumage is green: green dress is a frequent and favorite attribute of Maria. The inexplicable disappearance of the parrot suggests the vanishing of a vision. Crescini notes one consideration unfavorable to his theory: Idalagos' pursuit of the blackbird was unsuccessful, whereas Caleone's pursuit of Abrotonia was successful.

Rossi's arguments are as follows. That the original of the dove was virtuous is indicated by the choice of a white dove as her allegorical representative, and by the words "il euore, ehe più del suo valore ehe d'altro si diletta": Pampinea was virtuous. Idalagos says of the blackbird: "movendo col becco rosso modi piacevoli di cantare, oltremodo desiderar mi si fece": the name *Abrotonia* indicates excellence in singing.¹⁴ Neifile stands in the same relation to the Pampinea and the Filomena of the frame-story of the *Decameron* as the parrot to the dove and the blackbird, for the order of queenship in the *Decameron* represents the order of Boecaccio's love affairs with the originals of the several queens, and the Pampinea and Filomena of the *Decameron* represent the same originals as the dove and the blackbird, for they represent the same originals as the Pampinea and Abrotonia of the *Ameto*, who represent the same originals as the dove and the blackbird. The parrot disappears inexplicably: Rossi characterizes Neifile as "la evanescente fanciulla che volentieri s'allegria e canta nella stagion novella ed ana confondersi eon le verdi piaute e co' fiori." ¹⁵

Della Torre's arguments are equivalent to the second argument of Crescini and the first of Rossi.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

¹¹ *Contributo agli studi sul Boccaccio*, Torino, 1887, pp. 56-57.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 148-153.

¹³ *La giovinezza di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Città di Castello, 1905, pp. 137-138.

¹⁴ See note 7.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

The coincidences of phraseology which constitute Crescini's first and second arguments are so slight as to be insignificant. It is inherently probable that the pursuit of the parrot represents an affair as definite as those represented by the other pursuits. The prophetic visions of Caleone, as Crescini points out,¹⁶ are literary devices designed to establish the *motif* of the predestination of Fiammetta to Caleone. The pursuit of the parrot, therefore, could correspond to the prophetic vision of Caleone only as being a literary device for foreshadowing the pursuit of the pheasant. The fact that the pursuit of the parrot stands in no perceptibly peculiar relation to the pursuit of the pheasant is sufficient proof that it was not intended as a literary device for foreshadowing that pursuit. The greenness of the parrot's plumage does not imply that the original of the parrot was Maria. The pheasant, which does represent Maria, is not green.¹⁷ Green is a natural attribute of the parrot, as white of the dove and black of the blackbird. The manner of disappearance of the parrot is not peculiarly suggestive of the manner of disappearance of a vision. The visions of Caleone are dispelled by definite causes, definitely stated.

The second premise of Rossi's first argument has no other basis than the fact that Caleone's pursuit of Pampinea is apparently unsuccessful. Virtue is not so distinctive a characteristic as to imply the identity of two persons of whom it is predicated. Rossi's derivation of the name *Abrotonia* is not established. Excellence in singing was too common in the *trecento* to imply the identity of two persons to whom it is attributed. The nymphs of the *Ameto* and the ladies of the frame-story of the *Decameron* all sing acceptably. Maria's excellence in singing is celebrated in the *Rime*.¹⁸ The latter part of the story of Caleone

indicates that the hostility to love consequent upon the rejection by the original of Abrotonia terminated only with the beginning of the courtship of Maria. This indication is reinforced to the point of conclusiveness by other passages in the writings of Boccaccio which will be quoted below. It follows that no love affair intervened between that with the original of Abrotonia and that with Maria. It will be shown below that the order of queenship in the frame-story of the *Decameron* does not reflect a chronological sequence of love affairs. It will be shown below that the Filomena of the *Decameron* does not represent the same original as the Abrotonia of the *Ameto*. The characterizations *evanescente* and *ama confondersi* are gratuitous.

The identification of the original of the blackbird with the original of Abrotonia is directly opposed by the consideration noted by Crescini as unfavorable to his theory, and by the consideration that Idalagos leaves the pursuit of the blackbird in order to undertake the pursuit of the parrot, whereas Abrotonia withdraws her favor from Caleone.

The real correspondence of the two stories is, I believe, as follows: the pursuit of the dove represents an early Platonic affair not represented in the story of Caleone; the pursuit of the blackbird represents the affair with the original of Pampinea; and the pursuit of the parrot represents the affair with the original of Abrotonia.

Of the dove, Idalagos says, "Nè per non poterla avere punse però mai di malinconia il cuore, che più del suo valore che d'altro si diletta"; of the blackbird, "oltremodo desiderar mi si fece"; of the parrot, "A seguitar costui si dispose alquanto più l'animo ch'alcuno degli altri uccelli." The affairs with the originals of the blackbird and the parrot are thus differentiated, as being passionate in character, from that with the original of the dove. Caleone says of Pampinea, "fattomi del suo amore degno, in quello mi tenne non poco di tempo,"—words at least as applicable to a passionate as to a Platonic affair. The pursuit of the blackbird is unsuccessful: the pursuit of Pampinea is apparently unsuccessful. Idalagos leaves the pursuit of the blackbird in order to undertake the pursuit of the parrot: Caleone desists from the courtship of Pampinea in order to undertake the courtship of Abrotonia.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 108, n. 1. Two passages which Crescini does not cite give additional support to his theory. Caleone says, in his soliloquy at the time of his falling in love with Fiammetta, "questa è quella . . . che per donna mi fu promessa ne' sonni" (*Ed. cit.*, p. 228). Fiammetta says, in her final reply to Caleone, "così, come ne' sonni ti fu già detto, sarò sempre tua" (*ibid.*, p. 229).

¹⁷ Idalagos speaks of "la vaghezza delle varie plume" of the pheasant (*ed. cit.*, p. 247). The native European pheasant is not green.

¹⁸ Cf. Boccaccio, *Rime* (in *Opere volgari*, vol. xvi), Firenze, 1834, sonnets xvii, xxxii, xli, and lxi.

The parrot disappears inexplicably: the inexplicability of the rejection by Abrotonia is indicated by the words "perocchè io non so da che spirito mossa, verso di me turbata, del tutto a me negandosi, mi era materia di pessima vita," by the fruitless attempts of Caleone to regain her favor, and by the oracular character of her final answer. No pursuit intervenes between the pursuit of the parrot and the pursuit of the pheasant: no love affair intervenes between the affair with Abrotonia and the affair with Fiammetta.

The love affairs earlier than that with Maria are reflected in certain other passages in the writings of Boccaccio.

A series of such passages appears in the first and second parts of the *Filostrato*,¹⁹ in the account of Troilo's falling in love with Griseida during a service in the temple of Pallas and in the account of his immediately subsequent experience. The following passages occur in the account of the *innamoramento*:—

- I, xx, 4. "Or qui or quivi si giva ponendo,
Ed ora questa ed or quella a lodare
Incominciava, e tali riprendendo,
Siccome quegli a cui non ne piaceva
Una più ch'altra, e sciolto si godea.
- xxi. Anzi talora in tal maniera andando,
Veggendo alcun che fiso rimirava
Alcuna donna seco sospirando,
A'suoi compagni ridendo il mostrava,
Dicendo: quel dolente ha dato bando
Alla sua libertà, sì gli gravava,
Ed a colui l'ha messa tra le mani,
Vedete ben s'e' suo pensier son vani.
- xxii. Che è a porre in donna alcuno amore?
Che come al vento si volge la foglia,
Così in un dì ben mille volte il core
Di lor si volge, nè curan di doglia
Che per lor senta alcun loro amadore,
Nè sa alcuna quel ch'ella si voglia.
O felice colui che del piacere
Lor non è preso, e sassene astenere!
- xxiii. Io provai già per la mia gran follia
Qual fosse questo maledetto fuoco.
E s'io dicessi che amor cortesia
Non mi facesse, ed allegrezza e giuoco

Non mi donasse, certo i' mentiria,
Ma tutto il bene insieme accolto, poco
Fu o niente, rispetto a' martirj,
Volendo amare, ed a' tristi sospiri."

- xxiv, 5. "E benchè di veder mi giovi altrui,
Io pur mi guardo dal corso ritroso,
E rido volentier degl' impacciati,
Non so s' io dico amanti o smemorati";
- xxv, 4. "Troil va ora mordendo i difetti,
E' solleciti amor dell' altre genti";
- xxvi, 1. "Così adunque andandosi gabbando
Or d'uno or d'altro Troilo . . .";
- xxix, 1. " . . . colui, ch' era sì saggio
Poco davanti in riprendere altrui";
5. "Nè rammentava ancora dell' oltraggio
Detto davanti de' servi di lui."

The following passages occur in the account of Troilo's experience after the *innamoramento*:—

- I, xxxi, 4. "Tenendo bene il suo disio nascoso,
Per quel che poco avanti avea parlato
Non fosse in lui rivolto l'oltraggioso
Parlar d'altrui, se forse conosciuto
Fosse l'ardor uel quale era caduto";
- xxxii, 5. "Per me' celar l'amorosa ferita
Di quei ch' amavan gran pezza gabbossi";
- xxxv, 1. "Immaginando . . .
3. . . che esser dovesse il suo disiro
Molto lodato, se giammai saputo
Da alcuno fosse, e quindi il suo martiro
Men biasimato, essendo conosciuto";
- xxxviii, 1. "E in verso amore tal fiata dicea
Con pietoso parlar: signore, omai
L'anima è tua che mia esser soleva";
- 1, 3. "Fra sè dicendo: Troilo, or se' giunto,
Che ti solevi degli altri gabbare,
Nessun ne fu mai quanto tu consueto
Per mal saperti dall' amor guardare;
Or se' nel laccio preso, il qual biasmavi
Tanto negli altri, e da te non guardavi.
- li. Che si dirà di te fra gli altri amanti
Se questo tuo amor fosse saputo?
Di te si gabberanno tutti quanti,
Fra lor dicendo: or ecco il provveduto
Ch' e' sospir nostri e gli amorosi pianti
Morder soleva, già ora è venuto
Dove noi siamo; anor ne sia lodato,
Ch' a tal partito l'ha ora recato";
- liv, 5. "Che se il mio mal, del qual nessun s'è
accorto
Ancora, se si scuopre, fia ripieua

¹⁹ Boccaccio, *Il Filostrato* (= *Opere volgari*, vol. xii), Firenze, 1831. The *Filostrato* was written before the success of the courtship of Maria (cf. Crescini, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-208, and *Krit. Jahresbericht ü. d. Fortsch. d. Rom. Phil.*, iii (for 1891-1894), 384-388).

La vita mia di mille ingiurie al giorno,
E più ch' altro sarò detto musorno";

II, viii, 3.

"... e pregoti per Dio...

5. Ch' altrui tu non discopri tal disio,
Che noia men potria seguire assai."

In the *Proemio* of the *Filostrato*, Boccaccio states that Troilo in his grief for the absence of his lady and in his desire to win that lady represents Boccaccio himself.²⁰

The invective against women which appears in I, xxii, as an element of the mocking of the lovers, is paralleled in the recognized sources of the *Filostrato*—the *Roman de Troie* and the *Historia troiana*—by an invective inserted in the story of Troilus and Briseida at the time of their separation.²¹ There is, however, no tangible verbal parallelism between the invective in the *Filostrato* and the invectives in the sources. Troilo's statement of experience in early loves, his determination not to be taken in the wiles of love, his mocking of lovers, his self scorn on falling in love with Griseida, and his fear of retaliatory mocking are not paralleled in the *Roman de Troie* or in the *Historia troiana*.²²

Troilo's bitter experience in early love, as stated in I, xxiii, corresponds to Calcone's experience with Abrotonia; and Troilo's determination not to be taken in the wiles of love, which appears in I, xxiv, xxxviii, and I, corresponds to the similar determinations of Idalagos and of Calcone.

Troilo's habit of mocking lovers is mentioned in I, xxi, xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxix, 1-2, 5-6, xxxi, xxxii, I, and li, and his fear of retaliatory mocking in I, xxxi, xxxv, li, liv, and II, viii.

²⁰ The statement, "l'altre cose, che oltre a queste vi sono assai, niuna, siccome già dissi, a me non appartiene, nè per me vi si pone, ma perchè la storia nel nobile innamorato giovane lo richiede" (*ed. cit.*, p. 9) applies only to the narration of the period of happiness of Troilo. This is made evident by the content of the passage referred to by the phrase "siccome già dissi," and by that of the immediately subsequent passage beginning "da esse potrete comprendere quanti e quali siano i miei disii."

²¹ A. Joly, *Benoît de Sainte-More et le Roman de Troie*, Paris, 1870, p. 89 (vv. 13412-13430); Guido delle Colonne, *Hystoria troiana*, Strassburg, 1489, sig. i 2 r. col. 2—v. col. 1.

²² I am indebted for the material of this paragraph to Dr. Karl Young, who has investigated the relations of the *Filostrato* to the *Roman de Troie* and the *Historia troiana*.

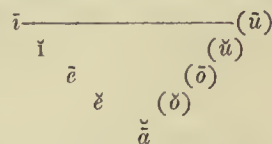
This reiteration indicates that the idea of such mocking was deeply impressed in Boccaccio's mind: such depth of impression indicates that the source of the idea was in Boccaccio's actual experience. The expression of the fear of retaliation in particular bears the marks of psychological verisimilitude.

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THE PRONUNCIATION OF MODERN GERMAN *i* + *r* + DENTAL.

Bahlsen (*The Teaching of Modern Languages*, Boston, 1905, p. 55) speaks of the too open pronunciation of English-speaking pupils when dealing with the German *i* and *u* sound (*ich bin die Mutter*). Vietor (*Kleine Phonetik des Deutschen, Englischen und Französischen*, 3. Ausg., 1897, p. 43, § 73) locates the German *i* and *u* as follows:



The *i* is closed, that is, the tongue is high and tense; the *ü* is opener, the tongue less high and less tense, and drawn back a trifle along the *i*—*a* line.

i occurs in open syllables (like *leben*, written *lieben*);

i occurs in syllables closed by an *r* (like *mir*);

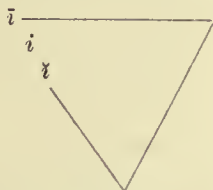
i occurs in syllables closed by an *h* (like *ihnen*), the *h* here being usually a mere orthographic symbol, without historical bearing on the question;

ü occurs only in closed syllables (*mit*, *bin*, *ist*, *April*).

Our English grammars of the German language, as well as many works on phonetics, both English and German, state that this *ü* is pronounced like *i* in the English word *pin*, or German *bin*. Jespersen (*Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, 1904, p. 142, § 148) says English *ü* in *bit*, *in*, *mid*, *fish*, &c., is perhaps a trifle lowered in comparison to the German *ü*. Also Hempl (see below), p. 135,

§ 201, Remark, says German *i* is usually somewhat higher than the corresponding English sound. Curme (*A Grammar of the German Language*, New York and London, 1905, p. 19) says German *ɪ* is pronounced "much as *i* in English *pin*."

It seems to the present writer that the German *ɪ* of *bin*, *ist*, &c., is a trifle higher than *i* in English *pin*; that German *i* before *r* + dental (as in *Wirt*, *Hirt*) is still higher; and that German *i* before *r*, *h* or in open syllables, is highest of all. Represented on the triangle, we should have approximately,



the *ī* being as in G. *lieben*, *mir*; the *ɪ* as in G. *bin*, *ist*; and the *i* in G. *Wirt*, *Hirt*, &c., being a sound between *ī* and *ɪ*, a trifle longer, higher and more front than *ɪ*, but not so long, high nor front as *ī*.

The teachers of German in this country who have come under the observation of the writer, pronounce G. *ist*, *Wirt*, *Hirt* and Engl. *pin* all with the same *ɪ*. The educated North Germans who have come under the observation of the writer in Germany (for example, in Berlin, where the writer spent three years), have seemed some to pronounce *ist* with *ɪ* like that in English *pin*; some to pronounce *ist* with the vowel a trifle higher than *ɪ* of English *pin*, and all to pronounce *i* of *Wirt*, *Hirt*, &c., midway between *ɪ* (of *ist*) and *ī* (of *lieben*). The writer would be glad to have other expressions of opinion in regard to this matter. Hempl, in his *German Orthography and Phonology* (Boston, 1897), p. 96, states that *ɪ* does not lengthen before *r* + *d*, *t*, *z*, &c. When, in Berlin, the present writer pronounced for example *Hirt*, *Wirt* with the *ɪ* of G. *ist*, some German present invariably repeated the word, pronouncing it with an *i* about midway between *ɪ* and *ī*; whereas *ist*, *bin*, &c., pronounced with an *ɪ* about like that of Engl. *pin*, went unchallenged.

From the beginning of the modern German period final *r* usually lengthened a preceding accented vowel, as in *vör*, *hēr*, &c., exerting an

effect different from that of other final consonants (Curme, p. 16). See also Curme, p. 15:—"The vowels *a*, *e* and less frequently other vowels, are long before *r* + dental (*d*, *t*, *z*, *s*, *sch*): *wörden*, *Schwört*, *Quärz*, &c. This pronunciation is a new development, and is not yet universally recognized." Curme thus recognizes the pronunciation of *a*, *e* as long before *r* + dentals (and less frequently other vowels); and to the writer the German *i* before *r* + dentals (also in *Kirche*, with its front, palatal *ch*), sounds at least half long, or about midway between *ɪ* and *ī*.

According to the above, it is the back vowels, *u* and *o*, which are most obstinate in their resistance to the lengthening influence of *r*, due perhaps to the fact that *r* itself up to the past century was, and in many localities in Germany to-day is still, pronounced in the front of the mouth (with the tip of the tongue). So the combination of the two front consonants, *r* + dental, formed apparently an insurmountable obstacle to the lengthening (and raising) of the back vowels *u* and *o* (just as in Old High German *r* + cons. prevented the umlauting, or fronting and raising of *ä*, the only vowel unlauded at that time, so far as we know; the back vowels *u* and *o* again, according to the records preserved, are the vowels that everywhere resisted umlaut then, just as they resist lengthening before *r* + dental now); whereas *r* alone could not prevent it, as in *nür*, *vör*. Theoretically, an *ɪ*, *e* or *ä* might be at least somewhat lengthened before *r* + any other front consonant (for example *r* + palatal *ch*, as in *Kirche*) as well as before *r* + dentals; since presumably it requires less time to speak two front consonants, as in *Erde*, than front cons. + back cons., as in *Ärger* (so more time would be left in the former case, *Erde*, for the vowel); tho of combinations of two consonants it requires, theoretically speaking, least time to pronounce two of a kind (*i. e.*, dental + dental, like *r* + *t*), so that more time or breath would be left for a vowel before, say, dental + dental (like *Wirt*, *irren*, *Ärt*, *Ärzt*, or *Ärzt*, *Erde*) than for one before, say, bilabial + dental, dental + bilabial, or dental + guttural, &c. (for example, *r* + *b*, as in German *Erbe*; or, *r* + *g*, as in *Ärger*).

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NOTES ON BYRON AND SHELLEY.

Adonais, STANZA 20; *Don Juan*, CANTO 11,
STANZA 60.

Under the impression that Keats owed his death to anonymous censure in the *Quarterly Review*, Shelley in 1821 wrote (*Adonais*, 177-180):

Nought we know, dies. Shall that alone which knows
Be as a sword consumed before the sheath
By sightless lightning?—the intense atom glows
A moment, then is quenched in a most cold repose.

A year or so later, Byron, accepting Shelley's mistaken belief, and gratuitously deeming Milman author of the pernicious attack in the *Quarterly*, gives impetus to this tradition about the quenching of Keats' vital spark, in Canto 11 of *Don Juan*. Has the following parallel to Shelley's 'intense atom'—i. e. the mind of *Adonais*—ever been noted (*Don Juan*, Canto 11, Stanza 60)?—

John Keats, who was killed off by one critique,
Just as he really promised something great,
If not intelligible, without Greek
Contrived to talk about the gods of late,
Much as they might have been supposed to speak.
Poor fellow! His was an untoward fate;
'T is strange the mind, that very fiery particle,
Should let itself be snuffed out by an article.

In his edition of *Don Juan* (1906, p. 446), Mr. Ernest Hartley Coleridge annotates 'fiery particle' with a reference to Horace (*Sat.* 2. 2. 79): '*divina particulam auræ.*' So far as Latin literature is concerned, a reference to Lucretius might be equally in place (*De Rer. Nat.* 3. 177-236); though he conceives of the soul, not as being a single atom, but as composed of many, 'exceedingly small, smooth, and round.' Yet he adds the quality of heat, which is missing in Horace. Lucretius, however, immediately throws us back upon the Greek atomists. An excerpt from Aristotle may be in point (*De An.* 1. 2. 403 b 30), in which he sums up the theories of Leucippus and Democritus; I quote Wallace's translation as given in Bakewell's *Source Book in Ancient Philosophy* (pp. 65-66):

'There are some who maintain that fundamentally and primarily the soul is the principle of movement. They reasoned that that which is not

itself in motion cannot move anything else, and thus they regarded the soul as one of those objects which were in motion. Democritus, whose view agrees with that of Leucippus, consequently maintained soul to be a sort of fire and heat. For as the forms of the atoms are as the atoms themselves unlimited, he declares that those which are spherical in shape constitute fire and soul, these atoms being like the so-called motes which are seen in the sunbeams that enter through doorways, and it is in such a mixed heap of seeds that he finds the elements of the whole natural world. The reason why they maintain that the spherical atoms constitute the soul, is that atoms of such configuration are best able to penetrate through everything, and to set the other things in motion at the same time as they are moved themselves, the assumption here being that the soul is that which supplies animals with motion. This same assumption led them to regard respiration as the boundary with which life was coterminous. It was, they held, the tendency of the encircling atmosphere to cause contraction in the animal body and to expel those atomic forms, which, from never being at rest themselves, supply animals with movement. This tendency, however, was counteracted by the reinforcement derived from the entrance from outside of new atoms of a similar kind. These last in fact—such was their theory—as they united to repel the compressing and solidifying forces, prevented those atoms already existing in animals from being expelled from them: and life, they thought, continued so long as there was strength to carry on this process.'

Adonais, Stanza 55.

In the fourth stanza of *Adonais*, Shelley seems to liken the spirit of Milton to one of the heavenly bodies:

but his clear Sprite
Yet reigns o'er earth; the third among the sons of light.

Somewhat similarly, at the end of the poem, he declares:

The soul of *Adonais*, like a star,
Beacons from the abode where the Eternal are.

This description of Keats reminds one of Wordsworth's apostrophe to Milton (*London*, 1802):

Thy soul was like a Star, and dwelt apart.

—Compare the Homeric description of the infant Astyanax (*Iliad* 6. 401):

Ἐκτορίδην ἀγαπήτορον, ἀλγικιον ἀστέρι καλῷ

—'like to a beautiful star.'

But my attention has been called to the well-known lines by Ben Jonson on Shakespeare :

But stay, I see thee in the hemisphere
Advanced, and made a constellation there !
Shine forth, thou Star of poets, and with rage,
Or influence, chide, or cheer the drooping stage ;
Which, since thy flight from hence, hath mourn'd
like night,
And despairs day, but for thy volume's light.

Jonson, of course, is here adapting the fable of the Dioscuri, who were metamorphosed into the constellation of Gemini (Hyginus, *Poetikon Astronomikon* 2. 22).

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L'ENCHANTEUR FAUSTUS.

A complete Faust bibliography—a sort of “Corpus Fausti”—is something that all students of the drama and novel would most heartily welcome. Admirable work upon the Faust legend has been done by such men as Engel, Kiesewetter, Faligan, Logeman, Ward and Tille, in the field of Faust bibliography, but the subject still offers great opportunities for research work. Surprises meet the student at every turn in the path of investigation, and frequently he finds himself in an open and entirely unexplored territory. The *German Faust Book*, the *German Wagner Book*, the *English Faust Book*, and the *English Wagner Book* are all texts which still wait for complete elucidation, both as to form and content. Take the *English Faust Book*, for example. No one has yet proved that the first edition of the *English Faust Book* was not printed as late as 1592. Most scholars have contented themselves with accepting it as a fact that the book was first printed between 1588 and 1591 : but there are several considerations which render this position a very difficult one to defend. Ward has considerable to say upon the question in the introduction to his edition of Marlowe's drama of *Dr. Faustus*¹ ; but Ward does not prove anything. Again, it is extremely inter-

esting to hear from a German scholar² that Marlowe's plays were performed in Frankfort-on-the-Main in the year 1592, and it may be that Marlowe's drama of *Dr. Faustus* was among these. Thus far, however, the sources of this information have not been investigated in the manner which they deserve.

Ever since the first appearance of the Faust legend in England, the story has appeared in various forms regularly about every twenty years right down to the nineteenth century. Even in the *Sketch Book* of Washington Irving we see traces of the Faust story (as, for instance, in the tale of the *Spectre Bridegroom*). In 1795 and in 1807 the Faust story was brought out in chapbook form in Worcester, Mass., and in Montpelier, Vt. In 1892 a puppet play of *Dr. Faustus* was performed in Glasgow, Scotland, in which the first scene was laid in a girl's school in America !

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were particularly fond of the Faust story as a story, and it is to one of these that the present writer wishes to call attention, first, because of its author, and secondly, because of the originality of the story. French scholars are probably well acquainted with the tale, and for them the subject will have but little interest : but to those interested in the bibliography of the *English Faust Book*, the story may not be so familiar.

The author was Anthony Hamilton (1646–1720), the originator of the celebrated *Memoires de la vie du comte de Gramont*. The story is entitled *L'Enchanteur Faustus*, and is printed in most editions of Hamilton's works as the fifth *Conte*. The precise date at which the story was written is not known, but it must have been composed toward the end of Hamilton's life.³ It has been said that English imitations of the tale have been written.⁴ The nearest thing to an “imitation,” so far as the present writer knows, is a direct translation of the French story into English, with the title, *The Enchanter Faustus and Queen Elizabeth*. As Queen Elizabeth was at the height of her glory when the original *English*

¹ *Old English Drama : Doctor Faustus, Friar Bacon*. Oxford, 1901.

² Meissner, *Englische Komödianten* (p. 89), Wien, 1884.

³ Saintsbury, *Anthony Hamilton*. *Fortnightly Review*, October, 1890.

⁴ *Idem*.

Faust Book and the *English Wagner Book* appeared (1592 and 1594 respectively), the query naturally suggests itself why the authors of those two works did not introduce Queen Elizabeth into their story as the champion of Protestantism against the powers of evil in the shape of Faustus. It would have made a tremendous hit, beyond a doubt! For that brilliant stroke of genius, however, the legend had to wait for the French-Englishman, Catholic, and Jacobite partisan, Count Anthony Hamilton.

Those who are familiar with the *Contes* as they appear in Hamilton's works will recollect at once the outline of the story. Queen Elizabeth summons the renowned conjurer Faustus and requests him to call up before her the celebrated beauties of by-gone days. The queen also bids her favorites Essex and Sidney to attend her, Sidney having the additional duty of describing the beauties in verse as they are brought before the queen. Helen of Troy is, of course, the first one to appear. Then come Miriamne (the wife of Herod), Cleopatra and, lastly, the Fair Rosamond. Faustus, indeed, suggests that the famous Countess of Salisbury be also summoned, but the queen does not favor this idea. Instead she expresses a desire to see the Fair Rosamond a second time. At first Faustus objects strenuously; at last he consents and Rosamond appears once again—but with disastrous results to the noble audience. “Dès qu'elle eut lâché la parole, un violent éclat de tonnerre ébranla tout le palais; une vapeur épaisse et noire emplît la galerie, et plusieurs petits éclairs nouveaux-nés serpentoient à droite et à gauche autour de leurs oreilles, et faisoient transir les spectateurs. L'obscurité s'étant enfin dissipée petit à petit, on vit le magicien Faustus, les quatre fers en l'air, écumant comme un sanglier, son bonnet d'un côté, sa baguette de l'autre, et son alcoran magique entre les jambes.” The noble Earl of Essex has lost his left eyebrow and the gallant Sidney has been deprived of his “right moustache,” while the queen's garments are so permeated with the odor of brimstone that no one dares approach her. After pulling themselves together, the company concludes that they have had enough; the proposition to summon the Countess of Salisbury is laid on the table, and the company disperses.

This outline is probably sufficient to show the

indebtedness of the *conte* to the original tale as it appeared in the *German Faust Book* of 1587.⁵ The Emperor of Germany's place is taken by Queen Elizabeth. Helen of Troy appears in all of the complete versions of the original prose tale. The idea of conjuring up Fair Rosamond and the Countess of Salisbury is, on the other hand, original with Hamilton. The hesitancy with which Faust performs the act of summoning Rosamond a second time strongly suggests the passage in the original *Faust book* where the students ask Faust to make Helen of Troy appear a second time and are refused the request. The marvellous effect upon the company produced by Elizabeth's attempt to embrace Rosamond suggests to us the scene in Goethe's *Faust*,⁶ where Faust tries to embrace Helen and falls senseless to the ground. The similarity of episode is, of course, merely accidental. No such episode occurs in the original prose tale, while Goethe's drama appeared nearly a century after Hamilton's story.

In this tale Hamilton makes Jane Shore, instead of Eleanor of Guienne, the rival of Fair Rosamond, while the Earl of Essex and Sir Philip Sidney are made contemporary favorites of the queen. But Hamilton cared nothing for these anachronisms. His only desire was to write a lively tale for the entertainment of his charming sister, and he succeeded in this most admirably. As a satire upon Queen Elizabeth it is extremely clever, and makes the story one of the best of the *contes*. It is just the sort of story that a French writer of the seventeenth century could hit off to perfection.

The English translator of Hamilton's story has made one or two attempts to render into English the verses which Sir Philip Sidney composed, but in the main, Hamilton's poetry (of which there is considerable scattered through the narrative), is left severely alone.

The episode concerning Jane Shore has been cut out entirely in the English version. In other passages the French has been badly mistranslated. The following examples will suffice. “Elle étoit envieuse comme un chien” has been rendered

⁵ Whether Hamilton used a later French or English translation cannot be ascertained.

⁶ Part II, Act I.

"She was as envious as a decayed beauty." In the French, "une duchesse courtoit les champs apres son cocher, et un archevêque passoit les heures à faire des vers pour sa servante de cuisine." The corresponding passage in the English reads—"turning an old lord into an old lady, to elope with his cook-maid." In the French, Helen disappears with "un certain sourire entre doux et hazard." In the English, she departs with "a malicious smile." In the French, Elizabeth criticizes Helen severely, ending her criticism with the phrase, "il n'a été permis d'avoir les pieds tournés comme elle." The English translation has it, "Such turned-iu toes would have been endured in no other woman." Salome, who is characterized in the French as "sœur du roi et maudite de Dieu," is described in the English version as "the spiteful old maid of a sister." When Faustus conjures up Rosamond for the second time it is quite an effort for him, and Hamilton says that "il fit trois fois le tour à cloche-pied." As if that were not enough the English translator makes him go "three times around the gallery on his hands and feet." From the above quotations it may be readily seen that the light, gay humor of the French is quite lost in the English translation: in fact, it is doubtful whether the vivacious, witty character of the French original can be preserved at all when submitted to the Englishman's sense of humor and expressed in Anglo-Saxon. However that may be, the fact remains that in *L'Enchanteur Faustus* we have one of the best of Hamilton's stories and one of the most original of all the Faustus legends.

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ON OLD ENGLISH *LĒOD*.

OE. *lēod* is classed among the *i*-stems (Sievers,¹ *Gr.*, 261, 264; Cosijn, *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*, 124. The classification of this word among the *i*-stems is due: (1) to the fact that

OHG. *liut*, pl. *liuti*²; OS. *liud*, pl. *liudi*³; ON. *lýðr* (pl.)⁴ are *i*-stems⁵: (2) to the fact that the nom. acc. pl. are commonly *lēode*. But if we assign *lēod* to the *i*-declension we are brought to the necessity of explaining the absence of umlaut in the radical vowel. All *i*-stems should display umlaut of the radical vowel, if this vowel is capable of being umlauted. "The permanent trace of the original *i*-declension is the umlaut of the radical vowel,"⁶ Cf. *dǣd*, *cwēn*, etc., and the few words showing nom. acc. pl. in *-e*, *Dene*, *Mierce* (*-e* > *ī*, Got. *-eis*).⁷ WG. *īu* (> *ēu*) appears in WS. as *ēo*; and the umlaut of *ēo* is *īe*, *ī*, *ȳ*. We should, then, suppose that Germ. **leudi-* would be in OE. *lied*, *lið*, *lȳd*. But we find it *lēod*, *liod*.

Sievers⁸ sees in *liode* a "halb-umlaut" of *lēode*. He states that in old WS. the umlaut of *ēo* is often *īo*, in place of, or along with the usual *īe*, *ī*, *ȳ*; and that later this *īo* (umlaut of *ēo*) became, together with *īo* from all other sources, *ēo*.⁹ He warns us, however, not to confuse this *īo* with occasional unumlauted forms *īo*, *ēo* in less pure WS. texts. In other words, in a pure WS. text, if the usual umlaut of *ēo* (*īe*) does not appear, but in its stead *īo*, we have a semi-umlaut (*īo*); if the text is not pure WS., we have unumlauted forms, *īo*, *ēo*.

The attempt to read into *īo* a semi-umlaut of *ēo* does not seem justifiable when we bear in mind that very early in the Southern dialect the two sounds *īo* and *ēo* fell together and that the two writings are probably merely orthographic variants.¹⁰

² Braune, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, 216. But in OHG. *liut* appears also as a neuter *a*-stem, and sometimes in Otfrid as a feminine. Anm. 4.

³ Holthausen, *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch*, 297. *Liodi* and *ludi* also appear; 103, anm. 1 and 2.

⁴ Kahle, *Altisländisches Elementarbuch*, 267, 4.

⁵ Gothic has no cognate form. **Liudus* is uncertain for Gothic. Cf. Kluge, *Wörterbuch* (under *leute*).

⁶ Bright, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 39, note.

⁷ The absence of umlaut in *Seaxe*, *meahte* (also *miht*) and *geðeagt* is explained by the intervention of *h* + consonant. *Gr.*, 100, anm. 1.

⁸ *Gr.*, 261. Cf. 264.

⁹ *Gr.*, 100, 2, and anm. 2.

¹⁰ Bülbring, *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, 111; Cosijn, *Altenglische Grammatik*, 21. In the Northern dialect the difference between *īo* > *īu* and *ēo* > *ēu* was distinguished

¹ All references to Sievers, *Angelsächsische Grammatik*, 3rd ed., are indicated merely by *Gr.*

The possibility of another explanation of the absence of umlaut in *lêod* presents itself. It is that this word early went over to the *ô*-declension. In later WS. there is no doubt of this, for the nom. acc. pl. often end in *-a*.¹¹ Still, the usual ending in earlier texts is *-e*.¹² But the *ô*-declension, beside the usual form in *-a*, has nom. acc. pl. in *-e*.¹³ It is entirely possible that *lêod* very early went over to the *ô*-declension, thereby escaping the possibility of umlaut, and employed *-e* for the nom. acc. pl., an ending that later was not uncommon in this declension and that, indeed, was at all times the usual ending in Northern texts.

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OLD-FRENCH LITERATURE.

Chrestomathie de l'Ancien Français par L. CONSTANS. Third Edition. Paris and Leipzig: H. Welter, 1906, gr. 8°, 244 pages.

The third edition of Constans' *Chrestomathie* is all the more disappointing because so slight a change was needed to make the book the best of its kind in use. The edition is filled with misprints, to such a degree that we wonder if we have not been supplied with advance sheets of the new edition, rather than with the finished volume. It is evident, too, that several of the selections, such as the *Serments de Strasbourg* and the *Sainte Eulalie*, have not received the careful revision which the editor promises in his preface. I now proceed to mention with the utmost brevity a number of corrections and suggestions.

The words *Court Nez*, in the first sentence beginning on p. 7, should preferably be *Courb*

Nez. The opening sentence of the first paragraph of the right hand column on p. 8 is no longer to be admitted as true. In the same paragraph, the words: "sur les ennemis qui le poursuivaient" are inaccurate. In the first column of p. 9, in the eleventh line from the bottom, l. *Ahiscans*, instead of the *Couronnement de Louis*. In line 98, p. 32, l. *recomandet*. The author states, in the note on p. 37, that the 1883 edition of the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* is the last one consulted by him. Similarly, the last edition utilized by him of Paris' *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland* is the fifth, tho there have been two subsequent editions. On p. 44, line 31, l. *agut*; p. 45, line 24: *espadles*. There seems to be a confusion in the dates assigned to *Huon de Bordeaux* in the note, p. 47. In line 22, p. 48, l. *hui*; line 73: *enterrai*; in line 80: *ja*; 82: *plaist*. The note concerning the *petit vers*, on line 48, p. 53, assumes too much for cautious criticism. There is an error in the numbering of line 110, p. 58. The editor does well in accepting the reading of P. Meyer for line 25, p. 60.

The *soi* of the following line, suggested by the same critic, is an elegant but not imperative reading. On the other hand, the *bien* of the ms. in line 16, which both P. Meyer and the editor reject, is probably correct: Ybert, whose language often has a vivid quality (cf. lines 1846-50 of *Raoul de Cambrai*) speaks ironically, hence the word *bien*. In the fourth line from the close of this page, l. *touz* and *dolans*; in the last line, *mou(l)t*, as also in line 101, p. 61, and elsewhere. In line 37, p. 61, l. *lecchierres*, and in line 50, *li*. On p. 62, line 27, l. *ot*, and on p. 63, line 6, *evesques*. Line 4 of the selection from Marie de France, p. 75, is preferably to be followed by a period. The interpretation given line 12, p. 76, is probably erroneous. The punctuation after *Tristan* in line 14 is a printer's blunder. In line 19 on this page, it is better to read *m'amastes*, and in line 40, *l'afaitai*; line 39 should be followed by a comma. It is better to close line 47 by a period, and line 49 by a comma. On p. 78, line 12, l. *faut*, instead of *saut*, and in line 16, *remiré*, instead of *remisé*. A comma is necessary at the end of line 140, p. 79. Mention should be made under *Yvain*, on this page, of the source of the passage

throughout the whole OE. period. WG. *liud* = North. *lioda*. Bülbring, *op. cit.*, 111, 113. Cf. Sievers, *P. B. B.*, xviii, 411 ff.

¹¹ Cf., for instance, Aelfric, "Life of King Oswald," "pa leoda beheoldon"; "wolde gebigan his leoda . . ." (Bright, *Reader*, 99, 19; 103, 15); "Beowulf," 3001, etc. Cf. *Gr.*, 264.

¹² Cf. Bosworth-Toller, under *lêod*.

¹³ "Vespasian Psalter" (Sweet, *O. E. T.*, 338) has only *-e* (cf. *londleode* = *incolæ*). Rushworth¹ has both *-a* and *-e*. *-a* is the writing in the oldest texts. *Gr.*, 252, Ann. 1.

cited, namely : lines 3341-3484 of the second edition of Foerster. The word *rains* of line 11, p. 80, should be commented on in the glossary or in the notes. There should be no circumflex accent over the vowel of *umilie* in line 64. The word *amor* of line 115, p. 81, shows one of the frequent printer's mistakes. On p. 82, line 133, l. *d'els*, and in line 138, *esleü*. The exclamation point in line 278, p. 84, should, of course, be omitted. On p. 87, line 55, l. *en* instead of *on*, and in line 94, l. *en* instead of *et*. In line 123, p. 88, l. *mervilleux*. On p. 90, line 21, the meaning is clearer if *fols* be followed by a semicolon or a period, and there should be a comma at the end of line 52 on the next page. The editor's correction in line 65, p. 98, is hardly defensible.

It is perhaps best to see in the words *a remuier*, p. 100, line 20 of the second column, the meaning of "in quantity," given by Godefroy. There should be no circumflex accent over the vowel of *si* in line 8, p. 107. One may doubt the explanation offered in the glossary for the *a la coule* of line 94, p. 109. In line 162, l. *veillier*. The note at the bottom of the right hand column of p. 110 should read : "VIII, 24 sqq." The last word of line 5, in the left hand column of p. 111 should be *chier*. The notes ought to cite the fable mentioned in stanza viii on this page. In the note at the bottom of p. 119, l. : "t. I. 250 sqq." On p. 124, the period has been omitted at the end of line 56, and the interrogation point in line 98 should be replaced by a period. The comma at the end of line 30, p. 126, should be replaced by a dash or a period. In the heading before line 99, p. 127, l. *li chevaliers*. There should be a comma instead of a period at the end of line 125. Line 57, p. 134, should be followed by a comma. In line 15, p. 135, second column, l. *n'i* instead of *ui*. It is necessary to place a comma at the end of line 63. On p. 140, line 5, l. *raison*. In the eighth line of the note, p. 141, l. *un*. In line 47, p. 142, l. *homme*, and in line 80 of the following page, l. *honoree*. In lines 13 and 17, p. 148, l. *la* and *li*. The punctuation after *paour* in line 30, p. 150, is to be effaced. In line 93, p. 151, l. *Ou*. In line 13, p. 153, l. *sillabes*. The thought gains if the word *color* of line 38 on this page be retained. On p. 154, second column, line 18, l. *connissance*.

The comma at the end of line 78, p. 155, is to be replaced by a period, and that in line 50 of the following page, by a semicolon.

There are a number of errors in the glossary, and even the list of errata (p. 241) is not free from them ! The glossary is poorly constructed in two ways : it should give the quantity of the Latin vowels, and page and column should be used in citing the passages where the various words are to be found. It is hard to see why so many chrestomathies contain glossaries whose references are according to the number of the selection, a method which requires three times as long to use intelligently as the method by page and column. As to the quantity of the Latin vowels, it is a thing which the student can not see too often or know too well.

Let us hope that Professor Constans will soon offer a genuinely revised edition of the *Chrestomathie*, which can easily be made the best on the market. In fact, it contains the best selection of texts of all the chrestomathies of Old French, and the notes show unusually sound judgment and careful scholarship. Indeed, were it not for the many real excellencies of the *Chrestomathie*, one would feel less aggravation at the manner in which it has been revised.

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Richard Wagner. Von MAX KOCH, Professor an der Universität Breslau. Bd. I. Berlin, Ernst Hofman & Co., 1907. vii + 392 pp.

The time has come when the importance of Richard Wagner in the literature of the nineteenth century—and not merely in the development of music—is recognized by all thoughtful critics. Consequently the appearance of a new Wagner-biography by a historian of literature of the rank of Max Koch is an event of considerable moment. Glasenapp's basic work had given the world for the first time a detailed statement of Wagner's evolution from the point of view of a personal friend, much as did Kuh's biography of Hebbel. H. S. Chamberlain in his "Richard Wagner" (first ed., 1895) presented a purely intellectual conception, dividing his book into three sections,

viz.: Life, Theory of Art, Works. Koch's biography may in its arrangement be compared to Heinemann's Life of Goethe. In contrast with Chamberlain, K. emphasises the interrelation of the poet's life and work as one organic expression of his individuality. In addition, it is Koch's aim to define Wagner's position in the evolution of the intellectual life of the nineteenth century. More than any of his predecessors, this biographer makes a critical study of Wagner as a literary artist, going into a discussion of the literary currents of his time and of Wagner's use of his sources. Koch aims to show how Wagner, finding merely a rhetorical opera (Meyerbeer, Spontini) and the germs of a musical drama (Gluck, Mozart, Weber), slowly evolved the most original dramatic form of the nineteenth century.

The book is to consist of three volumes, of which the first—the one before us—(of 392 pages) describes the master's career down to the appearance on the stage of the "Rienzi" (1842). The first division of this volume (Erstes Buch: "Kindheits- und Lehrjahre") shows how through family-tradition and early environment Wagner was made familiar with the stage from childhood. Through the influence of an intimate friend of the family, Apel, an ardent admirer of the Greek drama and himself a writer of pseudo-classical plays, he was early brought into contact with classical tragedy. On the other hand, his uncle, Adolf Wagner, introduced him to Italian literature—Dante and especially Gozzi—and, no less important, to the German Romanticists. A little later, through acquaintance with Heinse and the "Young Germans" he was saved from losing himself in this world of dreams. In other words, his literary outlook was vastly wider than has been the case in the youth of most composers.

His first youthful essay was a tragedy, "Leubald," a mixture of Shakespeare, Kleist, and the German "Ritterdrama." He had decided to dedicate his life to dramatic poetry, but when he heard for the first time Beethoven's music to Goethe's "Egmont," the idea of sending his own tragedy out into the world with a similar accompaniment of interpretative music came to him as an inspiration. Thus he turned to music merely as a subtler means of dramatic expression. The teaching of Weinlig in Leipzig gave his musical talent the much needed severe discipline, laying the foundation for that marvelous hold on counterpoint and

the technique of musical composition which later in life enabled him to baffle his critics with creations like the "Vorspiel" to the "Meistersinger."

The second division (Zweites Buch: "Wanderjahre und erste Opern") depicts Wagner's futile efforts to make a living as musical director in Magdeburg, Königsberg, Riga. In every case he was so unfortunate as to be connected with enterprises resting on an insecure financial basis. Thus, in spite of the recognition of his superiors, this episode in his career is a series of failures. When life in Riga became intolerable, he broke loose from his creditors, and with that daring which marked him throughout, he determined to seek his fortunes in Paris. But the gay and stimulating metropolis (very well and very fairly characterized by Koch) was destined to disappoint him bitterly. Meyerbeer and the rhetorical grand opera which he represented, proved essentially inimical to the founder of a new German national drama. Hence, in 1842, with characteristic impetuosity (and indifference to his numerous creditors) he escaped to Dresden to push the staging of his "Rienzi," which had, after long and painful effort, at last been accepted.

Against this background of defeat and petty misery stands refreshingly Wagner's undaunted confidence in his own genius. Among many other things, he wrote during this time "Die Feen" (stimulated by Gozzi) and "Liebesverbot" (a modification of the story of Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure"). But the first strong indication of true originality appears in his conception of the myth of "The Flying Dutchman" and in his treatment of "Rienzi." In spite of many points in common with the opera of the day, these two works show the first germs of the later Wagnerian musical dramas. Koch compares Bulwer Lytton's and Wagner's treatment of the Rienzi story and brings out Wagner's independence and superiority.

To this interesting volume is attached a very detailed bibliography, valuable for musicians and especially for historians of literature. We look forward to the appearance of the next two volumes which are likely to make of this work the most comprehensive Wagner biography we possess.

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Christabel, by SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

Illustrated by a Facsimile of the Manuscript and by Textual and Other Notes by ERNEST HARTLEY COLERIDGE, Hon. F. R. S. L. London: Henry Frowde. MCMVII. Sm. 4to., pp. xii, 113 + 38 plates. Port. and illsns. 21s.

Students of modern English poetry will welcome this handsome edition of Coleridge's *Christabel* from the press of Horace Hart, Printer to Oxford University. It is published under the direction of The Royal Society of Literature, of which foundation, it will be remembered, Coleridge was himself a fellow and associate. The editor is the poet's grandson, Mr. Ernest Hartley Coleridge, and it is noteworthy that he has dedicated the volume to the other two surviving grandchildren of the poet, viz., the editor's sister, Miss Christabel Coleridge and his cousin, Miss Edith Coleridge. The latter is the owner of the manuscript which is herein reproduced in facsimile.

Mr. Coleridge includes with his reprint much supplementary matter that will henceforth be indispensable to students. The volume contains the fullest and most reliable account of the sources and genesis of the poem. Incidentally, the editor contends that the Conclusion to Part I of *Christabel* was not written, as generally supposed, at the time of the original draft of 1798, but at Greta Hall in 1800, after Part II had been composed. Among Mr. Coleridge's most valuable contributions to this edition are the "localizing" of the Second Part and his interesting notes on the "snake-maiden" of the type of Geraldine.

With his usual care and detail, Mr. Coleridge brings together the contemporary allusions to *Christabel* and shows how the incomplete (and incompletable) poem remained a fragment, in spite of the poet's reiterated expression of his determination to finish it. He gives an extensive account of the publication of the poem in 1816 and of its reception at the hands of the reviewers.

The reproduction of the manuscript in facsimile has been very successfully accomplished in a series of thirty-eight plates. It is regrettable that these plates are not furnished with bracketed pagination, nor with marginal notation of lines, both of which would have been useful in facilitating a

comparison of the document with the admirable variorum text that follows the facsimile.

Mr. Coleridge adopts the text of 1834 in preference to that of 1829, but he gives all the variant readings of the earlier editions and of the various accessible manuscripts. He likewise cites the marginal changes recorded by the poet in the David Hinves copy of the first edition. Many valuable annotations grace the bottom of these pages.

The four appendices that complete the volume offer further evidence of Mr. Coleridge's zeal to perform his task most adequately. In Appendix I he enumerates the reviews and notices of *Christabel* with brief excerpts from the more interesting critiques. Appendix II is a list of parodies and continuations of the poem. It includes eight titles, from *Christobell, a Gothic Tale* (1815) to Eliza Stewart's *Christabel, continued from Coleridge* (1841). Mr. Coleridge does not mention E. J. Chapman's *The Snake-Witch* (London, 1899), which at least merits mention for its presumption, if not for its intrinsic worth. Appendix III gives the complete text of the above-mentioned *Christobell, a Gothic Tale*, which had the rare distinction of appearing in print more than a year before the publication of the fragment which it was designed to complete. Appendix IV is a Bibliographical Index, giving detailed collations of the principal editions of the poem from 1816 to 1904.

In this brief summary of contents it is impossible to convey any satisfactory idea of the evident care that Mr. Coleridge has bestowed upon this beautiful volume. It is doubtful whether many poems in our language have received such attention as is herein accorded in 125 quarto pages and 38 plates to the 677 lines that constitute *Christabel*. However, no reader who has come under the witching spell of its melody will feel that love's labor was in any wise lost upon this edition of what the poet himself loved to call "*the Christabel*."

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THE ETYMOLOGY OF *bieched bones*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—A passage in the *Speculum Morale* seems to settle beyond doubt the vexed question as to the etymology of “bieched,” which occurs most frequently in the phrase “bieched bones” (see Mätzner and the *New English Dictionary* for citations). The author of the *Speculum*, inveighing against the dieer, declares: “Item est contemptor sacrorum temporum, id est festorum, quae violat et expendit in blasphemis dei et sanctorum, et vituperiis eorum. Contemnit eos contumelias eas inferendo: plus defert honoris *tribus ossibus caninis*, id est *deciis*, quam ossibus dei et sanctorum quos dinnumerat blasphemando. Ps. [22: 16]: ‘Foderunt manus meas et pedes meos; dinnumeraverunt omnia ossa mea.’ . . . Ipse *tribus ossibus caninis* obedit, id est *deciis*, et colit ea pro deo” (*Lib. III, Pars VIII, Dist. iiiii*, “De ludis inhonestis”). In both instances the author, by adding the explanatory *id est deciis*, makes it impossible to misunderstand his reference to the “dogs’ bones.” In the preceding *Distinctio*, “De frequentatione tabernarum,” the *ossa canina* are also mentioned: ‘Ibi lusores adorant *ossa canina* pro deo, scilicet taxillos.’

These lines from the *Speculum Morale* establish the use of *ossa canina* as a contemptuous term for dice, and thus give us an exact Latin equivalent for “bieched bones.” The suggested etymology of “bieched” through the Dutch “bikkel” becomes, therefore, not only dubious but positively unteuable.

The formation of the adjective “bieched” from a substantive instead of from a verb is, according to the editors of the *New Eng. Dict.*, “not easily explained.” But why is it not entirely parallel to “doggyd,” which in the *Prompt. Parv.* is glossed *caninus*? Other examples of adjectives formed by adding the weak participial ending to substantives are: “erabbyd” (*Prompt. Parv.*, glossed *cancerinus*; *Cursor M.*, 8943), “craggyd” (*Cov. Mysteries*, p. 384), “ragged” (*King Alis.*, v. 684; *Piers Plow.*, B XI, 33), and “wreeched” (Chaucer, *Fortune*, v. 25, *Cant. T.*, v. 13,962). A long list of similar formations, no

doubt, could be compiled. These will show, however, that the case of “bieched” is not exceptional.

CARLETON F. BROWN.

Bryn Mawr College.

THE EYES AS GENERATORS OF LOVE.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In looking over the last numbers of your journal, I find in your issue of November, under the above title, a query in regard to the provenance of the idea of the eyes as generators of love so frequently met with in poetry. After referring to some medieval authors who profess this theory, the article says: “It is a typical case of the itinerary of ideas—from France or Provence to Italy, thence perhaps to England—there are some gaps in the course.” In view of this statement, one may be permitted to recall some examples familiar from classical antiquity as well as from English authors previous to Shakespeare:

Diog. 4, 49 has the oft-quoted proverbial saying: *Ἐκ τῶν γὰρ ἑσσοῶν γίγνεται ἀνθρώποις ἑρῶν* (cf. also Agath. fr. 29, 768). Theocritus, II, 82, sings:

χὼς ἴδον, ὡς ἐμάνην, ὡς μοι περὶ θυμὸς ἰάφθη,

a passage reproduced in Vergil’s more familiar line (*Eclogues*, VIII, 41),

Ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error!

Cf. also Moschos, 2, 74: *ὥς μιν φράσαθ’ ὡς ἐόλητο θυμὸν*. Ovid, *Metam.* 5, 395, says:

Poenae simul visa est dilectaque raptaque Diti;

and *ibid.*, 6, 455:

Non secus exarsit conspecta virgine Tereus,

a passage which echoes—and this transports us to England—in John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*, 5, 5621–2 (cf. Macaulay, II, p. 504):

*And with the sighte he gan desire,
And sette his oghne herte on fyre.*

Cf. also *ibid.*, 1, ll. 319–324.

In his *Balades*, no. XXIII, ll. 1–4 (ed. Macaulay, *French Works*, p. 356), Gower gives expression to this traditional theory in a form which is a commonplace in lyric poetry:

Pour un regard au primere acqueintance
Quant jeo la bealté da ma dame vi,
Du coer, du corps trestoute m'obeissance
Lui ai doné, tout sui d'amour ravi.

From Fragment A (covering ll. 1-1705 of the French original) of the English *Romaunt de la Rose*, which is now generally accepted as the work of Chaucer,¹ I can at this moment cite two passages in which the idea under discussion is expressed :

For who so loketh in that mirroure
Ther may no thyng ben his socour
That he ne shall there sene some thyng
That shal hym lede into laughyng . . .²

Ed. Kaluza, ll. 1605-1608 (= ll. 1582-1586 of the original) :

He (i. e., the god of loue) streight up to his ere drough
The stronge bowe that was so tough
And shette att me so wondir smert
That thorough me nye unto myn hert
The takel smote and depe it wente . . .

Ibid., ll. 1725-1729 (= ll. 1604-1608).

From Fragment B, covering ll. 1706-5810 of the original, and considered as a continuation of Chaucer's work by an unknown poet,³ the following passage is at hand :

So that this arowe anon right
Thourgh out eigh as it was founde
Into myn herte hath maad a wounde.

Ibid., ll. 1778-1780 (= ll. 1751-1753 of the original).

These instances, the number of which might doubtless be increased by a special search in Chaucer and other English poets, show sufficiently that the idea expressed by Propertius, 2, 15, 12 :

Oculi sunt in amore duces,

was as much at home in England as elsewhere, and that, while Shakespeare may possibly have had some model before him for the particular form of the exquisite little song in *The Merchant of Venice*, III, 2, beginning :

Tell me, where is fancy bred,
Or in the heart or in the head?

he did not have to borrow a theory so universal as the one of which it treats.

H. R. LANG.

Yale University.

¹ See R. K. Root, *The Poetry of Chaucer*, 1906, pp. 54-55.

² Read *louyng* for *laughyng*.

³ See Root, *ibid.*

Troilus and Criseyde v, *Argumentum* in
Thebaidem.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—In the fifth book of *Troilus and Criseyde* is found an argument in twelve Latin hexameters of the *Thebaid* of Statius. In the manuscripts it is found after l. 1498, in its proper place according to the conception of medieval scribes, as it is preceded and followed by fourteen lines of what is not a translation of the lines, but Chaucer's own summary of the same classic. Chaucerian scholars have not pointed out the source of this *Argumentum*, which, however, is printed in the older standard editions of Statius, as the Delphine and that of Amar and Lemaire, as found "in veteribus libris." But then such a widely read Latin scholar as M. Manitius printed it in 1902, as unknown to the learned world, from a Dresden manuscript of the thirteenth century, of North-German origin.¹ This publication had at least the merit of showing the priority of the composition to the age of Chaucer.

But already in 1883 Opitz in his study of the metrical arguments, which precede each book of the *Thebaid*, in many manuscripts, showed that the verses "Associat profugum" was based on these arguments of the single books.² He ascribed the latter to a date not earlier than the sixth century, when they may have well been written ; and considered that the *Argumentum* based on them was not much posterior to the same date.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

University of Michigan.

PALAMON AND ARCITE

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—Grant me space to point out what I regard as an interesting case of lapse of memory.

December 27th, 1895, at the meeting of the Modern Language Association in New Haven, I read a paper on Chaucer's Rime-technique, which

¹ *Rheinische Museum*, LVII, 397-398.

² *Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie*, VI, 306-309.

was reported by Professor Henneman in *Modern Language Notes* for February, 1896, p. 39. At the meeting of the Central Division in Evanston, January 1st, 1898, I presented a paper on The Relation of *The Knight's Tale* to *Palamon and Arcite*, which was reported by Professor Wilson in *Modern Language Notes* for March, 1898, p. 84. As may be seen from these reports, one of my chief aims was to show that ten Brink's theory as to the metrical form of *Palamon and Arcite* was erroneous and that the larger part of it was taken over bodily into *The Knight's Tale*.

The day I read the first paper I discussed it with Professor Mather in a conversation to which he refers in his paper in *An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall*, p. 307. While Professor Tatlock was engaged upon his admirable treatise on *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works* (Chaucer Society, 1907), we frequently talked of this and other Chaucer subjects; but as I had mislaid my papers, I could only give him some of the original material (see his book, p. 9) and refer him to the reports cited above. And yet both Mather (p. 305) and Tatlock (p. 46) state that Pollard (writing in 1898) was the first to doubt ten Brink's theory. That either gentleman intentionally ignored me, I should not for a moment suspect. I explain the matter in part by the fact that I have not yet published my papers, as I should have done. But I am convinced that we must lay the blame chiefly upon the frailty of human memory.

I may perhaps add that I still hope that the future has for me a few golden days when I may again take up my Chaucer studies.

GEORGE HEMPL.

Stanford University, California.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—I can offer no excuse for the offence which Professor Hempl courteously gives me so early a chance to explain, except that if I ever knew that his work on Chaucer's verse had reached even quasi-publication it had quite slipped my mind. I had been chiefly concerned about his metrical evidence on the Troilus-problem, which

he so generously allowed me to use. I knew that he, like a few other just persons, though for reasons different from mine, disbelieved ten Brink's theory of the *Palamon*; but I supposed that this was merely a pious opinion held privately. I am glad to have a chance to express regret for my inadvertence, and the earnest hope that his results may soon be published.

JOHN S. P. TATLOCK.

University of Michigan.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Professor Hempl's courteous note finds me in a laud which, knowing fairly well "Duk Theseus," completely ignores his English bibliography. With vague memories of what I may have written on the subject, and none whatever of what I did not, I can only say that if Dr. Hempl is convinced he was the first doubter of a *Palamon* in stanzas, I have no doubt he is right. In any case, I recall with pleasure both his able summary of an article, at New Haven in the Xmas holidays of '95, and also some talk of an anti-ten Brink tenor.

At that time I was already a skeptic *Palamonwards*, and doubtless Dr. Hempl's example and authority must have confirmed me in disbelief. But (such tricks does memory play in these matters) if I had been asked to date my article for the *Furnivall Miscellany*, I should have said that it grew out of the flavor of the cooking of the Queen's Oxford as interpreted and commented by that universal connoisseur of life and letters, Mr. Kittredge, and the time the summer of 1906. These things it is pleasing to recall, but I am afraid that my slender posy for Dr. Furnivall's jubilee garland "jest grewed." If it had an unacknowledged rootlet in Professor Hempl's wide domain, I now crave his indulgence. In my short course as a Chaucerian I was so often beholden to my betters, that I may at times have taken the everyday sensation of gratitude for its adequate expression.

FRANK JEWETT MATHER.

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SOME ERRORS CONCERNING RICHARD EDWARDS.

We have much reason to be grateful to the Early English Drama Society for the volumes of *Early English Dramatists* which it is now publishing, and to Mr. John S. Farmer, the editor of the series. The work as a whole will prove of value. The alphabetical Notebook and Word List with each volume, is a new and convenient feature of the editing, and the list of plays included in the series has been selected with admirable judgment. Along with commoner favorites, much that has been difficult of access is here given; as for example, *Youth*, Heywood's *Witty and Witless*—together with a volume of his *Proverbs, Epigrams and Miscellaneous Writings—Albion Knight, Misogonus, and Godly Queen Hester*.

A work of such scope as this, however, cannot be free from flaws. In connection with Richard Edwards' *Damon and Pithias*, in a recent volume in the series, Mr. Farmer has given notes on the author's life and his non-extant *Palamon and Arcyte* which stand in need of revision. Following too trustfully the statements of such authorities as Warton, Collier, and Ward, Mr. Farmer has incorporated here some of their minor errors. May I point out these misstatements, now long current, and at the same time add a few facts that a study of Edwards and his work has newly brought to light?

1) As for erroneous statements about the life of Edwards. Mr. Farmer, following Warton, says that after taking his M. A. at Oxford in 1547, he returned to London and "entered himself at Lincoln's Inn. . . . He ultimately became one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal and in 1561 was appointed Master of the children of the Chapel" (p. 167). Edwards did not enter Lincoln's Inn shortly after leaving Oxford, as Mr. Farmer and all previous accounts have assumed. The date of his entry is given in the *Records of the*

Society of Lincoln's Inn, Admissions, published in 1896, and was November 25, 1564 (p. 72). When he became a member of the Chapel I do not know but he was already a member in 1555, though Warton loosely put his entrance "in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth." A roll of the gifts to Philip and Mary on New Year's day, 1556, which is printed by Nichols (*Progresses*, 1st ed., vol. III, pp. xix-xx), gives among other items "Richard Edwards of the Chapel, certain verses." This is the first definite date we have for him after his leaving Oxford. Edwards was apparently made Master of the Children not in 1561, but in 1563. The 1561 is Warton's date, but on April 30, 1559, Elizabeth granted a patent to Richard Bower, who had been Master of the Children under Henry, Edward, and Mary, continuing him in his office (Rymer's *Foedera*, xv, p. 517); and an entry in the *Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal* records the death of Bower as Master in 1563, the next entry being that of the death of Edwards himself as "Master of the Children," in 1566.

Again, Mr. Farmer, following previous authorities, tells us that "When on his deathbed he is said by Wood to have composed a noted poem called 'Edwards' Soul Knil' (Knell), or the 'Soul Knil of M. Edwards,' which was once much admired. Gascoigne was Wood's authority, but the author of *The Steele Glas* seems only to have ridiculed the piece being written under such circumstances." This is the stereotyped account of the *Soul Knil*, but no one of those who have repeated this bit of information has been at pains to inquire whether the poem is still extant. I believe, however, that it is. Warton in his notice of Edwards (ed. 1840, vol. III, p. 237) speaks of a ms. in the British Museum (Cotton, Tit. A. xxiv) as containing some "sonnets" signed with his initials. The ms. contains among others four poems signed "R. E.", of which two have been printed since Warton's day. No titles are given for any of these poems, but the longest of them, never before published, is, I am confident, the

"once much admired" *Soul Knil*. Certainly no more fitting title than "*Soul Knil*" could be given it. The text follows :

[SOUL KNIL OF M. EDWARDS.]

(*Modernized in punctuation only.*)

O lorde, that ruleste bothe lande [and] seae,
even by thy hevenly povre,
gravnte I may passe thcs raging seas,
nowe, in this happie howre.

for as the dcere that seethe tho darte
his bane dothe drede full sore,
so do I feare the windes, the see,
and eke the drenchinge showre.

but if thou wylte my corse to pine
amyddes the drenchinge waves,
I yelde my sprite to the, o lorde,
that all the worlde saves.

And to the fishe I give my fleshe,
a worthi fode to be,—
wo worthe the time that chaunsethe thus
my contre for to flye !

for, lo, even now my eres do here
how this same waves do rore
that shall forthe drive my drenched corse
vnto the sowndinge shore.

And there summe man shall see me lye
vpon the shininge sandes ;
and thus shall pray vnto the lorde,
withe liftinge vp his handes :

"o lorde, my frendes and childerne all
guyde withe thy holy hande,
and grawnte they fly the raging seas
and dye vpon the lande.

"for so, even here, I sec won lye ;
while he this race didde runne,
a mides the cruel seas he cau[g]hte
his bane, alas, to sone.

"It is, alas, a ruthfull thinge
to see this woofull wighte,—
make thou, o lorde, his sely sole
partaker of thy lighte !

"And I, to shewe the farvente love
I bere to christian bludde,
here wille I take the corse vnkowne
and winde hit in a shrowde,

"And bringe hit to the holy churche,
the christiane rightes to have,
and so withe in the halowed grownde
will put him in a grave.

"Vpon his grave shall stande a stone
as wittnes of his case,
and shall forbidde all suche as sayle
to attempte that dredful place."

Thus shall I die, thus shall I lie,
this is my destinie !

but wo worthe me that shall giue cause
eche wyg[h]te the seas to flye !

Woworthe the manne that framed the shippe
whereby we cut the seas,
and see the contres farre aparte,
owre fances for to pleas.

but woworthe me, yet ons agayne,
that thus shall lye wnkowne,
and shall not placc my wretched corse
vnder summe Englishe stonne.

O lorde, whi doste thou take me nowe
amides the drowninge seas,
and shorten thus my springinge yowthe,
and eke my plesante deas ?

but nowe, o lorde, but now, I saye,
begyns my yuthely pryme :
take me in age, and let me liue
as yet a longer time,

That I may wayle my wiked ways,
and eke my wantone will,
and lerne to hate all erthely yoies,
of whiche I hadde my fyll !

but wo is me, I pray in vayne,
even clene agaynste thy will ;
for in my sifes and wikednes,
o lorde, thou wylte me kylle !

Thi will be donne, in lande and sea :
to dye my selfe I bende.
o dethe, cumme now, for god, my lorde,
appoynted me this ende.

o dethe, how sharpe arte thou to suche
as bene in tender age,
whiche by repentance thinkes at lenkthe
theire sinnes for to asswage.

but dye I muste vndowtedly,—
what nedes me further talke ?
and in the salt see fludde my corse
vnto the shore shall walke.

I yelde my sprite into thy handes
that died vpon the roode,
for thou haste bowghte me, god of truthe,
even withe thy precious blodde.

I am beset withe sinne, alas ;
I am the childe of ire.
kepe thou, o lorde, my sili sole
from ever lastinge fire !

In the, in the, I truste, o lorde ;
thi blodde, thy blodde, I crave !
forget my sinnes, and gravnte me sprite
the hevenly yoies to have.

lo, now I sinke, lo, now I drowne,
and drinke the mortall floodd :
o christe, o christe, take thou my sprite,
that trowstethe in thy bloodd !

finis.

R. E.

2) With regard to *Damon and Pithias*. Mr. Farmer says (p. 162), "It is uncertain when it was first produced: some authorities regard it as identical with the tragedy of Edwards, which was performed before the Queen at Richmond by the children of the Chapel in 1564-5." Collier (*Eng. Dram. Poetry and Annals of the Stage*, ed. 1879, vol. II, p. 340) followed by Ward, concludes that *Damon and Pithias* was *perhaps* the tragedy in question, basing his judgment on a record in an estimate of expenses for masques and plays, preserved in the Public Record Office and printed by Chalmers (*Apology*, p. 354). But the words of the estimate about "Rugge bum-bayst an cottone ffor hosse," when compared with the passage in *Damon and Pithias* where Jack and Will show off their immense breeches containing "seven ells of rug," make the identification almost certain. The play was performed at court on Christmas day, 1564,—not at Richmond as Collier states (*Hist. of Eng. Dram. Poetry*, ed. 1831, vol. III, p. 2), but at Westminster, a fact which can be readily proved from the *Calendar of State Papers* for the period. (On both these points see *Notes on Richard Edwards*, *Journal of Germanic Philology* for 1902, vol. IV, no. 3, pp. 348-355.) According to Wood, the play was also produced at the University, but whether before or after the court performance can only be guessed.

Under *Variorum Readings* (page 163) Mr. Farmer gives us the following: "'Lovers of wisdom are termed *philosophy*,' so in both editions [*i. e.* both quartos]: Hazlitt reads (as suggested by Collier) '*Loving of wisdom is termed philosophy*,' but possibly the second *i* in the *philosophie* of the black letter original is a misprint for *r*, or a battered letter, thus *philosophre* (*philosophre*), a common enough form for philosopher—the singular inflection with a plural tense [query *verb*?], or *vice versa*, is not uncommon." Has not Collier led Hazlitt astray, and is not Mr. Farmer's *philosophre* equally wide of the mark? For the passage is in the midst of rhymed couplets and should obviously rhyme with the next line as follows:

Lovers of wisdom are termed *philosophi*—
Then who is a philosopher so rightly as I?

Philosophi is simply the plural of the Latin *philosophus*; and the line may stand as in the quartos with the correction of the slight misprint of *ie* for *i*.

3) Finally, as to *Palamon and Arcyte*, the lost play, which was given at Oxford in 1566. Here (p. 184) Mr. Farmer quotes Stow and Wood, the authorities commonly cited. Wood's account, the more circumstantial of the two as to the play, is in itself far inferior to an account written in Latin by John Bereblock, who was a spectator at the play. This man's *Commentarii* is an exhaustive report of all that was done on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Oxford, in honor of which Edwards' play and others were presented. Bereblock gives a long synopsis of *Palamon and Arcyte* from which we may judge its content much better than from Wood. The *Commentarii* was printed by Hearne in 1729, by Nichols in the first edition of his *Progresses*, and by Mr. Charles Plummer in *Elizabethan Oxford* (Oxford Historical Society Series), 1886. It is fully discussed in *Notes on Richard Edwards*, above referred to (pp. 356-369), and in an article in *Publications of the Modern Language Association* for 1905 (new series, vol. XIII, no. 3, pp. 502-528). The play was not given on "September 2 and 3," a mistake due to Collier and Fleay, but on September 2 and 4.

WALTER YALE DURAND.

Oberlin College.

TRUMEAU, TRUMER, TRIMER

ET QUELQUES AUTRES DÉRIVÉS DU LAT. *torus*
EN GAULE.

Les étymologies qu'on a jusqu'ici proposées pour *trumeau*, vfr. *trumel* "cuisse, gigot, jambe" sont peu vraisemblables.¹ Le radical *trum-* que l'on trouve dans les plus anciens exemples de ce mot rapportés par Godefroy a pour base le latin *torus*, dont une des significations était "nœud de muscles faisant saillie sur le corps de l'homme ou des animaux": ainsi *torus* désignait surtout la

¹ Voir Scheler, s. v., et Körting, 9707, 9777.

partie charnue du haut du bras, de l'épaule, de la cuisse.² Il n'y avait donc qu'un bien petit pas à faire pour que *torus* arrivât à signifier "cuisse, gigot et jambe." Or *trumel* (pour **torumel*, où la chute de la protonique n'a rien que de naturel) est forme diminutive d'un plus ancien **torum* non attesté et représentant un latin populaire **TORŪMEN* dérivé de *torus*, de même que le vfr. *chaudumel* a été formé sur **chaudum* (< **CALDŪMEN*, de *caldus*), et *enchausser* sur **chaussum* (< **CALCIUMEN*, de *calx*).³ Nous avons donc dans *trumel* encore un exemple à ajouter à la liste des formations par le suffixe -ŪMEN; remarquons qu'il était terme de boucherie comme le vfr. *chaudun* et *tendrum* où l'on a affaire au même suffixe.

De l'ancien **torum* dérive aussi le vfr. *trumer* "courir":⁴ c'est proprement "jouer des jambes," en anglais familier et dialectal "*to leg it*," en allemand familier "*lange Beine machen*." On trouve la même idée exprimée de la même manière dans le namurois *chameter* enregistré par Grandgagnage dans le *Dict. étym. de la lang. wallonne* avec la définition "trimer, driller" et qui vient de *chame*, variante de *jame*, *jambe*. Dans des notes que j'ai personnellement recueillies sur le patois de Fresnes-sur-Apancee (*Haute-Marne*), je trouve qu'on y dit *zā*: *bote*⁵ pour "marcher vite et à grandes eujambées." Une prononciation dialectale, comme dans *brimer*, *enrimer*⁶ pour *brumer*, *enrhumer* a fait passer *trumer* à *trimer* "courir çà et là (avec fatigue)" et, par une extension naturelle de cette signification, "travailler fort"; le même développement sémantique a eu lieu aussi dans l'espagnol *patear*, *pernear*, *zancajear*⁷ et se retrouve dans l'expression allemande *Beine machen*.

² On trouve *torus* glosé par "ὠλένη" et "lacertus brachiorum" (cf. le *Thesaurus Gloss. Emend.* de Götze, s. v.).

³ Voir Rom. xxv, p. 448, article de M. Thomas.

⁴ Chambure (*Gloss. du Morvan*, s. v. *treumeau*) est le premier, que je sache, qui ait eu l'idée d'une parenté entre *trumer* et *treumeau*.

⁵ Pour représenter la prononciation des formes dialectales que je cite ici comme personnellement recueillies par moi, je fais usage de l'alphabet de l'Association phonétique internationale.

⁶ Pour *enrimer*, voir le *Supplément* de Godefroy.

⁷ Voir les dictionnaires de l'*Acad. esp.*, de Dominguez et de Tollhausen.

Dans le *Dict. de patois normand*, H. Moisy enregistre *tramer* "aller et venir"; dans le *Gloss. du Morvan*, Chambure enregistre *traîner* "aller et venir avec fatigue ou ennui", et sous ce mot il cite le luxembourgeois *tramer* de sens identique: ces formes s'expliquent fort bien par le suffixe -ĀMEN. Je suis même tenté de croire que **TORAMEN*, qui serait à **TORŪMEN* comme **TENERĀMEN* (vfr. *tendram*) est à **TENERŪMEN* (vfr. *tendrum*), est le type latin du substantif français *train* pris dans le sens de "partie antérieure et partie postérieure du cheval, du bœuf, etc." Car lorsqu'on parle du train de devant ou du train de derrière de ces animaux, n'a-t-on pas en vue surtout ce qu'exprimait précisément le latin *torus*, c'est-à-dire le développement musculaire des épaules et des cuisses? Toujours est-il que le *Dictionnaire Général*, pour établir la connexion entre ce *train* et le subst. verb. de *traîner*, en est réduit à dire: "partie de devant, de derrière de l'animal qui traîne une voiture, et, *par anal.* partie de devant, de derrière des chevaux, des bœufs, etc." Il serait plutôt permis de supposer qu'on a appelé de ce nom les *trains* d'une voiture parce que c'étaient deux parties assemblées et formant train. On aura ensuite comparé les quartiers de devant des bêtes aux deux roues de l'avant-train des voitures, et ainsi du reste; cette manière de voir semblerait être confirmée par l'existence dans le Haut-Maine de *chatri* "corps d'un animal sans les pattes" à côté de *châtis* "corps de la charette, moins les roues."⁸ On pourrait se demander aussi à propos du type latin **TORĀMEN*, si le mot *traveau* "partie indéterminée du corps d'un animal de boucherie" qu'on trouve dans le *Recueil* de Delboulle n'est pas une coquille pour **trameau* (= *trumeau*)?⁹ Le verbe *tramer* a son fréquentatif dans le wallon de Liège *trameter* "trotter" enregistré dans Grandgagnage, et cette dernière forme a le dérivé *strameter* "se dépêcher au plus vite, être occupé sans relâche" lequel se trouve aussi enregistré dans Grandgagnage comme appartenant au wallon de Malmédy.¹⁰

⁸ Voir le *Vocabulaire du Haut-Maine* de Montesson.

⁹ Quant à *m* (intervocalique) > *v*, *duvet* est le seul cas que je connaisse en français.

¹⁰ Au lieu de voir dans *strameter* un dérivée comparable au vfr. *escorre*, peut-être vaut-il mieux le considérer comme un parasyntétique formé à la manière du vfr. *esjamber*.

Torus a encore eu dans le latiu populaire de la Gaule le dérivé *TORACŪLARE d'où le patois de la Franche-Montagne tient son verbe *trāṣi* "enjamber, aller vite" que M. Grammont dit être d'origine inconnue ; dans l'ancienne langue il aurait revêtu la forme orthographique *TRAILLIER.¹¹

Outre les mots ci-dessus rapportés aux dérivés de *torus*, il en existe d'autres avec l'initiale sonore au lieu de sourde, pour lesquels la sémantique me semble réclamer la même origine. Il est vrai que le passage de *t*, *tr* initial à *d*, *dr* est beaucoup plus rare en Gaule que celui de *c*, *cr* à *g*, *gr* ; dans la grammaire de M. Nyrop, par exemple, ne sont cités que deux cas dont l'origine (non germanique) soit assez sûre : *dragée* et *drosse*, auxquels il conviendrait d'ajouter *draille*, variante de *traille* (< TRAGULA), et peut-être aussi *drouillet*, et *drouillette*, noms d'engins de pêche, qui doivent être des variantes de *trouille*, *trouillotte* et avoir la même étymologie, que *trouble*, *truble* (< TRIBŪLA). La grammaire de M. Meyer-Lübke ne donne pas de quoi allonger beaucoup la liste. Voici quelques autres cas pour le nord-est du territoire gallo-roman : dans Grandgagnage je trouve le namurois *dalant* "désir, besoin," variante de *talant*, et le liégeois *edamer* "entamer" ; dans une collection de mots intitulée *Étude sur le patois de la commune de Gaye (Marne)*, je trouve le troyen *daguer* "être essoufflé" donné comme variante de *taguer*.¹² Je ne citerai ni *drimer* "trimer" de ce même patois de Gaye, puisque ce mot est précisément de la famille dont il s'agit, ni *droler*, forme picarde de *trôler*, dont l'étymologie est incertaine. Une recherche plus étendue révélerait sans doute d'autres cas de *t* > *d* à l'initiale, mais je pense que ces exemples sont suffisants pour qu'on ne me taxe pas de trop grande témérité de vouloir rattacher à la fa-

qui signifiait quelquefois, comme l'italien *sgambare* "marcher ou courir à grands pas."

¹¹ Le même verbe, *trayie* (*trai-yie* : *ai* long), se trouve dans le *Gloss. du pat. de Montbéliard* (Contejean), p. 203, avec la définition "faire de grandes enjambées."

¹² M. C. Heuillard, auteur de cette *étude*, p. 118, définit *taguer* comme suit : "tirer la langue, haleter par l'effet de la chaleur et de la soif ; se dit des chiens, des volailles, etc." *Taguer* représente donc *PITHISICARE et on doit l'ajouter, avec *daguer*, à la liste des formes apparentées citée par M. Thomas, auteur de l'étymologie, dans *Rom.* xxxv, p. 298.

mille de *torus* des formes à l'initiale sonore. Ce sont des cas d'assimilation de la sourde initiale à la sonore suivante.

Pour *TORACŪLARE doux, et correspondant à *trāṣi* de la Franche-Montagne, Grandgagnage nous offre la forme liégeoise fréquentative *draieter* "courir, trimer, driller" avec son dérivé *adraieter* "accourir."¹³ Je n'hésite guère non plus à proposer de voir dans le français *driller* "courir" un dérivé *TORICŪLARE.¹⁴

Pour *TORAMEN, et correspondant au normand et luxembourgeois *tramer*, au morvandean *traimer*, au liégeois *trameter*, le patois de Vierset (prov. de Liège, arr. de Houy) nous offre *drām* "course" qui n'est autre que le subst. verb. fém. d'un verbe **dramer* dont il existe dans le même patois la forme fréquentative *drānte* "courir" et *adrānte* "accourir."¹⁵ Grandgagnage enregistre le namurois *drometer* "aller vite en se dépêchant, driller" où il y a eu labialisation de la voyelle devant *m*.¹⁶

Enfin pour *TORŪMEN, et correspondant à *trumeau*, *trumer*, *trimer*, le patois de Gaye (Marne) présente *drimer* "trimer," dont j'ai déjà fait mention plus haut, et le wallon de Vierset présente le verbe *drumkine* "courir à petits pas tout doucement."

NOTE COMPLÉMENTAIRE SUR LES DÉRIVÉS DE
tōrus (FR. *trogne*, *trognon*, MONTBÉ-
LIARDAIS ET POITEVIN *trouillon*,
ETC.).

Depuis avoir rédigé la note ci-dessus, je m'aperçois que le patois de Montbéliard a le substantif

¹³ La prononciation wallonne de ces verbes serait représentée dans une orthographe française par *draillleter*, &c. Notons qu'on a affaire ici aux mêmes conditions phonétiques que dans le franç. *traille*, *draille* (< TRAGŪLA).

¹⁴ Le sens de ce verbe s'oppose d'une part à l'explication par l'allemand *drillen* (Scheler, s. v.), ou par *drille* "chiffon" (Körting 3107), et d'autre part il exclut toute parenté avec *driller* "briller."

¹⁵ Les mots du patois de Vierset que je cite ici m'ont été fournis de vive voix par M. Arthur Soupard, originaire de ce pays (à présent entrepreneur de bâtiments à l'université d'Indiana), et confirmés de même par quatre de ses neveux, les fils Beck, récemment venus en Amérique du même pays natal.

¹⁶ Cf. le namurois *ēdaumer* "entamer" avec la forme liégeoise correspondant *edamer*. Grandgagnage rapproche

masculin *trouillon* signifiant "partie charnue ou potelée des membres,"¹ ce qui est la signification même du latin *tōrus* sur laquelle j'ai basé mon étymologie de *trumeau*. Un dérivé **torūcūlum* ne fait pas difficulté et, par l'addition du suffixe *-on*, il doit donner *trouillon*, toujours avec chute de la voyelle protonique.

Comme *torus* désignait aussi la partie la plus grosse du tronc d'un arbre (d'où vient qu'on a en portugais *toro* "tronc d'arbre", en montferrin *tore* "les branches les plus grosses d'un arbre", en espagnol *tuero* "grosse bûche du foyer et, aussi, rondin moins gros"),² on est en droit de supposer que **TORŪCŪLŌNEM* a eu aussi la même signification. Il me semble en effet être représenté dans ce sens en Gaule par le limousin *tourlhou* (avec métathèse) cité par Mistral à l'article *trounoun* "trognon, morceau", et par le poitevin *trouillon* que Fertiault, dans son *Dict. du lang. pop. verduno-chalonnais*, a compris dans les formes qu'il a introduites pour comparaison sous le mot *triquot* "gourdin, bâton taillé dans une grosse branche." Fertiault cite au même endroit le saintongeais *trille* qui peut bien représenter le dérivé **TORĪCŪLA*.³ On peut encore supposer qu'il a existé en latin vulgaire, avec le même sens de "tronc, souche," un dérivé **TORŌNEA*, lequel ferait pendant en quelque sorte, par son suffixe et par sa sémantique, à l'italien *pedagna* "souche d'arbre,"⁴ et serait devenu en français *trogne*. Littré donne comme troisième définition de *trogne* "arbre mis en têtard, dans quelques pays"; le *Glossaire des parlers du Bas-Maine*

(Dottin) enregistre le même mot avec la définition "souche, tronçon d'arbre"; et Mistral a la forme limousine *trouno* "souche, trouche." Par l'addition du suffixe *-ŌNEM*, **TORŌNEA* devient **TORŌNĪŌNEM* et nous mène au français *trognon* "pied, sans les feuilles, du chou, de la salade, etc." Mistral a enregistré à l'article *trounoun* "trognon, morceau" le gascon *trounoc* (avec suffixe *-ŌCCUM*) et le rouergat *tourrougnor*. Cette dernière forme, dont je ne comprends pas le suffixe *-or*, semble fournir un cas de la conservation de la voyelle du radical de *torus*. Il va sans dire que je considère *trogne*, *trognon* au sens de "visage" comme ne faisant point partie de cette famille de mots.

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THE USE OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN GERMAN TO INDICATE CERTAINTY OR FACT.

There seems to be a wide-spread view that the German subjunctive always denotes doubt, uncertainty, mere subjectivity, or unreality. Dr. Tenney Frank of Bryn Mawr College, in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. xxviii, pp. 273-286, bases his article "Latin vs. Germanic Modal Conceptions," upon this erroneous theory. He endeavors to prove that certain prevailing conceptions of German scholars concerning the Latin subjunctive in Indirect Discourse and Indirect Question are influenced by German usage, which he thinks is quite different from that in Latin. He remarks, p. 278: "In Latin, the subjunctive, whether in the subordinate clause of Indirect Discourse or Indirect Question, is, roughly speaking, an equivalent of quotation marks. It does not, in spite of all the above-mentioned contentions, indicate 'Zweifel, Ungewissheit, eine subjektive Vorstellung' . . . If Behaghel's definition were true for Latin we should not have the same construction following *scio*, *puto*, and *dico*, which differ so widely in respect to the amount of "Ungewissheit." We should find as in the old Germanic dialects that the mood shifted to indicate the

drometer, *trameter*, *trimer* du grec *δρέμων*; Scheler, dans une note qu'il a ajoutée à *Grandgagnage* s. v. *trameter*, propose comme étymologie alternative de ce verbe l'allemand *traben*, faisant appel au liégeois *trafeter* "trotter bruyamment, chevaucher."

¹ Voir le *Suppl.* du *Glossaire* de Contejean, p. 38, s. v. *drouille*.

² Je prends le mot montferrin dans Körtling, 2^e éd., s. v. *torus*; et les significations du mot espagnol, dans le 13^e éd. du *Dict. de l'Acad. Esp.*

³ Je m'en rapporte à Fertiault pour ces formes, et je suppose qu'il a voulu leur attribuer le même sens qu'au verduno-chalonnais *triquot*. Quant à *troualon* qu'il donne comme forme poitevine à côté de *trouillon*, je n'en comprends point la phonétique.

⁴ Je trouve *pedagna* et aussi l'ancien génois *peagno* avec la définition "souche d'arbre" dans la grammaire Meyer-Lübke, *trad. fr.*, II, p. 549.

degree of plausibility denoted by the leading word." On p. 277 he represents the old Germanic subjunctive as still flourishing in modern German and influencing the present conceptions of the Latin subjunctive.

It is difficult to understand how the idea could prevail that the German subjunctive is only used to denote unreality, doubt, uncertainty, or mere subjectivity, for the facts of the language clearly show that it is often employed to indicate certainty or fact: "Mein gauzer Feldzugsplan . . . fiel in sich zusammen vor der süßen Gewissheit, dass sie mich liebe" (Paul Keller's *Waldwinter*, xiv). "Ich wusste wohl, dass der Hund von edler Art sei" (Riehl's *Der stumme Ratsherr*, III). "Sie wusste, er werde doch nicht kommen" (Heyse's *Der Wein Hüter von Meran*, p. 271). "Ich war zugleich erheitert und entzückt, zumal der Vogel nach kurzer Pause zeigte, dass sein Reichthum noch lange nicht erschöpft sei" (H. Seidel's *Der Neuntöter*). "Als er in wenigen vorläufigen Worten vernahm, worum es sich handle, ordnete er an, dass" etc. (G. Keller's *Kleider machen Leute*). "Als er vernommen, dass es Deutsche wären, (subjunctive here of an actual fact), sagt er zu seiner Begleitung," etc. (Curt Gebauer in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. v, p. 462). It should be observed that the subjunctive is used here even after *wissen*, which denotes certainty. Likewise after *beweisen*: "Also hab' ich mit unsern alten Liedern bewiesen, dass alleiu der Glaub an Jesum Christum selig mach'" (Alberus *wider Witzel*). In two of these cases the subjunctive occurs after a verb in the first person, so that it is not possible to construe the statement as the subjective view of some one else. The speaker naturally regards his own beliefs and utterances as facts, so that as far as the intentions of the speakers in these cases are concerned the statements are represented as true. The subjunctive in these and countless similar cases simply denotes indirectness of statement and does not in the slightest degree cast doubt upon the assertion. It corresponds exactly to the Latin usage described by Dr. Frank.

It seems quite sure to the writer that Dr. Frank has not succeeded in establishing a difference of usage here between German and Latin, but it must be admitted that the use of the subjunctive in German to indicate certainty or fact was not as

common in earlier periods as it is to-day. It is quite frequently found in M. H. G. Paul in his *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*, p. 155, says: "Die einfachste Art die Abhängigkeit eines Satzes zu bezeichnen, ist die Setzung des Verbums in den Konjunktiv ohne Anwendung einer Konjunktion." He gives as an example: *ich bin gewis, ez sī ein rēhter jaspis*. The subjunctive here clearly indicates certainty. The subjunctive form was here preferred to the indicative because it better expressed the grammatical subordination of the clause or in other words, the indirectness of the statement.

This subjunctive of indirect statement with the idea of certainty or fact is sometimes found in Gothic, the oldest Germanic language: *hausidedun ei gatawidedi þo taikn* (John, xii, 18). The biblical writer here does not in the slightest degree desire to throw doubt upon the assertion by the use of the subjunctive, but uses it merely to indicate indirectness of statement. Likewise in l. 98 of the Old Saxon *Genesis*: *sinhiun samad quāðun, that sia wissin, that im that iro sundia gidedin* "Die Ehegatten sagten einander, dass sie wüssten, dass ihre Sünden ihnen das angetan hätten." Also in Old High German, Otfrid, II, 8, 23-4: *ei wēssa thoη in ālawar, | thaz īru thiū sin gūati nīrzīgi, thes siu bāti* "Sie (i. e., the Mother of Jesus) wusste, dass ihr seine (i. e., Her Son's) Güte nicht verweigern würde, um was sie ihn gebeten hatte." It should be noticed here that the subjunctive follows *wizzan*. There is also not the slightest doubt that the author himself believed in the statement fully and absolutely. Professor Delbrück, in his article *Der germanische Optativ*, in Paul und Braune's *Beiträge*, Vol. xxix, p. 223, in commenting on these lines, remarks: "wo in Bezug auf etwas in der Zukunft zu Erwartendes vom Standpunkt des anderen gesprochen wird." He seems loath to recognize that the subjunctive can be used after *wissen* without an element of doubt in the statement. On the same page he subscribes to Professor Erdmann's claim that Otfrid's use of *wizzan* in l. i, 4, 55: *Wio meg ih wizzan thanne, daz uns kind werde?* is due to Latin influence. Professor Delbrück seems to try usually to find something uncertain or doubtful in the subjunctive. He defends the first sentence from Otfrid on the grounds

that it is spoken from the standpoint of another and that the time is future. He sees in both of these points elements of doubt and an adequate explanation of the use of the subjunctive. In the second sentence from Otfrid, however, he cannot explain the use of the subjunctive after a verb in the first person, for this does not fit his theory of its being only used to indicate the view of another. He thus prefers to see Latin usage here rather than regard it as an early example of good German usage, which in our own time has become quite common, as illustrated by the sentence from Riehl given above. Professor Delbrück sometimes finds great difficulty in explaining the subjunctive after a verb in the first person. In one place, p. 221, remarking on the Old English sentence: *ic gelyfe on Crist þæt hē sīe sǣwla nergend*, "Ich glaube an Christus, dass er der Erlöser der Seelen sei," he says: "Der Optativ erklärt sich wahrscheinlich daraus, dass der Glaube als etwas von anderen Gelerntes gilt, und somit der Glaubende aus der Seele des anderen redet, von dem er den Glauben empfangen hat." This seems to the writer extremely far-fetched. The subjunctive here is simply the formal mark of grammatical subordination or, in other words, indirectness of statement. The idea is surely that of certainty. The subjunctive is freely used here even where some one relates his own inmost feelings, which belong only to himself and cannot be obtained from another: "Ich erzählte ihm, dass ich am heiligen Abend immer ein wenig betrübt sei, denn so schön wie im Kloster könne für mich Weihnachten nie wieder werden" (Hermine Villinger's *Simplicitas*, 34). This last sentence violates two of Professor Delbrück's rules for the subjunctive, for, on the one hand, the subjunctives follow a verb in the first person and cannot represent the view of another and, on the other hand, the tense of the first subjunctive is present expressing a general truth, true last year and also this year and not confined to the uncertain hazy future. It is, however, in perfect harmony with the good usage of to-day and the good usage of the earliest Germanic documents and illustrates the simple rule stated a number of times above, namely, the subjunctive is often used to state indirectly a certainty or fact. The fact may be reported of some one else or of one's self. The subjunctive simply

gives expression to the idea of indirect statement. Of course, the idea of certainty or fact lies in the context rather than in the subjunctive form. However, the subjunctive in no way suggests or hints at uncertainty, but often, as also the indicative, becomes the bearer of the idea of certainty. On the other hand, the indicative is often used where the connection clearly shows that the speaker does not believe the statement, but regards it as uncertain or even false: "Alle sagen, dass du mich verlassen wirst! Nicht wahr, du tust es nicht" (Schnitzler's *Liebelei*, p. 100).

The indicative in the last sentence has its history, but it does not concern us here. The natural question for us here is: "How did the meaning of certainty ever become associated with the subjunctive in Indirect Discourse?" The original meaning of the subjunctive here was undoubtedly that of uncertainty, doubt, or mere subjectivity, and this original meaning is still quite common. It seems to the writer that the use of the subjunctive to express certainty or fact developed out of its use to express a subjective view. With the idea of subjectivity is usually associated the idea of uncertainty, but this is not necessarily so. We may refer to the opinion of another, especially some one of power and influence to strengthen our own position. Thus a boy can defend some course of action which he has just taken by the words: "Mein Vater glaubt, es sei besser, diesen Weg einzuschlagen." Thus the subjunctive can be employed to express ideas with confidence and assurance without the slightest tinge of uncertainty. It is accordingly evident that the idea of certainty and that of uncertainty are both associated with the subjunctive and both are quite common to-day. Only the context can determine the meaning in the particular case.

It is not the desire of the writer to represent here the use of the subjunctive to express certainty or fact as a new view. This plain truth must be widely known. The writer has treated it at length and from different points of view in his *Grammar of the German Language*. Since the publication of his work he has often observed in conversation with friends that the conception that the subjunctive always denotes uncertainty is very common. Especially common is the erroneous impression that the indicative always fol-

lows *wissen*. The writer has been tempted to say something here on this point as he has also noticed that a number of scholars seem to hold this view. Besides the article of Dr. Frank mentioned above a review in *Anzeiger für Deutsches Altertum*, Vol. xxx, pp. 174-8, by V. E. Mourek, has attracted the writer's attention. Dr. Mourek in his article seems to combat the idea that the subjunctive can have the mere force of grammatical subordination and sees in every subjunctive in every subordinate clause independent force which is determined by the circumstances indicated in the clause itself. It is to be regretted that Dr. Mourek has not explained himself more fully and illustrated his point of view by examples. If the writer understands him, what he says is only true for the early use of the subjunctive. Even the eminent scholar, Professor Delbrück, does not, as it seems to the writer, distinguish clearly in the article referred to above, the use of the subjunctive to indicate certainty or fact. On p. 235 he admits that sometimes in subjunctive clauses the speaker may agree with the ideas of the person reported, but he seems to see the real cause of the use of the subjunctive in the fact that it is after all the view of some one else. It has been shown above that the subjunctive is also often used after verbs in the first person and that the real meaning of the subjunctive is often merely that of indirectness.

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PAMPINEA AND ABROTONIA. II.

In the account of Boccaccio's falling in love with Maria which appears in the preface embodied in the first book of the *Filocolo*,²³ occur the passages "me, cui lungamente a mia istanza [Amore] avea risparmiato . . .";²⁴ "io il quale ho la tua [di Amore] signoria lungamente temendo fuggita . . .";²⁵ "Io non ti [Amore] posso più

fuggire, nè di fuggirti desidero";²⁶ and "... ritornando egli [il cuore] nel primo tremore . . ."²⁷

In the dedicatory letter of the *Teseide*,²⁸ Boccaccio, addressing Maria, uses the words "... la piacevole immagine della vostra intera bellezza; la quale, più possente che 'l mio proponimento, di sè e di Amore . . . mi fece soggetto."²⁷

The determination not to be taken in the wiles of love alluded to in four of the passages quoted in the two preceding paragraphs corresponds to the similar determinations of Idalagos, Caleone and Troilo.

Sonnet xxx in the *Rime* of Boccaccio is as follows:—

"Se mi bastasse allo scriver l'ingegno
La mirabil bellezza, e il gran valore
Di quella Donna a cui died' il mio core
Amor, della mia fede eterno pegno,
E ancora l'angoscia ch' io sostegno,
O per lo suo o per lo mio errore,
Veggendo me della sua grazia fore
Esser sospinto da crudele sdegno,
Io mostrerei assai chiaro ed aperto,
Che 'l pianger mio e'l mio essere smorto
Maraviglia non sia, ma ch' io sia vivo.
Ma poi non posso, ciaschedun sia certo
Ch' egli è maggiore assai il duol ch'io porto,
Che 'l mio viso non mostra e ch' io non scrivo."

Crescini²⁸ thinks this sonnet written after the infidelity of Maria. L. Manicardi and A. F. Massera²⁹ think it written either during the courtship of Maria as a complaint against her unkindness, or after her infidelity. Della Torre³⁰ points out that lines 7 and 8 are too mild to be applicable to Maria's infidelity, and thinks the sonnet written during a temporary loss of her favor due to jealousy on her part.

The uncertainty as to the cause of the loss of favor indicated in lines 5 and 6 does not correspond to Boccaccio's certainty as to the infidelity of Maria.

This uncertainty does correspond to the uncertainty of Caleone as to the cause of his loss of the

²³ Boccaccio, *Filocolo*, vol. I (= *Opere volgari*, vol. VII), Firenze, 1829, pp. 4-6. This preface was written soon after the beginning of Boccaccio's courtship of Maria.

²⁴ *Ed. cit.*, p. 5.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁶ Boccaccio, *La Teseide* (= *Opere volgari*, vol. IX), Firenze, 1831, pp. 1-7. The *Teseide* was written after the return to Florence.

²⁷ *Ed. cit.*, p. 1.

²⁸ *Contributo*, p. 183.

²⁹ *Introduzione al testo critico del canzoniere di Giovanni Boccacci*, Castelfiorentino, 1901, pp. 44-45.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

favor of Abrotonia. The words spoken by Abrotonia, "qui venute semo a porti silenzio, se più ne volessi cantare," seem to me to imply that after the loss of her favor and before the final rejection Boccaccio continued writing in her honor, in the hope that he might thus regain her favor. This is just such a sonnet as he would have written under such conditions.³¹

Insignificant allusions to the love affairs earlier than that with Maria appear in sonnet LXII, in the words, "... colei . . . che disciolto Ne' legami d'Amor soavemente Con gli occhi suoi mi pose . . ."; in the *Proemio* of the *Filostrato*, in the words, "io, il qualc quasi dalla mia pucizia insino a questo tempo ne' servigi d'amore sono stato . . .";³² and in the account of Fiammetta's falling in love with Panfilo in the first chapter of the *Fiammetta*,³³ in the words of Fiammetta, written with reference to the behavior of Panfilo, "... siccome esperto in più battaglie amorose . . ." ³⁴

Certain personages in the writings of Boccaccio have been incorrectly identified with the originals of Pampinea and Abrotonia.

In the first eclogue of Boccaccio, entitled *Galla*,³⁵ Damon relates to Tyndarus the story of

his (Damon's) love for Galla, stating that she has proved faithless to him for love of Pamphilus. The scene is laid in the country near Florence. The eclogue opens as follows:—

- Dam.* "Tyndare non satius fuerat nunc arva Vesevi;
Et Gauri silvas, tenera iam fronde virentes
Incolere, ac gratos gregibus deducere rivos,
Quam steriles Arni frustra discurrere campos?
Quid stolidus moneo? prudens es, dic tamen oro,
Quæ te cura gravis jussit superare nivosas
Alpes? & fluidas valles transire coëgit?
Tyn. O Damon, Damon, quantum sibi quisque beavit,
Qui potuit mentis rabidos sedare tumores,
10 Et parvas habitare casas, nemora atque remota?
Quod nequeam, dure de me voluere sorores.
Hinc igitur tauros curo deducere silvis
Alcesti, sic atra juhet, volvitque cupido." ³⁶

Between lines 36 and 37, in Damon's account of his falling in love with Galla, once stood the line, later rejected,

(*Dam.*) "Dum primo calamos uolui subflare palustres." ³⁷

The poetical ability of Pamphilus is indicated in the following passages:

- (*Dam.*) 65 "Et stipula doctus pariter fidibusque canoris,
Carmen inauditum cœpit, tunc sistere silvas
Cantu, & stare capros & ludere saltibus hædos
Videsses"; ³⁸
(*Dam.*) 115 O quantum natura parens, tibi Pamphile,
rcrum,
Posse dedit nemori, tu sertisnectere flores,
Tu cantu recreare greges, fluviisque quietem
Ponere, tu validas ornos, cautesque movere
Novisti, & mulcere Deos, & flectere
montes." ³⁹

In the second eclogue, entitled *Pampinea*,⁴⁰

presented by Dr. E. K. Rand in his article, *The Early Eclogues of Boccaccio and their Relation to Those of Petrarch*, in the April number of *Modern Language Notes*, page 111. That the first two eclogues of Boccaccio were written before 1348 is indicated by the fact that they show no influence of the second eclogue of Petrarch, with which Boccaccio was probably acquainted in 1348 (cf. H. Hauvette, *Notes sur des manuscrits autographes de Boccaccio à la bibliothèque laurientienne*, in *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.*, xiv (1894), pp. 111-133), and by the fact that the first draft of the third eclogue of Boccaccio was probably written in 1348 (cf. Hauvette, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.).

³⁶*Ed. cit.*, p. 257, corrected by readings of the autograph ms. given by O. Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, Braunschweig, 1902, p. 74.

³⁷Cf. Hecker, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

³⁸*Ed. cit.*, p. 259.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 260.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 261.

³¹For earlier attempts to discover among the *Rime* documents of the love affairs under consideration, cf. Crescini, *Contributo*, p. 166, n. 2, where the earlier discussions of the questions are summarized; Manicardi and Massera, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36; Crescini, *Di due recenti saggi sulle liriche del Boccaccio*, in *Atti e memorie d. R. Acc. . . in Padova*, N. S. xviii (1902), p. 67 and p. 69, n. 2; and Della Torre, *op. cit.*, p. 137, n. 1. Each of the several claims made has been shown to be without substantial basis. It may further be noted, with regard to sonnet CI, that Boccaccio can hardly have engaged in a poetical correspondence with Pucci at so early a period, and with regard to madrigal II, that the words "Negli anni primi di mia giovinezza . . . vostro fui" can hardly have been written until early youth was past.

³²*Ed. cit.*, p. 1.

³³Boccaccio, *Fiammetta* (= *Opere volgari*, vol. VI), Firenze, 1829, pp. 7-12; *Opere minori*, pp. 23-27. I quote from the latter edition.

³⁴*Ed. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

³⁵In *Carmina illustrium poetarum italorum*, vol. II, *Florentia*, 1719, p. 257. The first two eclogues of Boccaccio were written after the return to Florence, as is shown by the location of the scene. That the first eclogue of Boccaccio was written before the second eclogue of Petrarch, which was written in 1346, is indicated by the evidence

Palamon relates the story of his love for Pampinea, stating that she has proved faithless to him for love of Glaucus. The scene is laid in the country near Florence.

In the letter to Fra Martino da Signa,⁴¹ written by request as an introduction to the entire series of eclogues, Boccaccio states that the titles and many of the names of the interlocutors in the several eclogues are significant, but says as he begins his review of the several eclogues, "de primis duabus Eclogis seu earum titulis, vel collocutoribus, nolo cures, nullius enim momenti sunt et ferè iuveniles lascivias meas in cortice pandunt."⁴²

A. Hortis⁴³ and G. Körting⁴⁴ think it probable, and C. Antona-Traversi⁴⁵ thinks it certain, that the Pampinea of the second eclogue represents the same original as the Pampinea of the *Ameto*. Hortis thinks it possible that the Galla of the first eclogue represents the Abrotonia of the *Ameto*. These opinions are based upon the appearance of the name *Pampinea* in the second eclogue and in the *Ameto* and upon the theory that the passage in the letter to Fra Martino quoted above indicates that the eclogues in question were intended to reflect early love affairs of Boccaccio. B. Zumbini⁴⁶ maintains that the fact that the scene of the second eclogue is near Florence and that of the story of Caleone in Naples indicates that the two Pampinees are not to be identified. He thinks the love affairs reflected in the two eclogues entirely or almost entirely fictitious. He points out that the experience set forth in each of these eclogues is equivalent to the experience of Damon in the eighth eclogue of Virgil and to that of Gallus in the tenth eclogue

of Virgil, and that much of the phraseology of these two eclogues of Boccaccio is derived from passages in eclogues of Virgil.⁴⁷ He maintains that the insertion of the word *ferè* in the passage in the letter was an implicit confession on the part of Boccaccio that the eclogues were not intended to reflect definite love affairs of Boccaccio. Crescini⁴⁸ thinks that the eclogues reflect real love affairs of Boccaccio, but does not attempt to identify those love affairs. He points out that the fact that the eclogues are so intimately related to the eclogues of Virgil does not exclude the possibility that they may at the same time reflect the actual experience of Boccaccio. He thinks the *ferè* simply an additional sign of Boccaccio's feeling that the eclogues were unimportant. H. Hauvette⁴⁹ thinks the eclogues intended to synthesize Boccaccio's entire amorous experience. He agrees with Zumbini as to the *ferè*.

Identity in name does not prove identity in person. The name *Egon* designates the Archbishop Giovanni Visconti in the letter *Ut huic epistole*, King Robert in the ninth eclogue and the Pope in the sixteenth eclogue.⁵⁰ In explaining the eleventh eclogue to Fra Martino Boccaccio writes: "pro Glauco autem ego intelligo Petrum Apostolum."⁵¹ Glaucus in the second eclogue certainly does not represent St. Peter. In explaining the fifth eclogue Boccaccio writes: "pro Pamphilo autem accipi potest quem maluerimus ex neapolitanis civitatem suam integrè diligentem, cum *Pamphilus* græce, latinè *totus* dicatur amor."⁵² Pamphilo in the *Fiammetta* represents Boccaccio himself. Supposing the originals of the two Pampinees not identical, Boccaccio's use of the name in the later of the two works may have been caused by essential similarity of the characteristics of the person to be named with the characteristics of the original of the Pampinea of the earlier of the two works, or simply by Boccaccio's satisfaction with the name. It will appear presently that the passage in the letter to Fra Martino does not necessarily indicate that the

⁴¹ In F. Corazzini, *Le lettere edite e inedite di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio*, Firenze, 1877, p. 267. This letter was written after the last eclogue, which was written about 1366.

⁴² *Ed. cit.*, p. 268.

⁴³ *Studi sulle opere latine del Boccaccio*, Trieste, 1879, pp. 1-3.

⁴⁴ *Boccaccio's Leben und Werke*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 693-4.

⁴⁵ In his translation of M. Landau, *Giovanni Boccaccio, sua vita e sue opere*. Napoli, 1882, pp. 893-904. This passage appears with very slight modifications and additions under the title *Le prime amanti di messer Giovanni Boccaccio* in *Fanfulla d. Domenica*, May 7, 1882.

⁴⁶ *Le egloghe del Boccaccio*, in *Giornale stor. d. lett. ital.*, VII (1886), pp. 97-102.

⁴⁷ Zumbini's list of Virgilian imitations might be somewhat extended. The two eclogues show influence of the eclogues of Dante and of Giovanni del Virgilio as well.

⁴⁸ *Contributo*, pp. 249-250.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁵⁰ Cf. Hecker, *op. cit.* p. 47, n. 1.

⁵¹ *Ed. cit.*, p. 271.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 269.

eclogues in question were intended to reflect early love affairs of Boccaccio.

The experience of Palæmon with Pampinea does not correspond to the experience of Caleone with Pampinea : in the eclogue Pampinea is faithless to Palæmon for love of Glaucus, whereas in the *Ameto* Caleone forsakes the courtship of Pampinea in order to court Abrotonia. The experience of Damon with Galla does not correspond to the experience of Caleone with Abrotonia : Galla is faithless to Palæmon for love of Pamphilus, whereas Caleone is utterly unable to determine the cause of his rejection by Abrotonia. The theory that the eclogues refer to the love affairs earlier than that with Maria is then to be rejected.

There remain five inherently plausible theories as to the source of the substance of each of the two eclogues : first, that the experience set forth in the eclogue was intended to reflect Boccaccio's love affair with Maria ; second, that it was intended to reflect a love affair of Boccaccio later than that with Maria ; third, that it was intended to synthesize the entire amorous experience of Boccaccio ; fourth, that it was intended to reflect the experience of an acquaintance of Boccaccio ; fifth, that it was intended to reflect the experience set forth in the eighth and tenth eclogues of Virgil. These theories are not mutually exclusive. The similarity of the two eclogues renders it inherently probable that the substance of the one is derived from the same source as the substance of the other.

The first of these theories was held by Körting for the first eclogue. The experience of Damon with Galla and that of Palæmon with Pampinea correspond to that of Boccaccio with Maria. The location of the scene, however, proves that reflection of the affair with Maria cannot have been the primary intention of either eclogue.

The second theory, suggested, though not defended, by Antona-Traversi, is rendered untenable by the rejected line quoted above. Even in so general an indication of age at the time of *innamoramento*, Boccaccio could not possibly have disregarded the literary production inspired by his love for Maria.

The third theory is that of Hauvette. There is no evidence that any actual experience of Boccaccio other than that with Maria corresponded to the experience of Damon and Palæmon. The

earlier love affairs present material for synthesis in a poem of unhappy love only in that the affair just preceding that with Maria was the source of disappointment and grief to Boccaccio. Conscious subjective synthesis seems foreign to the genius of Boccaccio.

The fourth theory, not previously suggested, is supported by several considerations. The opening lines of the first eclogue indicate that Tyndarus has recently come, against his will, from Naples to Florence. Such was precisely the experience of Boccaccio, probably not long before the writing of the eclogue. The poetical ability of the successful rival of Damon is particularly indicated : a single series of laudatory lines might have passed as merely conventional, but the recurrence of the praise seems significant. It is extremely unlikely that Boccaccio should have attributed such superiority in poetical ability to a successful rival of his own. The tenth eclogue of Virgil afforded him an instance of an eclogue written for a friend, picturing that friend's amorous distress. It is recognized that in the *Ameto* Boccaccio narrates love affairs of Florentine acquaintances.

The reflection of a definite love affair of Boccaccio, then, is not the primary intention of either eclogue. The fact remains, however, that the experience set forth in these eclogues is essentially the experience of Boccaccio with Maria. It is inconceivable that Boccaccio should have written and revised the eclogues without recognizing this correspondence. This inevitable recognition accounts sufficiently for the *iuveniles lascivias meas in cortice pandunt* of the letter to Fra Martino, and the fact that the primary intention of the eclogues was not the reflection of a definite love affair of Boccaccio accounts sufficiently for the *ferè*.

The ladies of the frame-story of the *Decameron*⁵³ are first named in the order Pampinea, Fiammetta, Filomena, Emilia, Lauretta, Neifile, Elisa.⁵⁴ Their order of queenship is Pampinea, Filomena, Neifile, Fiammetta, Elisa, Lauretta, Emilia. The men are first named in the order Panfilò, Filostrato, Dioneo.⁵⁵ Their order of

⁵³ Boccaccio, *Il Decameron . . . postillato da P. Fanfani*, vol. I, Firenze, 1897. The *Decameron* was written in the years 1348-1353.

⁵⁴ *Ed. cit.*, p. 17.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

kingship is Filostrato, Dioneo, Panfilo. It is generally recognized that Fiammetta represents Maria and that Dioneo represents Boccaccio.

Landau,⁵⁶ Hortis,⁵⁷ Körting⁵⁸ and Rossi⁵⁹ think that the Pampinea of the frame-story represents the same original as the Pampinea of the *Ameto*. This opinion is based in each case primarily upon the identity of the names. Hortis and Rossi support this opinion by the consideration that as the Pampinea of the *Ameto* was the first love of Caleone, so the Pampinea of the *Decameron* figures as the first and the oldest of the ladies of the *lieta brigata*. Rossi adds the consideration that the Pampinea of the *Decameron* is queen of the first day. Zumbini⁶⁰ doubts and Hauvette⁶¹ rejects the identification on the ground that the two Pampinees have no evident community of characteristics.

It has been shown above that identity in name does not suffice to prove identity in person. The Pampinea of the *Ameto* and the Pampinea of the second eclogue do not represent the same original. It will be shown presently that the order of queenship does not reflect a chronological sequence of love affairs.

There is not sufficient evidence to warrant a decision for or against the identification of the two Pampinees.

Rossi⁶² thinks that the Filomena of the frame-story represents the same original as the Abrotonia of the *Ameto*. This opinion arises as a consequence of two theories advanced by Rossi:⁶³ first, that all seven ladies of the frame-story represent loves of Boccaccio and that all three men represent Boccaccio himself;⁶⁴ second, that the order of queenship reflects the chronological order of Boccaccio's love affairs with the originals of the several queens. The first theory is based upon the general opinion that Fiammetta and

Dioneo represent Maria and Boccaccio respectively, upon the identification of the two Pampinees, and upon the facts that the Panfilo of the *Fiammetta* and the hero of the *Filostrato* represent Boccaccio. Rossi supports his opinion by the consideration that the names Filomena and Abrotonia both indicate excellence in singing.⁶⁵

It has been shown that the identification of the two Pampinees is uncertain and that identity in name does not prove identity in person. Pamphilus in the fifth eclogue does not represent Boccaccio. The lovers referred to in the song of Lauretta at the end of the third *giornata* and in that of Elisa at the end of the sixth *giornata* are certainly other than Boccaccio.⁶⁶ Each of the three men is in love with one of the three women. Rossi's theory as to the significance of the order of queenship is not a necessary consequence of his theory as to the originals of the personages. More inherent probability of chronological significance attaches to the order of first mention than to the order of queenship. Rossi thinks that Panfilo represents an early Boccaccio, Filostrato a later Boccaccio, and Dioneo a still later Boccaccio. In this case the order of kingship is non-chronological. The theory requires the occurrence of two love affairs between that with the original of the Pampinea of the *Ameto* and that with Maria. It has appeared above that Boccaccio engaged in no love affair between the rejection by the original of Abrotonia and the beginning of the courtship of Maria. The uncertainty of the derivation of the name Abrotonia and the insufficiency of excellence in singing as a basis for identification have been noted above.

Filomena is twice termed *discretissima*,⁶⁷ a characterization hardly appropriate to the original of Abrotonia.

The theory that Filomena and Abrotonia represent the same original is then to be rejected.

Antona-Traversi,⁶⁸ Crescini⁶⁹ and Della Torre⁷⁰

⁵⁶ Giovanni Boccaccio, *sein Leben und seine Werke*, Stuttgart, 1877, pp. 29-30.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 150, n. 1.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁶¹ *Les ballades du Décaméron*, in *Journal d. savants*, 1905, p. 492.

⁶² *Op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 146-179.

⁶⁴ The theory that the three men represent Boccaccio is advanced also by Manicardi and Massera, *Le dieci ballate del "Decameron,"* in *Miscellanea stor. d. Valdelsa*, ix (1901), 108.

⁶⁵ See note 7.

⁶⁶ Cf. Manicardi and Massera, *Le dieci ballate*, p. 107.

⁶⁷ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 21, 76.

⁶⁸ *Notizie storiche sull' Amoroza visione*, in *Studi d. fil. rom.*, i (1885), p. 425: "egli non ama nessuna di queste donne."

⁶⁹ *Contributo*, p. 57: "Fino a questo punto Idalgos non ha provata intensa e profonda la passione amorosa," and p. 167, n.: "... uno de' temperati amori precedenti a

consider the love affairs earlier than that with Maria of slight importance.

The affair with the original of Abrotonia was, I believe, of very great significance in the experience of Boccaccio.

Boccaccio's love for her was intense. This is indicated in the story of Idalagos by the words "a seguitar costui si dispose alquanto più l'animo ch' alcuno degli altri uccelli" in view of the earlier expression with regard to the blackbird "oltremodo desiderar mi si fece"; in the story of Caleone by the success of Caleone's courtship of Abrotonia and by his repeated attempts to regain her favor; and in the results of the rejection noted in the five following paragraphs.

Boccaccio was bitterly grieved at his rejection. This is indicated in the story of Caleone by the passages "mi era materia di pessima vita" and "da greve doglia sospinta" and by the entire account from this point to the beginning of the second part of the vision; in the *Filostrato*, I, xxiii; and in sonnet xxx, if my theory as to the occasion of its composition is correct.

Out of this grief there developed an intense hostility to love and to womankind, which continued until the beginning of Boccaccio's love for Maria. This hostility is directly expressed in the *Filostrato*, I, xxii.

This hostility manifested itself in the determination never to be taken in the wiles of love again. This determination is indicated in the story of Idalagos by the passage "Sentendomi il cuore . . . m'era guardato"; in the story of Caleone by the passages "cessino gli Iddii . . . diventi d'alcuna" and "alle vostre bellezze . . . apersi"; in the *Filostrato*, I, xxiv, xxxviii, and l, and in the preface of the *Filocolo* and in the dedicatory letter of the *Teseide* by the passages quoted above.

This hostility found vent in the mocking of men whom Boccaccio knew to be in love. This mocking is reflected in the *Filostrato*, I, xxi, xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxix, 1-2, 5-6, xxxi, xxxii, l, and li.

quello di Fiammetta . . ."; *Di due recenti saggi*, p. 67, n. 2: "... uno de' primi temperati amori del Boccaccio . . ."

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 130: "Son . . . amorette non profondamente sentiti dal Nostro,"

At the time of the beginning of Boccaccio's love for Maria, the consciousness that he had fallen in love again brought with it self-scorn due to the realization that he, the professed enemy of love, should have fallen its victim, and fear that those whom he had mocked would in turn mock him. This self-scorn is reflected in the *Filostrato*, I, l. This fear is reflected in the *Filostrato*, I, xxxi, xxxv, li, liv, and II, viii.

Upon the infidelity of Maria there ensued an intense grief and an intense hostility to love. Memory of the rejection by the original of Abrotonia and of the consequent grief and hostility to love undoubtedly increased the bitterness of the hostility consequent upon the infidelity of Maria. The most striking expression of this later hostility, perhaps, is in the reply of Fiammetta to Galeone's objection to her verdict in the seventh question in the fourth book of the *Filocolo*. Fiammetta says:

"Il principio di costui [amore per diletto] niuna altra cosa è che paura, il suo mezzo è peccato, e il suo fine è dolore e noia . . . Egli è senza dubbio guastatore degli animi, e vergogna, e angoscia, e passione, e dolore e pianto di quelli, e mai senza amaritudine non consente che sia il cuore di chi lo tiene." ¹¹

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A NOTE ON CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE

Near the end of his famous characterization of the Friar, Chaucer says,

"His purchas was wel bettre than his rente."

(*Prolog.*, 256.)

The interpretation of the line has given some difficulty. Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, v, 28) glosses: "*Purchas* = proceeds of his begging. What he acquired in this way was greater than his rent or income"; and cites D. 1451, "My purchas is the effect of al my rente," and *Rose*, 6837,

"To winne is alway myn entente,

My purchas is better than my rent,"

where the French text (l. 11760) has,

"Miex vaut mes porchas que ma rente."

¹¹ Vol. II, *ed. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

In his note to D. 1451, Mr. Skeat glosses: "What I can thus acquire is the substance of all my income." He does not, however, give any reasons for the interpretation he adopts, and does not consider the other passages in which Chaucer uses one or both of the difficult words.

Flügel (*Anglia*, XXIII, 233 ff.) offers an entirely different explanation. He cites the two lines (*Prologue*, 252 b and c) found only in the Hengwrt MS.:

"And yaf a certeyn ferme for the graunt
Noon of his bretheren cam ther in his haunt,"

maintaining that *rente* is equivalent to *ferme*, and means the sum paid to his order by the Friar for his privilege of begging.¹ But even if we overlook the fact that the lines in which the word *ferme* occurs are found in but one of the manuscripts of the *Prologue*, Flügel's article seems to prove nothing beyond the fact that *rente* might have in Chaucer's time the modern sense of a sum paid to some one in return for a privilege.² To do this it is not necessary, however, to go outside of Chaucer, as references to be given presently will show. The interpretation, it must be admitted, makes good sense of the line, and fits the lines from the Hengwrt MS.; it does not seem, however, that the case is proved. Nowadays, the term "rent" is applied indifferently to a sum paid another and to a sum received by another. Obviously it is necessary to inquire, first, what was Chaucer's usual meaning when he used the word, particularly in passages in which the word *purchas*

also occurs; and, second, whether these two words were used together, in Chaucer's time or earlier, so frequently as to acquire a stock meaning, or to become proverbial.³

If we inquire, first, as to Chaucer's usage, we find two cases in which Flügel's interpretation is applicable:

"Dredeles, I have ever yit
Be tributary, and yiven *rente*
To love hoolly with good entente."
(*Boke of the Duchesse*, 764-5.)

and,

"As I best can, to you, Lord, give ich al
For evere mo myn hertes lust to *rente*."
(*Troilus*, II, 829-830.)

In most instances of Chaucer's use of the word, however, the meaning "sum paid in return for privilege" will not apply, the sense being rather "income," either as in the modern usage or with the meaning legal income of any sort. Examples are as follows:

"Everich for the wisdom that he can
Was shaply for to been an alderman,
For catel hadde they ynogh and *rente*."
(*Prologue*, 371-374.)

"And eek men broghte him out of his contree
From yeer to yeer, ful prively, his *rente*."
(*A.* 1442-1443.)

"For Deeth, that taketh of heigh and logh his *rente*."
(*B.* 1142.)

"King, God to thy fader sente
Glorie and honour, regne, tresour, *rente*."
(*B.* 3400-3401.)

¹ So far as *purchas* is concerned, there is no doubt as to its meaning in Chaucer's time and long after. Examples of its use as applied to illegal gains, even in the Elizabethan period, are not difficult to find. In the *Faerie Queene* (I, 3, 16) we read,

"For on his backe a heavy load he bare
Of nightly stelths, and pillage severall,
Which he had got abroad by *purchas* criminall."

And again (*F. Q.*, VI, 11, 12):

"To whom the Captaine in full angry wize
Made answere, that the mayd of whom they spake,
Was his owne *purchase* and his onely prize."

In Shakspeare, among other examples, we have,

"Thou shalt have a share in our *purchase*, as I am a true man."

(*I Henry IV*, II, 1, near the end.)

and,

"They will steal a ything, and call it *purchase*."
(*Henry V*, III, 2, 45.)

¹ Flügel says that the meaning is "dass der hallunke nicht alles an den orden ablieferete, er brauchte ja doch geld für die schönen messer, die tabernen und die frauenzimmer, er hatte ja auch sein gewissen beruhigt, indem er durch die runde pachtsumme gleichsam dem orden genügte, und seiner verantwortlichkeit sich ledig glaubte. Der frere, will Ch. sagen, behielt noch von seinem erbetelten ein schönes sümmchen (wel bettere) übrig über seine pachtsumme." The editors of the Globe edition (p. 4, note) adopt the same view.

² Some of the citations are better than others. The best are from a charter of 1355: "Meliorabitur ferma sive Renda dicti Prioratus pro premisus"; and a "contractus Monialium" of 1403: "Tradiderunt et concesserunt ad Rendam sive firmam," etc. Particularly doubtful in meaning is the extract from Jacke Upland (Chaucer ed. Speght, 348 b): "Why heire you to ferme your limitours, giving therefore each year a certain rent, and will not suffer one in another's limitation?"

"Succedyng in thy regne and in thy *rente*."
(B. 3572.)

"And, for that was the fruyt of al his *rente*,
Therefore on it he sette al his entente."
(D. 1372-1373.)

"I am a feend ; my dwelling is in helle,
And heere I ryde aboute my *purchasing*,
To wite wher men wol yeve me anything
My *purchas* is theffete of al my *rente*.
Looke how thou rydest for the same entente :
To wynne good, thou rekkest never how."
(D. 1448-1453.)

The last quotation (from the *Friar's Tale*) comes nearest to the use in the passage under discussion, and it is difficult to see how Flügel's interpretation can be made to apply. The meaning of "purchasing" is fixed, not only by its general use in the sense of illegal gains, but by such passages in Chaucer as D. 1529, "And bothe we goon abouten oure *purchas*," and, finally, by the last two lines of the quotation, in which the summoner is advised to get money, whether by fair means or foul. These profits that are thus picked up here and there, says the fiend, are the substance of all my income : go thou and do likewise.

Thus far it seems clear (1) that the word "rent" in Chaucer's time, as now, might have the meanings "sum paid by another" and "sum paid to another"; (2) that when used in reference to income, it always had the sense of legal income, as contrasted with "purchas," which generally connotes practices of doubtful propriety; (3) that Chaucer's most frequent use of the word has the sense of "legal income," this being especially clear in the passage most closely parallel to the one under discussion. It is extremely probable, therefore, that Chaucer means to say of his friar, that he made more by unjust and dishonorable practices than the sum allowed him by his superior amounted to; in other words, he used graft and blackmail like a corrupt policeman. Fortunately further and this time apparently conclusive evidence is at hand.

There is a passage in one of the Towneley plays, written not far from Chaucer's time, in which almost the same phrase occurs, but in a context which admits of but one interpretation. In the play named *Coliphizacio*, Cayphas, who is characterized throughout as a corrupt government official, speaks as follows (stanza xviii) :

"Lad, I am a prelate, a lord in degre,
Syttys in myn astate as thou may se,
Knyghtys on me to wate in dyverse degre,
I myght thole the abate and knele on thi kne,
In my present ;
As euer syng I mes,
Whoso kepis the lawe, I gess,
He gettis more by purches
Then bi his fre rent,"

Which means, whoever has to do with governing (*kepis the lawe*) has it in his power to make more money through "graft" (*purches*) than he is entitled to by his legal income (*rent*).⁴ It is clear (1) that Flügel's interpretation will not fit this passage, the meaning being perfectly certain not only from the passage itself but from the characterization of Cayphas given by the context; (2) that we have here a use of the two words connected in a manner very similar to that of the line in the *Prologue*. If now we compare the four passages most closely parallel in construction, *i. e.*, A. 256 and D. 1451, in Chaucer; the line from the *Romance of the Rose*, and the stanza from the mystery play, it seems safe to infer that we have a formula or stock expression for indicating the superiority of "graft" over more righteous methods of acquiring wealth.

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HERMANN UND DOROTHEA : A CONTESTED INTERPRETATION.

Professor Heller presents in the *Modern Language Notes* for January an interpretation of a passage in the ninth canto of *Hermann und Dorothea*, which has been suggested to him in the course of his instruction. He regards *er* (ix, 251) as relating, not to the subject of the principal sentence, but to the noun *Nachbar* in a pre-

⁴Pollard's gloss upon this passage (*English Miracle Plays*, &c., p. 233), is wholly inadmissible: "Who has the law in his keeping wins more by his profession than by his lands." The sense of "purchas," as already noted, is fixed by its continual application to illegal and improper gains; and there is no warrant for thinking that by "rent" Cayphas is thinking of any landed estates.

ceding sentence. The object of his explanation is to relieve the pastor from any apparent harshness or lack of tact in reminding Dorothea of an earlier engagement just as he is in the act of solemnly betrothing her to Hermann. The pastor catches sight of her previous engagement ring, and expresses the hope that her first lover may not present himself with a protest of objection. An effort is made to transfer this remark to the apothecary, since the pastor knew of Dorothea's earlier betrothal (canto vi, ll. 186-190). The surprise apparently expressed by the pastor (*staunend*) must either have been real, in which case he had forgotten the previous statement, or feigned. It is expressly stated that the words :

"Wie! du verlobest dich schon zum zweitenmal? Dass nicht der erste
Bräutigam bei dem Altar sich zeige mit hinderndem Einspruch!" ll. 254-255.

were spoken in jest, "mit freundlich scherzenden Worten," and with kindly intent. The humor of the poet may not in this case be of the highest type, but we are not authorized to reject the obvious and natural translation on that account. Neither do citations of loose and irregular constructions in other authors justify the application of such anomalous uses to this passage, unless the sense obviously demands it. What is gained by transferring the language of the above lines to the apothecary? He was the companion of the pastor when the magistrate related the incident of the previous engagement of Dorothea, and was equally in possession of the fact. His surprise would be as much "feigned" as that ascribed to the pastor. The apothecary has not been represented previously in the poem as a man of humor, but rather as matter-of-fact, who guided his life by maxims and commonplace truths. Humor here would not be consistent with the character which he has hitherto been shown to possess. The pastor, on the contrary, has insight, and that comparative judgment which is the source of humor (vi, 303-310). He is the chief actor in the entire scene and naturally evokes the statement from Dorothea which follows.

The motive of the poet in introducing this question of the pastor was to afford an occasion for Dorothea to clear up that passage in her life which had occasioned so much solicitude to Her-

mann (canto vi, 101-102), which had received earlier mention (vi, 186-190), and to describe the friend whom she had lost, the noble motives in his life, and his renunciation, and thus prepare the way for the splendid characterization of the times (ix, 256-296) which Schlegel regarded as one of the finest passages in the poem.

The pastor could not have betrayed a knowledge of the earlier engagement without revealing his previous investigation of her history as related by the magistrate. He sought, therefore, indirectly to secure the explanation of the mystery attending her life, and from her own lips. The whole management of this incident on the part of the poet shows his mastery of dramatic as well as psychological effect.

To sum up: The construction of the sentence requires the accepted interpretation. The language in the mouth of the pastor is consistent with his character and not with that of the apothecary. The charge of harshness and lack of tact on the part of the pastor here would apply equally to his action in "testing the maiden" (ll. 110-111), when he evoked "the beautiful confession" (l. 208), which leads to the striking dramatic development in lines 134-181. So far from showing inconsistency or unkindness the action assigned to the pastor in this passage leads up to the highest and most essential revelation of the poem, and presents Dorothea in a higher and the most charming and loyal character. The actors as here presented are all consistent with their past, and the action here is essential to the plot.

Humboldt, who revised the proof sheets from the manuscript, saw no inconsistency here though he discussed almost every situation and even the choice of words. Holcroft and Mellish, who translated the poem into English and submitted their work to Goethe in manuscript, and the several translators into French, Latin and other languages whose work was reviewed by Goethe, received apparently no suggestion to change the accepted interpretation. The division of the canto into paragraphs is in the manuscript as in the Weimar edition. The accepted interpretation has, in my judgment, stronger claims to be the correct one than anything urged to the contrary.

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TWO ASSUMED EPIC LEGENDS IN SPANISH.

Señor Menéndez y Pelayo, in his recent valuable work on Spanish ballads,¹ in addition to a detailed account of the preserved ballad-cycles, also discusses at length the legendary material found in the early chronicles. Two of his alleged instances of such epic matter present resemblances with extraneous legends which seem to have escaped the learned Spanish scholar. They seem thus to call for a more detailed discussion than he has given them. These comparisons will also tend to modify some of his conclusions in regard to the originality of the Spanish chroniclers in their treatment of legendary matters.

The first case² is self-evident and shows that the chronicler, far from making use of native legendary matter, has simply plagiarized the Bible. We read namely in the Chronicle of Alfonso VII *el Emperador* of a certain Munio Alfonso, a renowned warrior whom the King made Alcaide of the region beyond the Guadarrama. This hero fell at last in a fight against the Moors. When the news of his death reached Toledo, the chronicle³ continues thus :

"Et per multos dies mulier Munionis Adefonsi cum amicis suis et cæteræ viduæ veniebant super sepulchrum Munionis Adefonsi, et plangebant planctum, et hujusmodi dicebant : 'O Munio Adefonsi ! nos dolemus super te : sicut mulier quæ unicum amat maritum, ita toletana civitas te diligebat. Clypeus tuus numquam declinavit in bello, et hasta tua numquam rediit retrorsum, et ensis tuus non est reversus inanis. Nolite annuntiare mortem Munionis Adefonsi in Corduba et in Sehilia, neque in domo regis Texufini, ne forte lætentur filiæ Moabitarum et contristentur filiæ toletanorum.' "

Concerning this Señor Menéndez y Pelayo says⁴ :

"Prescindiendo de otros pormenores más discutibles, no puede negarse que el llanto de las viudas toledanas sobre la sepultura de Munio Alfonso es un trozo patético y de alta poesía, que trae inmediatamente á la memoria el

llanto de Andrómaca al final del libro xxii de la *Iliada*. Pero no me atrevo á conjeturar si este trozo formó parte de una canción de gesta en que se narrasen las prósperas y adversas fortunas del alcaide de Toledo, ó si es un fragmento puramente lírico, unas *endechas* funerales, como las que en el siglo xv se cantaron en el Carmen de Lisboa sobre la tumba del Condestable Nuño Alvarez Pereira, en la isla de Lanzarote sobre la muerte de Guillén Peraza, en Córdoba sobre la tragedia de los Comendadores, en Vizcaya con ocasión de varios duelos domésticos y venganzas de banderizos, según el testimonio de Garibay. Aun en este caso tendremos en la *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, compuesta poco después de 1146, el más antiguo vestigio de un género de poesía lírica popular, muy enlazado con los romances."

Unfortunately it can be shown that in this "llanto" we have neither a fragment of a *chanson de geste* nor an ancient *endecha*. It is, of course, quite possible that the deeds of the brave Munio may have been told in epic song, or even that the women of Toledo sang a lament over his tomb. But the song given by the chronicle cannot be accepted as proof of either, for the writer has simply adapted to his hero a well-known lyric dirge, possibly the oldest recorded,—the lament of David over Jonathan. In the Vulgate this reads as follows⁵ :

"Planxit autem David planctum hujusmodi super Saul, et super Jonathan filium ejus : . . . Nolite annuntiare in Geth, neque annuntietis in compitis Ascalonis, ne forte lætentur filiæ Philisthiim, ne exultent filiæ incircumcisorum. . . . A sanguine interfectorum, ab adipe fortium, sagitta Jonathæ numquam rediit retrorsum, et gladius Saul non est reversus inanis. . . . Doleo super te, frater mi Jonatha, decore nimis et amabilis super amorem mulierum. Sicut mater unicum amat filium suum, ita ego te diligebam."

A comparison of this with the extract from the *Chronicon Adefonsi Imperatoris* given above will suffice to show that the latter cannot be considered as proving anything in regard to purely Spanish poetry, whether epic or lyric.

The second case⁶ is less striking than this, though equally worthy of consideration. It is the tragic story of the death of the mother of Sancho García, count of Castile. This is narrated by the *Crónica general* of Alfonso el Sabio as follows⁷ :

¹ *Tratado de los romances viejos*, Madrid, 1903-1906.

² *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 26-32.

³ *Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris*, in *España sagrada*, XXI, 390.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 31.

⁵ II Reg. I, 17-27.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 248-251.

⁷ Edition of Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1906, p. 454.

"La madre deste conde don Sancho, cobdiciando casar con un rey de los moros, asmo de matar su fijo por tal que se alçasse con los castiellos et con las fortalezas de la tierra, et que desta guisa casarie con el rey moro mas endereçadamiente et sin embargo. Et ella destemprando una noche las yeruas quel diesse a beuer con que muriesse, fue en ello una su couigera de la condessa, et entendio muy bien que era. Et quando veno el conde, aquella couigera descubrio aquel fecho que sabia de su sennora a un escudero que queria bien, que andaua en casa del conde ; et el escudero dixolo al conde su senuor, et conseiol commo se guardase de aquella traycion. . . . Et quando la madre quiso dar al conde aquel uino a beuer, rogo el a su madre que beuiesse ella primero ; et ella dixo que lo nou farie, ca non lo avie mester. Et el rogola muchas uezes que beuiesse, et ella non lo quiso ninguna uez ; et el quando uio que la non podia uencer por ruego, fizogelo beuer por fuerça ; et aun dizen que saco el la espada et dixol que si lo non beuiesse quel cortarie la cabeça. Et ella con aquel miedo beuio el uino et cayo luego muerta."

The likeness of this tale to that told of Rosamund, wife of the first Lombard king Alboin, has apparently escaped the notice of Señor Menéndez y Pelayo. The latter is, in brief, as follows : Rosamund slays Alboin with the help of his armor bearer Helmichis. Repulsed by the Lombards, the pair flee to Ravenna, where they are well received by the prefect Longinus. The latter falls in love with Rosamund and begs her to get rid of Helmichis. She consents and devises another crime. A poisoned draught is concocted for Helmichis as he comes forth from his bath. Then, says, the chronicler Agnellus of Ravenna⁸ :

"Postquam egressus de balneo, in ipso fervore corporis quo calor obsederat, attulit Rosmunda calicem potionis plenum, quasi ad regis opus ; erat veneno mixto. At ubi intelligens potum esse mortis, submovit ore suo poculum, et dedit reginæ, dicens : 'Bibe et tu mecum.' Illa vero noluit, evaginatoque gladio stetit super eam et dixit : 'Si non biberis de hoc, te percutiam.' Volens nolens bibit, et ea hora mortui sunt."

This story, as Nigra first showed,⁹ is the foundation of the widely spread ballad *Donna Lombarda*,

which reappears in Spanish as *El Convite*.¹⁰ The resemblance in fundamental theme between the story of Rosamund and that of the mother of Sancho García, seems undeniable ; it is especially striking in the case of the threat, reported in almost the same words. Some details, such as the warning,¹¹ are different, but are not numerous enough to exclude a direct relation between the two versions. This relation may be explained in two ways. Either the earliest Spanish chronicler, in this case the archbishop Rodrigo Ximénez of Toledo¹² from whom the *General* takes it, has borrowed the incident directly from Agnellus or Paulus Diaconus, or the elements of a widely spread oral tradition have been exploited by the chroniclers of both nations. The problem hardly admits of a solution, but I confess that the first supposition seems to me more probable. The archbishop Rodrigo was a man of wide reading, and the "Lombard Histories" of Paul the Deacon were well known throughout the Middle Ages. In either case, it is more or less doubtful whether this story, as we have it in the Chronicle, can be regarded as truly Spanish in origin, or as preserving a fragment of a native epic tradition.

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ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

1. Goth. *-deisei* in *filu-deisei* 'Schlauheit, Arglist' are compared with Skt. *ḍīdhyē* 'schaue hin, nehme wahr, denke,' *dhiyasānā-s* 'aufmerkend,' etc. (cf. Uhlenbeck *Et. Wb.*², 45). To these belongs Norw. dial. *dīsa* 'stirre (undrende ; lurende),' 'stare.'

2. MHG. *meidem* 'männl. Pferd' has been fancifully connected with Goth. *maipms* 'Geschenk' (cf. Grimm, *Gr.* III, 325 ; Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*², 105). But as the word is used of a castrated animal, gelding : MLG. *meidem* 'verschnittenen männl. Pferd,' MHG. *meidenen* 'cas-

⁸ *Liber Pontificalis*, II, 4, in Muratori, II, p. 124.

⁹ The latest discussion is that by Doncieux, *Romanécro populaire de la France*, pp. 174-184 ; cf. also D'Ancona, *La Poesia popolare italiana*, 2da ed., pp. 136-139.

¹⁰ Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, II, pp. 509-511.

¹¹ Occurs in some of the ballad versions.

¹² *Res in Hispania gestae*, before 1247.

trare,' we may compare ON. *meiða* 'verletzen, beschädigen, verstümmeln,' Goth. *gamaips* 'zerschlagen, verkrüppelt,' Gk. *μῆνυλος* 'maimed,' etc. (cf. author, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxi, 40).

3. Goth. *niuklahs* 'νήπιος, parvulus,' *niuklahei* 'pusillanimitas' have been variously explained (cf. Gallée, *Gutiska*, 2, 39, and Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*², 117; Grienberger, *Got. Wortkunde*, 167; Brugmann, *Kurze vgl. Gr.*, 144, 240). I propose another: Goth. *niuklahs* may have for the second part of the compound a **klaha*- 'little, childish; child.' The word would then mean 'young-childish, like a young child.' For with *-klahs* we may compare MHG. *kluoc*(g) 'zart, zierlich, fein; schlau, klug; weichlich, üppig, etc.', NHG. dial. (Bav.) *klueg* 'genau, knapp, karg, fein, zart,' (Tirol.) *klueg* 'fein, zart,' pre-Germ. **glōko-* 'yielding, shrinking, weak, small, etc.'

With this compare **gle(n)g-*, **glōg-* in Lith. *glėžnus* 'zart, weich; widerstandlos,' MLG. *klōk* 'gewandt, klug, listig,' Westf. *klanken* 'sich krümmen, falten,' LG. *klinker* 'weich, zart, schwach,' ON. *klōkk* 'biegsam, weich, gerührt,' Norw. *klōkk* 'mutlos, verzagt,' *klāk* 'weich, zart,' ON. *klāke* 'Feigheit,' *klōkkua* 'eingeschüchtert werden; klagen,' etc. (cf. Zupitza, *Gutturale*, 89; author, IF. xviii, 42).

4. Goth. *þrafstjan* is supposed to be related to Gk. *τέρω* 'satisfy, gladden,' etc. (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*², 456; Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*² 152). Tho the words are probably remotely related, they can not be directly connected. In deciding thus we must first determine what the Goth. word means. In *John* xi, 31, and *I Thess.* v, 14, *þrafstjan* translates Gk. *παραμθεῖσθαι*, which in the English version is 'comfort,' in German 'trösten'; in *I Thess.* iv, 18 and v, 11 it renders *παρακαλεῖν*, which in English is 'comfort,' in German 'trösten' and 'ermahnen'; in *Luke* iii, 18 the Greek is *παρακαλεῖν*, the English 'exhort,' the German 'vermahnen.' In *Matt.* ix, 2, 22, and *Mark* x, 49 *θάροι* is rendered by Goth. *þrafstei þuk*, English 'be of good cheer,' 'be of good comfort,' German 'sei getrost.' In *Neh.* vi, 14 Goth. *þaiei þrafstidēdun mik* translates *ὁ ἐνοθέτουν με*, which in English is 'that would have put me to fear,' and in German 'die mich wollten abschrecken.'

The Goth. word means, therefore, 'comfort; exhort; threaten,' and represents two different uses of the base *terep-* 'press, urge,' which I have discusst *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xx, 102 ff. and xxi, 119 ff. But *þrafstjan* does not derive its signification from 'satisfy, *τέρπειν*,' but directly from 'press, urge,' whence 'incite, encourage, comfort' and 'threaten, put to fear.' It is, therefore, most closely related to OE. *þrafian* 'urge; reprove, rebuke,' ON. *þrefa* 'wrangle, dispute,' Pol. *trapić* 'quälen,' which are used figuratively as in the Goth. word. Moreover, OE. *þrafian* has the double meaning of *þrafstjan*: 'urge (ermuntern, Kluge, *Ags. Lesebuch*, 187); rebuke.' The same base *terep-* is used of literal pressing in Lith. *trepti* 'stampfen,' Pruss. *trapt* 'treten,' Gk. *τραπέω* 'tread grapes.' For meaning compare OHG. *drucchen* 'drücken, zusammendrängen, bedrängen,' OE. *þryccan* 'press, trample.' For *terp-* 'press, cram, fill, satisfy' in *τέρω*, etc., see the articles referred to above.

5. Goth. *waihts* 'Sache, Ding' (with Germ. *ai* or *i* not *e*), ON. *vátrr*, *vétrr* (**waihtiz*), *vítr*, *vétrr* (**wiht*-) 'Wicht' (cf. Noreen, *Urg. Lautlehre*, 92), OE. *wiht* 'thing; creature, being, wight; sprite, demon,' OHG. *wiht* 'Ding, Wesen, Person,' OS. *wiht* 'Ding, plur. Dämonen,' Du. *wicht* 'kleines kind,' EFries. *wicht* 'Mädchen' are from pre-Germ. **uoikt-*, **uikt-*, and can therefore not be compared with ChSl. *veštī* 'Sache, Ding,' Ir. *fecht* 'Gang, Reise, Mal,' etc. from **uekt-*. It is, of course, possible that the Germ. words represent two distinct words: *wiht-* 'thing' from pre-Germ. **uekti-*; and *wiht-*, *waihti-* 'being, wight' from pre-Germ. **uikti-*, **uoikti-*. These were probably abstract nouns meaning 'life, activity' and then used concretely: 'being, person.' Compare Lith. *veikūs* 'schnell, flink,' *vykis* 'Leben, Lebhaftigkeit,' *vaikas* 'Knabe, Sohn; plur. Kinder.'

6. For OHG. *flōd*, MHG. *fliet* 'Harz, Gummi' we may assume the primary meaning 'drop, juice,' and refer the word to the IE. root *pleu-* 'flow.' Related words with a *t*-suffix are MHG. *vlōder*, *vlüder* 'Fließeu, Fluten,' Skt. *plutā-s* 'schwimmend, überschwemmt,' *pluti-s* 'Überfließen, Flut,' etc. Other words for resin are similarly related in meaning, and from these are often derived words for pine, fir, etc.

Examples are : ChSl. *sokū* 'Saft,' Litb. *sakai* 'Harz,' Welsh *syb-wydd* 'Föhre,' Corn. *sib-uit* 'abies,' OFrench *sap* 'Tanne' (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.* 545).—Skt. *páyatē* 'schwillt, strotzt,' *páyas* 'Saft, Wasser, Milch,' *pitá-s* 'Saft, Nahrung,' *pītu-dāru* 'eine Fichtenart,' Gk. *πίτρυς* 'pine-tree'; Lat. *pīnus* 'pine, fir'; MLG. *vī, fyg, vīhe* 'Sumpf, Teich,' Lat. *pīx* 'pitch, tar,' Gk. *πίσσα* 'pitch, tar; fir' (cf. author, *IE. a² : a²i : a²u* 46; Walde, *Et. Wb.* 469, 471, 545 with references). Like these are nos. 7 and 8.

7. OHG. *fiohta* 'Fichte,' Gk. *πέκυη*, Lith. *pūsīs* 'Fichte' presuppose a base **peuk-* 'slime, juice' (perhaps formed as rime-word to **piĥ-* in Lat. *pīx*, etc.) from *peu-*, *pū-* in Gk. *πῶς* 'beestings,' *πῶν* 'pus,' Lat. *pūs*, MHG. *vūm* 'Schaum,' Lith. *putà* 'Schaum,' etc. (cf. *IE. a² : a²i : a²u* 46).

8. OHG. *forha* 'Föhre,' ON. *fura*, OE. *furh* 'fir': Gk. *πρώξ* 'drop,' base *perek-* 'sprinkle,' whence the color-names with which *forha* has been compared by others (cf. Zupitza, *Gutturale*, 190 with references).

9. OE. *ragu* 'lichen' may have meant primarily 'net, network, web,' and may therefore be compared with MDu. *raegh* 'Spinnenwebe,' Du. *rag*, OLG. *raginna* 'Haar,' and also with Gk. *ἀρκυς* 'net,' *ἀράχνη* 'spider' from **araksnā*, Lat. *arānea*, etc. (cf. Franck, *Et. Wb.* 768; Walde, *Et. Wb.* 40). For meaning compare NHG. *Flechte* in its different senses.

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THE POSITION OF THE FRENCH ADJECTIVE.

Die Stellung des Adjektivs im Neuf Französischen.
Von J. HAAS. *Romanische Forschungen*, vol. xx (1907), pp. 538-559.

Die Stellung des attributiven Adjektivs im Altfranzösischen. Von JOHANNES VON DEN DRIESCH. *Romanische Forschungen*, vol. xix (1906), pp. 641-894.¹

¹ The first 124 pages appeared previously as a Strassburg dissertation (Erlangen, 1905).

When we consider the placing of attributive adjectives in French, we find that those which can stand before the substantive fall into one of the following classes :

1. Certain very common adjectives with an augmentative, diminishing, meliorative or pejorative value (*Grand, haut, bon, beau, petit, mauvais, sot*, etc.).

2. Certain adjectives when they have a meaning similar to that of Class 1 (*Un parfait idiot; une légère distinction*).

3. Adjectives implying by their meaning an emotional attribution (*Noble audace! Un cruel ennemi*).

4. Adjectives which name an inherent or well known quality of the substantive concept (*La blanche neige; le prudent Ulysse*).

5. Pronominal and numeral adjectives.

In the numerous studies devoted to this subject during the past twenty years, a prominent place has been given to the analysis made by Professor Gröber in the first volume of the *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*,² where he states that the adjective following its substantive "logisch distinguirt," while that preceding "affektisch attribuiert." It is hardly exact to term this Gröber's theory, since at a far earlier date Vinet³ had said: "On pourrait dire en général que l'esprit place l'épithète après le substantif, et que l'âme la place plus volontiers devant."

The statement that an adjective, if placed after, gives a logical distinction, and that, if placed before, it makes an emotional attribution has been more than once cited as if it were in opposition to, and a refutation of Professor Tobler's assertions⁴ on the same subject. Tobler, however, begins his explanation by citing Vinet's remark, and distinctly states that his own words are an interpretation of it. The natural, the logical position for the adjective is after the substantive, for it is the subordinate, the dependent member, marking out a sub-class within the class named by the substantive. When this order occurs, sub-

² First edition, pp. 213-214.

³ Quoted by Tobler in 1869, and by von der Driesch. The passage occurs in vol. II of Vinet's *Chrestomathie française*, of which the first edition appeared at Lausanne in 1829.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, vol. VI (1869), p. 169.

stantive and adjective alike are in their natural places, so that there is no pressure or haste to reach the adjective after the naming of the substantive.⁵ This, then, will be the order when the reasoning, the distinguishing faculties predominate. If, on the other hand, the adjective is named before the substantive, reversing the logical order, it indicates that a fanciful, a subjective, an emotional conception is dominant. Since the adjective reaches the hearer first, and before he has the localization furnished by the substantive, he grasps it in its most general meaning, and without special prominence being given to any one element of that meaning at the expense of the rest. If there be any contradiction between the elements which normally are embraced in the adjective concept and those of the substantive concept, it is the substantive which suffers a diminution of some of its normal elements in order to adjust it to the already established adjective concept. Thus, while a *musicien méchant* may be in every sense a musician, a *méchant musicien* is not a musician at all in the full measure of the term. Every adjective must have a substantive to depend on; therefore, once a preceding adjective concept is named, there is a pressure to reach the substantive to which this quality is attributed, and this results in a very close union of adjective and substantive.

Dr. Haas, in the study named at the head of this article, takes the ground that neither Gröber's view nor Tobler's is satisfactory, attempting to establish this by examples cited from modern French authors. His proposed solution consists in a modification of Tobler's assertion that when the substantive is named first the substantive concept presents itself first to the mind, and vice versa. Haas concedes that when the substantive is named first the substantive concept presents itself first, but asserts that when the adjective is named first the adjective concept presents itself to the mind not earlier than but simultaneously with the substantive concept. As the sole test of adjective position, he would have us decide whether the specific case is one in which the adjective concept presents itself simultaneously with or later

than the substantive concept. The practical utility of such an explanation is more than doubtful. As to its accuracy in theory, it does not conflict with Gröber's statement and conflicts only seemingly with Tobler's. As Kalepky has pointed out,⁶ Gröber and Tobler are alike the interpreters of Vinet, Gröber retaining the standpoint of the speaker, while Tobler interprets Vinet in a form that represents the standpoint of the hearer. When the emotional element is dominant in the mind of the speaker, the adjective concept presents itself to him simultaneously with the substantive concept, and the adjective is placed in the non-logical position before the substantive. When the words enter the auditor's ear, the adjective concept, reaching him before he knows what the substantive will be, presents itself to him in its most general meaning, and the substantive concept is heard and grasped only afterward. Thus whether we consider, with Tobler, the adjective concept as antecedent to the substantive concept, or, with Haas, the adjective concept as simultaneous with it, depends on whether we assume the attitude of him who receives or of him who conceives the thought.

The dissertation of Gröber's pupil, Dr. von den Driesch, consists in an application of the logical-emotional principle to Old French prose texts. The prose of the twelfth century consists in translations from the Latin, all of which except the *Livres des Rois* are slavish imitations. The disturbing influence of Latin word position is here so great that much confusion prevails and little or no light is thrown on French adjective position. Thus, quite properly, the monograph is divided into two parts, the twelfth century being treated separately, and subsequently to the thirteenth. Part I, however, covering the thirteenth century, is based on independent French compositions and furnishes much important material. It is to it that attention will be specially directed in this review. The work is done with care and intelligence, and the author clearly demonstrates that the general principles which determined the placing of adjectives were the same in the thirteenth century as now, even though the conception of indi-

⁵ Note that, while with the order adjective-substantive *liaison* is the rule, with the order substantive-adjective *liaison* is not customary.

⁶ *ZRP*, xxv, 331-339.

vidual cases, and in consequence the place of certain adjectives, varies at different epochs.

Von den Driesch explains all occurrences of adjectives before a substantive as due to their having an emotional value. This he interprets as meaning that they represent, on the part of the speaker, a quantitative estimate of extent or of value. So anxious is he to show the adequacy of this criterion that he even avoids utilizing certain elements, which, if rightly analyzed, in no wise conflict with his theory, and which frequently throw light on adjective position. It is worth while to consider the applicability of his discussion to the classification of antecedent adjectives made at the beginning of this article, a classification which, however, he does not adopt.

CLASSES 1 AND 2 (Certain adjectives with an augmentative, diminishing, meliorative, or pejorative meaning, and other adjectives when they assume a similar meaning). The author's interpretation of "emotional position," by its very form, covers these classes. The question remains why "a quantitative estimate of extent or value on the part of the speaker" is "emotional." He explains (p. 689) that such estimates are subjective or personal, and indicate an attitude toward the concept of approval, respect, sympathy, or admiration, or their opposites. He himself recognizes the difficulty, in many specific instances, of attributing such emotional quality to these adjectives. It is easy to see the emotional character of *petit* in: *Oh! le cher petit enfant!* but *petit* can hardly have an emotional connotation in: *Si le crayon n'est pas dans le petit tiroir, vous le trouverez dans le grand.* He explains, however (pp. 689, 705), no doubt correctly, that in these classes the frequent emotional position has been generalized, and is thus used in instances where the function of the adjective is clearly distinguishing.

The further question could be raised whether we have a right to assume that such an adjective as *petit* is, or ever was, predominatingly emotional, implying a feeling of affection, condescension, or contempt. Von den Driesch, in answer (p. 689), points out that this class is composed of thoroughly popular and very frequent adjectives, those which belong to the language of all epochs and of all classes, and that their predominant

position before the substantive probably became fixed in the period of ignorance and simplicity when the tendency of the great mass of speakers was to emotional rather than logical distinctions, and when size—bigness or smallness—awakened admiration or fear on the one hand, sympathy or contempt on the other. To this he should have added, perhaps giving the greater weight to it, that these are the adjectives of childhood, with its emotional attitude and its frequent measures of value in terms of size, and that in consequence the tendency to place them in the emotional position is renewed from generation to generation.

CLASS 3 (Adjectives implying by their meaning an emotional attribution). When these adjectives precede the substantive, they fall without discussion into the author's classification. It would not have been amiss to bring out more clearly that they precede or follow according as the speaker is stressing their emotional character or not. The great freedom existing for French in the placing of adjectives which are emotional in meaning constitutes an effective stylistic resource.

CLASS 4 (Adjectives naming an inherent or well known quality of the substantive concept). A quality which is known to belong to a whole class is clearly not named in order that it may serve as a distinguishing mark of a member or members of that class. In *la blanche neige*, the adjective *blanc* is not introduced to distinguish a certain kind of snow from other kinds. In such cases the adjective is used by the speaker because it represents that quality of the substantive which specially impresses him, which affects him emotionally, and which he names because it is thus prominent in his thought.

This rule furnishes the explanation of a number of cases in which the adjective precedes a substantive to which a *de*-phrase or some other modifier is joined, the adjective naming an inherent or well known quality, not of the bare substantive, but of the compound formed of the substantive and its modifier.¹

¹ *Sous la blanche lueur d'un globe électrique*, D. Lesueur, *Fils de l'Amant*, 308.—*Sous le fixe regard de ces faces immobiles*, *ib.*, 385.—*Le même éclat qu'avaient les fragiles roses France, derrière sa tête*, D. Lesueur, *Mme. l'Ambassadrice*, 4.—*La difficile conduite de son tandem occupait ses deux mains*, *ib.*, 10.—*S'attarder aux vains regrets du passé*, A.

Von den Driesch mentions (p. 691), but only in order that he may characterize it as too narrow to serve as a universal solution, the foregoing theory that adjectives precede when they represent an essential or well known quality. He is undoubtedly correct in refusing to accept this as the sole and basal test, but his failure ever to avail himself of so enlightening an explanation indicates a needless anxiety lest it conflict with his principle and also results in the defect noted in the next paragraph.

The special impression made on the speaker by a quality of a substantive may be due to that quality having already been given prominence in connection with the substantive. An adjective naming a quality that has recently been attributed to a concept will, if named again in connection with the same concept, precede or follow according to the impression it made on the speaker when it previously came up. If this impression was strong, the quality is now well known, self-evident, not necessarily for all members of the class represented by the substantive concept, but for the specific member or members to which it has been attributed. In such cases an antecedent adjective might be said to represent a secondarily self-evident quality.⁸ Easiness is not an inherent quality of tasks, but, referring to a task that has been described as not hard to accomplish, the speaker

can say *cette facile tâche*, since the quality is now inherent for the specific task in question. The possibility that such a previous mention may determine adjective position makes it important in many instances to know the context of the passage in which an adjective occurs. A defect in von den Driesch's dissertation consists in a failure to give a sufficient context in some cases where what precedes is essential to the explanation of the phenomena. Thus certain examples of color adjectives are cited (pp. 719-721) with no attempt to explain the cause in the specific instances of the emotional position. The explanation is, however, nearly always furnished by the context.—*L'empereur Morchufles s'ere venuz . . . et ot tendues ses vermeilles tentes*, Villeh., 241.—*Li cuens . . . se herberja es vermeilles tentes l'empereur Morchuflex*, *ib.*, 245 (*vermeil* is the imperial color and is therefore assumed to be a self-evident mark of the emperor's equipment).—*Morchufles chauga les hueses vermoilles*, *ib.*, 222 (M. was not at this time emperor, and the color was not one of his natural signs).—*Et li empereres toutes voies chevaue armés si ricement comme a lui convenoit; et por sa reconnisance il ot une cote de vermeil samit*, H. Val., 541 (assumed as self-evident that the imperial color should be chosen).—*Et ot vestu une chape d'escarlote fourree d'un vert cendal . . . et tenoit en sa main une blanche verge; et merveilles sembloit bien preudomme*, Men. Reims, 320 (part of a description of the pretentious equipment of the imposter who was trying to pass himself off as the Count of Flanders—the *vert* and *blanc* here serve as meliorative adjectives).—*Et n'avoient de quoy faire feu fors que de verde laungne qui ne pooit durer encontre le pleuve*, Froiss., II, 153 (the context as here quoted shows that *vert* is pejorative—on a wet day out doors, greenness is the worst possible quality of firewood). Further examples of an insufficient consideration of the context will be given in another connection.

CLASS 5 (Pronominal and numeral adjectives). Von den Driesch (p. 682) classes the numeral adjectives among the emotional attributions. It is possible to recognize how the ordinal numerals can represent, especially to the child mind, a subjective estimate of rank or importance, but it is more difficult to accept the idea that the cardinals

France, M. Bergeret, 32.—*Il fut imprimé dans la docte rue S. Jacques*, *ib.*, 98.—*Les grêles tours de Saint-François*, Bourget, *Emigré*, 3.—*Le populeux boulevard du Montparnasse*, *ib.*, 3.—*Les chastes et naïves délices de cette intimité sans caresses, sans piroles précises*, *ib.*, 17.—*La douce lumière d'automne*, *ib.*, 55.—*Les vérités sociales . . . sont les froides amies de l'âge mûr*, *ib.*, 86, etc.

⁸This is a decidedly frequent cause of the adjective's preceding. The works of any contemporary author will furnish abundant cases. Note, for example, the following among many in Bourget's *Emigré*. In each case the quality named by the adjective is, from what precedes, known to belong to the entity represented by the substantive. *Devant l'évident désespoir du jeune homme*, 24 (the young man has just expressed himself desperately).—*Son originale physionomie*, 60 (Marie's features have just been described).—*Ce sec et dur discours*, 143 (refers to the doctor's analysis of his patient's condition, quoted just before). Examples are hardly needed to show that a quality already mentioned or implied does not necessarily precede the substantive if repeated with it. *Et il signa. Il donna cette dépêche menteuse au guichet*, 157 (the contents of the telegram, just given, clearly evidence its untruthfulness).

are a subjective measure. Possibly this is so, for the child looks on the numerals largely as augmentatives or diminutives, and the emotional tendency would be aided by the figurative connotations that so frequently accompany the cardinal numbers.⁹ Yet, after all it is probably better to consider the numerals, as von den Driesch (p. 742) considers the pronominal adjectives, to be independent of the principles that govern adjective position in general. The numerals are, like the pronominal adjectives, pointers and markers.

Some individual points in the dissertation suggest special comment. The author (pp. 723-724) considers it difficult to explain that *moine blanc*, *moine noir*, or *blanc moine*, *noir moine*, as designations of members of religious orders by their dress, stand in the same texts and in similar situations side by side. He suggests that the cases where the adjective precedes may be due to the semi-superfluous character of the word *moine*. As there are only sporadic cases of the omission of the *moine*, and then only when the context suffices to make the meaning perfectly clear, this can hardly be accepted. It is sufficient to consider that these striking colors, with their strong symbolism, could easily cause the emotional to predominate over the distinguishing character of the adjectives.

The rule suggested by von den Driesch by the frequent occurrence of *destre main*, *senestre main*, he thus formulates (p. 893): colorless substantive concepts follow such distinguishing adjectives as would suffice of themselves to express the thought. Such a rule receives but slight substantiation from the other examples to which he applies it. He holds (pp. 687-688) that in *veuve feme*, *veuve dame* the word *veuve* is used adjectively and that *feme*, *dame* are superfluous additions. This is another instance where a closer analysis of the context was needed. *Veuve* is the substantive and *feme*, *dame* are the qualitative appositions, retaining the distinguishing value they possess as indications of rank. The *veuve feme* in Men,

Reims, 78, took lodgers; the *veuve feme* of Joinv., 588 and 590, was the Canaanite woman of Matt. xv, 22. I have not controlled the passages in Robert de Clary, but the *veve feme* of 66, 1 evidently indicates a woman of low rank, while the *veve dame* of 16, 17 may be a lady. *Les cinc saiges virges*, Joinv., 840, and *as foles virges*, *ib.*, 841, are explained, according to von den Driesch (p. 718),¹⁰ by the same rule; but the *vierges* had been introduced by Joinville in § 839 as *les cinc saiges*, *les cinc folles*, *que vos veez ci devant pointes*, the text at this point containing miniatures representing each group of five. *Sage* and *fou* thus have a secondarily self-evident quality when used again of *vierges*.—In *La royne, qui estrange femme estoit*, Joinv., 74, the adjective does not precede, as von den Driesch (p. 732), suggests, because *femme* is superfluous, but because we have been told in § 72 that the queen was a *femme estrange*.

It is a mistake to say (p. 667) that the adjective is not distinguishing in *vie et joie pardurable*, *la joie pardurable*, *pierres precieuses*. It may even be distinguishing in *Or vuel que vous tuit le jurez sour le cors precieus Nostre Dame*, Men. Reims, 32. *Précieux* is not here expressed for the purpose of giving the emotional attitude of the speaker, but in order to render the oath more solemn by fixing attention on a distinguishing mark of the *corps* called to witness. There is no sufficient occasion to offer these examples as a support for a theory that adjectives in *-able*, *-ible*, *-eux* should be classed with the elatives.

The dissertation of von den Driesch achieves its purpose and constitutes a corroboration of the logical-emotional theory. This does not mean that every example of adjective position in a given period can be explained by the direct application of this principle, nor does it necessarily imply that the same adjective in different periods must, in a corresponding context, have the same position. The tendency toward a logical or toward an emotional view may vary at different epochs or even with different individuals. Generalizations or analogical variations may occur in the placing of adjectives; the position of certain adjectives or of adjectives in certain phrases may

⁹ For example, two and three to indicate small quantities; three as the number marking perfection; four at times to indicate a large number (*Il a de l'esprit comme quatre*), at other times a small number (*Encore quatre mots et j'aurai fini*); seven as the "conjuring number," etc.

¹⁰ On p. 705, however, they are explained as analogical extensions of *sage*, *fou* before the substantive.

become set and be maintained in spite of a shift in the tendencies of a new epoch; certain rhetorical influences, such as chiasmus, may create minor variations.¹¹ A further element which to-day in some measure disturbs the normal status is the tendency to avoid stereotyped forms and to add color by the unusual. This tendency, which is especially strong as regards the epithet, is manifested in English, with its immovable adjective position, by the use of adjectives in slightly altered meaning; in French there is at least a noticeable inclination on the part of certain writers to shift the adjective to the unexpected position.

The question of the position of the French adjective is no simple matter, and the practical application of the principles which govern it is fraught with difficulties. Fortunately for the foreigner approaching the subject from the standpoint of acquiring a speaking knowledge, many of the niceties are not essential to his purpose, and a set of fairly definite rules, not overwhelmingly difficult of application, can be formulated; but mastery even of these rules is dependent on extensive and careful reading and listening. Furthermore, while the foreign student cannot hope to become a master of style, a better understanding of the causes which determine the placing of adjectives contributes vastly to his appreciation of the beauties of the French language and literature.

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GEO. O. CURME, *A Grammar of the German Language*, designed for a thorough and practical study of the language as spoken and written to-day. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1905.

Curmes Grammatik liefert einen neuen Beweis dafür, in welcher gründlichen Weise an den besten

¹¹ Euphony, once the great explanation offered, plays at best a most insignificant rôle. A feeling for clearness may have influence in those cases where the natural position is liable to cause a confusion that can be avoided by choosing the other, but examples where this is the cause of a shift in position are not frequent.

amerikanischen Universitäten von den Vertretern der Wissenschaft gearbeitet wird. Wir haben es hier mit einer Leistung ersten Ranges zu tun, auf die Amerika stolz sein kann. Curmes Arbeit übertrifft alles, was bis dahin auf diesem Gebiete versucht worden ist, die Arbeiten deutscher Gelehrten, wie Wilmanns, nicht ausgeschlossen. Es ist dieses die erste wirklich erschöpfende Grammatik der deutschen Sprache der Gegenwart und von einem Amerikaner geschrieben.

Und dabei erlaubte der trotz der beinahe 700 Druckseiten immerhin beschränkte Raum dem Verfasser noch nicht, die ganze, fast erdrückende Fülle seines mit Bienenfleiss in 15 Jahren oder mehr gesammelten Materials so zu verwerten, wie er es eigentlich gewünscht hätte, oder das Buch würde noch viel wertvoller geworden sein.

Wir haben es hier nämlich nicht mit einem buchhändlerischen Unternehmen zu tun. Solche Blüten treibt der Idealismus in diesem Lande noch nicht, aber sie werden nicht ausbleiben. Der Verfasser hat aus Liebe zur Sache die Früchte seiner jahrelangen Arbeit auf eigene Kosten drucken lassen.

Über was für ein reiches Material Curme verfügt, das wurde dem Rezensenten so recht klar, als er Curmes Recension der dritten Abteilung von Wilmanns Deutscher Grammatik im *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Band 6, Seite 492-507, verfolgte. Der Verehrung für den grossen deutschen Gelehrten wird bereiteter Ausdruck verliehen, aber zwischen den Zeilen kann man auch wieder die bittere Enttäuschung darüber lesen, dass gerade der Mann, der wie kein anderer dazu berufen schien, uns Aufklärung über so manche interessante Erscheinung auf dem Gebiete der modernen deutschen Grammatik zu geben, an vielen Stellen nicht befriedigt und in einigen Fällen uns sogar völlig im Stiche lässt.

An der Hand von Beispielen aus seiner eigenen Sammlung konnte Curme dem grossen Wilmanns beweisen, dass er an vielen Stellen sich geirrt und dass die von ihm gefundenen Resultate und gezogenen Schlüsse den Tatsachen vielfach durchaus nicht entsprechen.

Der Rezensent ist Curmes Buch gegenüber nicht in der glücklichen Lage, sich mit demselben Gegenstande Jahre hindurch beschäftigt zu haben, auch steht ihm nicht eine wertvolle Sammlung

von Beispielen aus dem Gebiete der deutschen Sprache der Gegenwart zur Verfügung. Er ist eigentlich in den beiden Jahren, in denen er sich mit dem Gedauken einer Rezension von Curmes Grammatik vertraut zu machen gesucht hat, über das Staunen über das gründliche Wissen und die gewissenhafte Arbeit des Verfassers nicht hinausgekommen. Er hat das Gefühl, dass nichts von alledem, das ihm bei der Durchmusterung des Werkes könnte aufgefallen sein, dem Verfasser wirklich fremd sein dürfte.

Eine Besprechung, wie sie ein Werk von der Bedeutung und dem Umfange von Curmes Grammatik verdient, bin ich leider heute noch nicht im stande zu liefern. Erst eine jahrelange gründliche Beschäftigung mit seinem Buche würde so etwas möglich machen. Und man würde es, davon bin ich fest überzeugt, mehr und mehr als eine Fundgrube für alle, auch die verborgensten und verwickeltesten Erscheinungen im Leben der deutschen Sprache der Gegenwart schätzen und würdigen lernen.

Das Curme zur Verfügung stehende Material, und er hat seit dem Erscheinen seines Buches nicht aufgehört zu sammeln, würde bequem ausreichen für ein Wörterbuch der modernen deutschen Sprache, das er uns hoffentlich einst noch schenken wird.

Curmes Grammatik ist nicht für Anfänger bestimmt. Sie wendet sich an den vorgerückten Studenten, den Lehrer, den Gelehrten, und sie ist eine würdige Ergänzung zu den deutschen Grammatiken von Grimm und Wilmanns, weil sie eben das Hauptgewicht gerade auf die Sprache der Gegenwart legt, wie sie von den Gebildeten gesprochen und den besten Schriftstellern geschrieben wird. Es giebt keine wertvollere Materialiensammlung für die Sprache des modernen Deutschland und der deutschsprechenden Teile Österreichs und der Schweiz als Curmes Grammatik, die somit eine ganz gewaltige Lücke ausfüllt.

Die gründlichen Kenntnisse des Verfassers nicht nur auf dem Gebiete der modernen deutschen Sprache, sondern auf dem ganzen grossen Gebiete der germanischen Philologie, zeigen sich aber auch überall, wo er es für notwendig hält, zu besserem Verständnis etwas weiter auszuholen und kurz zu resumieren, was die gelehrte Forschung auf dem Gebiete des Germanischen resp. Indogermani-

schen heutzutage als feststehende Tatsachen betrachtet. Curme ist Philologe von Gottes Gnaden und ein ausgezeichnete Phonetiker. Sein philologisches Glaubensbekenntnis ist enthalten in dem Vorwort zu seiner Grammatik, wo sein Standpunkt mit derjenigen Präcision entwickelt wird, die Münsterberg mit Recht an dem amerikanischen Gelehrten zu rühmen weiss.

Wem Curmes Standpunkt sprachlichen Fragen gegenüber und der Plan des von ihm in Angriff genommenen Gebietes aus dem Vorwort nicht klar geworden ist, dem dürfte überhaupt nicht zu helfen sein. Er vertritt nicht den Standpunkt des konservativen Grammatikers und engherzigen Theoretikers, im Gegenteil. Der Sprachgebrauch der besten Schriftsteller ist für ihn das Ausschlaggebende, und es bereitet ihm ein stilles Vergnügen, wenn er in einer Anmerkung darauf hinweisen kann, dass diese oder jene Form, dieser oder jener Ausdruck, trotzdem sie immer noch von gewissen Grammatikern beanstandet werden, doch längst durch den allgemeinen Sprachgebrauch sich das Bürgerrecht erworben haben.

Der Partikularist mag mit Curme rechten, wenn er Berlin, auch was die mustergültige Aussprache anbelangt, die Palme zuerteilt. Aber Berlin repräsentiert für Curme eben doch nur die Masse der Gebildeten Nord-Deutschlands.

Nach Hempl's gründlicher Arbeit über *German Orthography and Phonology* durfte Curme nicht hinter ihm zurück bleiben, und was er auf Seite 1-34 über "Phonology and Orthography" bietet, steht denn auch in jeder Hinsicht auf der Höhe der wissenschaftlichen Forschung. Curme ist hier wie überall aber durchaus selbständig.

Auf dialektische Abweichungen ist, nachdem einmal das Ideal vorgeführt, immer die gebührende Rücksicht genommen, um so ein naturgetreues Bild der lebendigen Sprache zu entwerfen.

Dass das Zungen-*r* trotz gegenteiliger Äusserungen und trotzdem die Bühne ihm den Vorzug gegeben hat, dem uvalaren *r* weichen wird, möchte ich nicht zugeben.

In dem nun folgenden Paragraphen, einer kurzen Geschichte der deutschen Konsonanten, hat Curme sich die Gelegenheit nicht entgehen lassen, von seinem gründlichen Wissen auf dem Gebiete der vergleichenden Sprachforschung Zeugnis abzulegen.

Dieser Abschnitt ist nach meiner Ansicht ein kleines Meisterstück knappster Darstellung.

Bedauren kann ich nur, dass hier wie auch an anderen Stellen so viel Wertvolles und Wichtiges durch den kleinen Druck leider etwas gar zu sehr beeinträchtigt worden ist. Vielleicht lässt sich bei der neuen Auflage, die in Aussicht steht, diesem kleinen Übel durch mehr übersichtlichen und gesperrten Druck abhelfen.

Es schliesst sich ein kurzes Kapitel über Wort- und Satzaccent an, das viel Wertvolles und Neues und immer durchaus Selbständiges bringt.

Mit ein paar Anmerkungen über den Gebrauch der grossen Anfangsbuchstaben und über den Apostroph schliesst der erste Teil der Grammatik ab.

Der Apostroph hätte nun allerdings ganz von selbst zu einem Kapitel über deutsche Interpunktion hinübergeführt, aber aus diesem oder jenem Grunde hat Curme es nicht für nötig gehalten, dasselbe seiner Grammatik einzuverleiben. Aus praktischen Gründen sollte der neuen Auflage des Werkes dieser Beitrag nicht vorenthalten werden.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

A NOTE ON *Piers Plowman*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Under the caption "An Unrecorded Reading in *Piers Plowman*," C. Talbot Onions offers a note in *The Modern Language Review* for January, 1908, in support of a variant, hitherto unrecorded, reading of line 215 in the C Text. The line in question reads in the C Text manuscripts (so Phillips ms., E. E. T. S.):

For hadde ge ratones goure reed ge couthe not reulie
gowsylue,

while the reading in the ms. Bodl. 814 is :

For hadde ge ratouns gour reik ge coupe not reule
gowsylue.

Mr. Onions prefers the latter, which he finds supported by the phrase, *have your reyke* in *Political Poems*, II, p. 73. I cannot agree with Mr. Onions

in his reasons for rejecting the usual form of the line, for to me that of the Bodl. ms. is hardly likely to have been the original, since the phrase *to have one's reik* is exceedingly rare, and the word *reik* is, moreover, specifically Northern (< O. N. *reik*); nor do I find the difficulty in the line, which the writer does, in that he doubts that *hadde goure reed* "makes any sense at all." On the contrary, the word *reed* (*rede*, *red*) is repeatedly found in this sense, cp. :

þe grete lordes of þour land beþlenged now here,
ge mow wigtly now wite þour wille & þour rede
& wigtly do vs to wite what answere þou likes,

William of Palerne [E. E. T. S., I, Extra Series], 1457, 9.

Also :

Abraham rapede him sone in sped
for to fulfillen godes reed.

Genesis and Exodus, 1222.

and almost in the same use, 309 and 3663 (*Gen. and Ex.*). Nor is there anything strange about the phrase *to have reed*, which may be found in both Southern, Midland, and Northern M. E. and in Old Norse (as *nu vildu þeir sitt ráð hafa*, now they wished to follow their own counsel, have their own will). The phrase, *to have one's reed* indeed makes most excellent sense, for it is to be borne in mind that *reed* (O. E. *rād*, O. N. *ráð*) may be (1) a weighing in the mind, counselling in one's mind, then the decision arrived at, the plan, or the wish, the will of *one*; (2) a weighing in the mind, a counselling among several, a discussion of the matter, and then similarly the decision, agreement, plan, or will; or (3) such counsellings of another or others which, when imparted to the one concerned, may range in meaning from 'advice' to to "request, will" or "command" (as when from a king) according to the psychological attitude of the "adviser" to the matter in hand, or his relation, as equal or superior, to the one "advised." Therefore, the phrase may have all these meanings. One "has the reed" of others when one (1) receives, accepts, or (2) follows their advice; one has "one's own reed" when one arrives at one's own decision, forms one's own plan, follows one's own counsel, "has one's own will." One may not be able to arrive at any decision, plan, etc., by one's own council, in one's own mind, then one "knows no reed." Cp. :

So wiste I me no other red
 Bot as it were a man forfare
 Unto the wood I gan to fare.
 Gower, E. E. T. S., Ext. Ser., 81, Liber I, 108.

Inasmuch, therefore, as the phrase is a perfectly naturally developed one and was certainly used and occurs in received texts, I see no reason for cavilling with the usual reading, as *e. g.*, that of the Phillipps ms.

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TEXTS OF "CHAUCER'S FOLLOWERS."

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—I beg to make known to your readers, especially to those teaching Middle English, the contents, so far as determined, of the volume *Gower: Chaucer's Followers*, which I have in hand for the Belles Lettres Series. From Gower I intend to print the story of Constance, text from Fairfax 3; other selections are not yet decided upon. From Lydgate, the Prologue to the *Story of Thebes*, extracts from the *Falls of Princes*, the *Dance Macabre* from ms. Selden supra 53, *Bycorne and Chicchevache*, *New Year's Valentine*, *Invocation to Saint Anne*, and *Letter to the Duke of Gloucester*. From John Walton, extracts from the verse-translation of Boethius. From Charles of Orleans (?), selections from the English poems in ms. Harley 682, with the French from Royal 16, F. ii. From Hoccleve, the story of Gerelaus' wife, forming a pendant to the Gower and Chaucer stories of the innocent persecuted wife. Other selections not yet decided. Anonymous, etc., *The Eye and the Heart*, from ms. Longleat 258; the *Parliament of Cupid*, the *Lover's Mass*, and two Complaints, from Fairfax 16; also perhaps from the same ms. a doggerel but quaint poem, entitled *How a Lover Prayseth Hys Lady*; a love poem from ms. Tanner 346; *The Birds and Love* from Cambridge Gg. iv, 27; a *Lament of a Prisoner*, written in some mss. as a continuation of Chaucer's *Fortune*; a procession of philosophers, from a Trinity College ms.; a love-poem by Lord Warwick to Lady Despenser; a *Reproof to Lydgate*, from Fairfax 16.

In the selection, I have endeavored to meet the needs of the teacher of literature by choosing with Chaucer in view, and to give to textual specialists more clues regarding well-known Chaucerian mss. by printing without punctuation and without alteration of final *-e*. This latter seems to me justifiable in a college textbook, inasmuch as it affords a class the opportunity of deciding for themselves those problems of Middle English which are usually decided for them by the editor. In no case have I attempted a "critical" text, although in the Walton and Lydgate extracts I intend to give some alternative readings in the footnotes.

Several of the longer works here represented are announced as in hand for the Early English Text Society; but I make no doubt that their accessibility in Messrs. Heath's series will be a convenience to students. Any suggestions will be gladly received.

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THE BRAZEN HORSE OF TROY.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—In Chaucer's *Squire's Tale* (F. 209-213) the magic brazen horse is likened by one by-stander to the Horse of Troy, while another fancies it to contain armed men:

Or elles it was the Grekes hors Synoun,
 That broghte Troie to destruccioun,
 As men may in thise olde gestes rede.
 'Myn herte,' quod oon, 'is evermoore in drede;
 I trowe som men of armes been therinne.'

Virgil, as everybody knows, represents the horse as of wood. That in Guido da Colonna's *Historia Troiana* the horse is of brass was pointed out by Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, vol. 5, p. 377). The passage from Guido reads as follows: *consuluit in secreto vt fieri faciant in similitudinem equi quendam magnum equum ereum vt in eo saltem possent mille milites constipari*.

How did the original wooden horse become a brazen one for Guido, and possibly for Chaucer? A partial answer is furnished by Pausanias. He tells us that a brazen (χαλκοῦς) image of the horse stood in the Acropolis at Athens with Menes-

theus and Teucer looking out of it (Pausanias 1, 23, 10). J. G. Frazer¹ argues strongly that Aristofanes referred to this brazen image in *Birds*, 1128. Elsewhere Pausanias (10, 9, 6) tells us how the Argives sent to Delfi a bronze image of the wooden horse after the battle of Thyrea (? B. C. 414): χαλκοῦν τινα ἵππον τὸν Δούριον δῆθεν ἀπέστειλαν ἐς Δελφοῦς.

I would add that the Trojan horse appears on the back of an Etruscan mirror. A cut of this after Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, plate cccxxv, is given in Taylor, *Etruscan Researches*, p. 367. A man standing near the animal aims at it such a blow with his hammer as suggests that in the artist's conception the horse is a brazen, or at least a metallic one, rather than one of wood.

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GIAN FRANCESCO BUSINELLO, CITTADINO
ORIGINARIO VENEZIANO.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Medin, in his *Storia della repubblica di Venezia nella poesia* (Venice, 1904), mentions Gian Francesco Businello at p. 545 and in the bibliography further attributes hypothetically to this interesting seicentista a letter, of which a copy exists in Cod. Cicogna (Museo Civico, Venice), 870-2533, doc. 70. The letter relates the imprisonment of a Businello, "in una stanza terrena, in mano dei Todeschi," at Mantova, and describes the suffering from plague and wounds endured there.—This letter is not of Gian Francesco, but of Marcantonio Businello, a brother, who died in 1651. G. Francesco mentions the circumstance at st. 205 of his unedited "Che niole in ciel seren, che all' improvviso":

Zà, da sette giandusse, mio fradello
Fu da Andrighoz, mostro de natura,
Fato preson in una sepoltura,
A posto in Mantova appresso del Restello.

The same affair is discussed by Cicogna in his

¹ Pausanias's *Description of Greece*. Translated with a Commentary by J. G. Frazer. 6 vols., Macmillan. Vol. 2, p. 286.

Inscrizioni Veneziane (vi, p. 582), in the article on Marcantonio Businello, and apparently from sources other than this letter, which is not mentioned.

We may add to the bibliography of Medin in the same connection a poem by Businello on "Il conflitto navale, vittoria ottenuta contro Turchi, l'anno 1656 in giorno di Lunedì, li 26 giugno, correndo la festa di SS. Giovanni e Paolo." This poem occurs in many of the Businello mss. (Marc. ix, 7015, 7032, etc.). It is composed of eighty-nine endecasylabic quatrains with interior couplet, beginning:

Averzo per la patria un dì [var. *al fin*] la vena,
Bramoso de cantar i so trionfi;
Spiritosi concetti e versi sgionfi
No aspetè, però, dalla mia pena.

Stt. 1-7 are an assertion by the author of the unpretentiousness of his attempt (canto per mio spasso); an announcement of the subject (le ruine de Turchi e l'aspre dogie); an apology for the disconnected narrative. 8-15 are a discussion of the day, punning on the word *lune-di*, when "è stà fatto—alla luna turchesca un gran affronto," and which though normally for the Turks a *festa*, and for us a *feria*, was for them a day of toil and for Venice a festival, through the intervention of San Zanipolo, whose day it was. 16-35 describe the beginning of the combat, the defeat of the Turks, imprecations on Mahomet by the victims, and the attempt of the Turkish admiral to rally his fleet. 36-41, the death of the Venetian commander, Marcello, where in spite of the author's disclaimer of 'concetti,' we have a rather surprising example of one: Marcello has won a victory in heaven by thrashing the moon, where the double sense of *in ciel* is entailed in the play on *luna*, 'the crescent.' 42-62, the renewal of the fight, the Christian attack, resembling a whirlwind, the despair of the Turks, the revolt of the Christian slaves. 63-75, an episode of a Turkish maiden, Melinda, who, in despair at the outcome of the conflict, and to avoid falling into the hands of the foe, takes poison. 76-89, "un longo panegirico de lode," especially of Mocenigo and Farnese, with mention of Bembo, Morosini, "el Barbaro, dei barbari flagello," Marcello and Badoer.

In the next edition of his important work,

M. Medin will, of course, note that of the numerous political poems given in cod. Cicogna 634-1086, and naturally falling within the scope of his book, some, dealing with events of the 1680-1690 wars, are attributed to a Businello. They cannot belong to the above cited Gian Francesco. In a forthcoming study of Businello's work, we will publish documents fixing his dates as 1598-1659. The false attributions here referred to will be discussed; new data concerning his life and writings will be offered from unedited sources, with an analysis of his dialectical and Italian works.

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GEBER AND THE *Roman de la Rose*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—M. Ernest Langlois, in his study of the sources of the *Roman de la Rose*,¹ identifies one of the Latin writers on alchemy, consulted by Jean de Meun, in his task of vulgarizing the Latin learning extant in his day for the benefit of the laity, with "Djabar al Koufi," an Arabian alchemist who flourished in the eighth or ninth century. That this identification is incorrect was shown two years after the appearance of M. Langlois' monograph by M. M. Berthelot. The latter's work,² though authoritative, has been often overlooked by subsequent writers on Mediæval chemistry, and so far as the present writer knows has not been referred to by Romance scholars.

M. Langlois found the original of a portion of Jean de Meun's passage dealing with alchemy³ in Manget, *Bibliotheca Chemica curiosa* (two vols., Geneva, 1702; vol. I, p. 519 ff.), under the title: *Summa perfectionis magisterii*, attributed to Geber (a Latinized form of "Djâber"). M. Berthelot shows⁴ that this Latin work cannot be a translation from the Arab Geber (Abou Mousa Djâber ben Hayyân Eç-Coufy). It contains a defense

of alchemy (cf. *Rose*, v. 17020: *Alquemie est ars véritable*), whereas Avicenna (eleventh cent.) was the first writer on the subject to refer to any doubts as to the genuineness of the art. It refers to the sulphur-mercury theory (cf. *Rose*, vv. 17057-17059:

Car tuit par diverses manières,
Dedens les terrestres minières,
De soufre et de vif-argent nissent,'

which was first developed by Avicenna, and is probably not much older. The processes of treating metals, and the scholastic manner of exposition, are those of the thirteenth century. Further, all the evidence goes to show that the Latin treatise in question was not translated from any Arabian writer at all, but was the work of an anonymous Latin author of the thirteenth century, who put it forth under the name of Geber in order to give it authority.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE ON *bicchéd bones*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—À propos of my note on *bicchéd bones* in the April number of *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Professor Bright kindly calls my attention to a passage in *Eastward Hoe* which seems to have a direct bearing upon the etymology of this phrase. In Act II, Scene 3, Quicksilver exclaims: "I hope to live to see dogs' meat made of the old usurer's flesh, dice of his bones, and indentures of his skin." The figure, though not altogether clear, appears to be that of a dog's carcass. The flesh is dogs' meat; the bones are made into dice; the skin is used for parchment. To be sure, parchment, so far as I know, was never made out of dog-skin, though the skins of goats and other animals than sheep were used for this purpose. It is to be observed, however, that Quicksilver himself was aware that his figure was defective at this point, for he added immediately: "And yet his skin is too thick to make parchment," 'twould make good boots for a peter-man to catch salmon in."

Professor Bright reminds me further of the classical phrases, *ale canicula* and *damnosa cani-*

¹ *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*, Paris, 1891, p. 142, note 4.

² *La Chimie au moyen âge*, 3 vols., Paris, 1893.

³ *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Francisque Michel. 2 vols., Paris, 1864: vv. 17001-17031; 17061-17074.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 336-350.

cula,¹ applied to the lowest throw at dice, and raises the question whether the mediæval *ossa canina* may not possibly be connected with them. Though positive evidence for the derivation of *ossa canina* from these classical phrases is wanting, I have found a few passages which point in that direction by making it clear that in the Middle Ages *canis* continued to be used as a term for the ace on the die. Thus Codrus Vrceus, in his *Rhythmus die diui Martini pronuntiatus*, writes: "Io Io quod iecisti canes ternos." (*Gaudeamus*, Ed. Rudolf Peiper, Lipsiae, 1877, p. 70.) Still more explicit is Alexander Neckham's use of the term in his chapter "De aleatoribus": "Tesseras colligit rapide, spe pallet, nunc canem eminere, nunc senionem optat." (*De Naturis Rerum*, Rolls Ser., p. 323.) It would appear, by the way, from Neckham's statement that in the Middle Ages the ace was not always an unlucky throw. A third reference to the *canes* occurs in one of the "Carmina Burana":²

Hi tres ecce canes segnes, celeres et inanes
sunt mea spes, quia dant mihi res et multiplicant es,
pignora cum nummis, cum castris prædia summis
Venantur, te prædantur, mihi sic famulantur.

Though the essential meaning in these lines, that what one player loses at dice the other gains, is sufficiently clear, one is left in some doubt as to the exact sense in which *canes* is used. The hunting dogs of the figure might be the three aces, or again they might mean, perhaps, the dice themselves. If the latter interpretation could be established this figure would go far toward explaining the origin of the phrase *ossa canina* in the *Speculum Morale*.

On the other hand, *ossa canina* may not be figurative at all, but literal fact. In making dice the bones of various animals were used, and in one instance, in the fourteenth century, even human bones were cut up into dice as souvenirs.³ It seems perfectly possible, therefore, that dice may actually have been made from dogs' bones.

¹ The references to these phrases in classical literature are conveniently assembled in Becker's *Gallus* (Neu bearbeitet von H. Göll, 1882, III. Theil, pp. 456-68).

² *Carm. Burana*, 183 (*Bibl. des littér. Vereins in Stuttgart*, XVI, p. 245).

³ D. da Gravina, "Chronicon de rebus in Apulia 1333-50" (*Muratorii, Rerum Italic. Scriptores*, XII, col. 567).

But, whether suggested by the old designation of the ace or by the material from which dice were sometimes made, the adjective *canina*, with its inseparably contemptuous connotation, was no doubt most acceptable to the mediæval moralist in his denunciation of the dice.

Before taking leave of the *Speculum*, I may perhaps be permitted to quote a curious passage in which the symbolical significance of the 21 points on the die is dwelt upon: "Item sicut deus cultoribus suis tradidit xxj. litteras quibus tota sacra scriptura scripta est & nobis dei insinuatur voluntatem ad faciendum eam: ita in decio sunt xxj. puncta per que lusorum insinuatur voluntas decij dei sui vt eam faciat." (*Lib. III, Pars VIII, dist. iiiii.*) The twenty-one letters here referred to are the letters of the Roman alphabet, as they were reckoned in the Middle Ages. Thus in the fourteenth-century treatise, *The Last Age of the Chirche*, I find it stated: "Cristen men hauen xxi lettris" (Ed. J. H. Todd, Dublin, 1840, p. xxvi).

The mention in the *Speculum* of the 21 points on the die makes it certain that we are dealing with the *tessera*, not the *talus*. In the pseudo-Ovidian poem, "De Vetula,"⁴ the dice described are likewise the *tesserae*:

Cum Decius sit sex laterum, sex et numerorum
Simplicium, tribus in Deciis sunt octo decemque,
Quorum non nisi tres possunt Deciis superesse.

In fact, in mediæval times the old four-sided *tali* had been almost universally superseded by the cubical dice in use to-day.

The number of dice used in mediæval play (just as in classical times when the *tesserae* were used) was either three or two. To judge from references which I have observed, three dice were used much more commonly than two.

In conclusion, it may not be amiss to call the attention of Chaucerian students to the illuminating references to *ses çinke* which are to be found in that most audacious parody, the *Officium lusorum* (*Carmina Burana*, 189).

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⁴ Cited by DuCange under *Decius*. The poem was published by Goldast, Frankfurt, 1608, as well in several other seventeenth century editions, none of which, however, have been accessible to me.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 6.

FAMILIA GOLLE.

Under the above title, Professor Manly adduces a new reason (*Modern Philology* 5. 201-9) for associating the term *Goliardi* with the Biblical name *Goliath*—namely, that in a sermon ascribed to St. Augustine, but really by Cæsarius of Arles (469-542), Goliath is made the type of the devil, not merely as 'the symbol of titanic and ruthless power,' but as 'the type of spiritual wickedness, the leader in this present life of the army of evil ones'; and that, as a portion of this sermon was read once a year at the Second Nocturn of the Fourth Sunday after Pentecost, the minds of churchmen would have been prepared to apply the phrase *familia Golie* 'as a term of reproach to the vagabond and recreant clerics of the Middle Ages.'

The portion of the sermon from which the preceding inferences are drawn is virtually comprised in these words: 'Quadragesima dies . . . vitam præsentem significant, in qua contra *Goliath vel exercitum ejus, id est, contra diabolum et angelos ejus*, Christianorum populus pugnare non desinit.' Goliath's army consists, therefore, of his angels, so that one does not quite see that 'the army of evil ones' would necessarily, on this ground alone, be a natural designation for 'the vagabond and recreant clerics of the Middle Ages.' Moreover, Professor Manly has not been able to determine at how early a date the sermon in question was drawn upon for the Lessons of that Second Nocturn; and therefore seems to feel that his argument is, for this reason, slightly deficient in cogency.

My object in this paper is to support the contention of Professor Manly by adducing some additional evidence of the same general tenor.

Ephrem Syrus died about ninety years before Cæsarius was born, and Ephrem Syrus, in one of his Syriac works, has a passage which is much to our purpose. His Syriac has thus been translated into Latin (*Opera*, Rome, 1737, 1. 367): 'Et quemadmodum David fere ubique Christum re-

præsentat, ita hoc loco Goliath diaboli personam gerit. Quadragesima ergo dies, quibus contra Dei populum terroribus ac minis dimicavit, designant tempus quo diabolus genus humanum oppugnavit, non vi nec armis, sed *arte sua alliciendo, terrendo, ac decipiendo*, donec ad singulare illud certamen ventum est, in quo a Christo primum in deserto post quadragesima ejus secessus dies, deinde in monte Calvario in fine dispensationis suæ victus et prostratus fuit.' Here the italicized words are important by reason of their possible application to the Goliards.

Augustine himself (ca. 354-430) touches more than once on the story. Thus (*Enarr. in Ps. 33: Patr. Lat. 36. 302*) he makes Goliath a type of the devil, and adds: 'Humilitas occidit superbiam.'¹ In another place (*Patr. Lat. 37. 1858*) he applies the cutting off of Goliath's head by his own sword to the destruction of the works of the devil by those who had formerly been his followers, but who now had been converted to Christianity. Compare also 38. 196-206.

The Greek Father, Theodoret († ca. 458), says that, just as the sword of Goliath cut off his own head, so when the devil had succeeded in crucifying Christ, that very crucifixion put an end to his despotism (*Patr. Gr. 1. 568*).

Gregory the Great, in his *Moralia* (on Job 27. 16, 17), makes Goliath stand for the pride of heretics—'*Goliath vero hæreticorum superbiam signans*' (*Patr. Lat. 76. 50*). This again may point forward to the recreant clerics. Incidentally, it may be noted that Augustine already employs the form *Goliath* (*Golia*, *Goliam*), as Gregory does here, and as their successors do in a majority of the instances I have noted.

Isidore of Seville says (*Patr. Lat. 83. 113*): '*Goliath designat diabolum, cujus elevationis superbiam Christi prostravit humilitas.*' The pride of heretics above; the pride of the devil here.

Bede, in his commentary on I Samuel, chap.

¹ As late as Bernard of Clairvaux (*Patr. Lat. 183. 334*), Goliath designates the vice of pride. It may be noted that Superbia is a confident warrior in Prudentius, *Psych. 178 ff.*

17 (*Works*, ed. Giles, 8. 89 ff.) is full of matter germane to our theme. Thus, on v. 4, the camp of the Philistines is the hearts of the wicked, from which the devil daily goes forth to rebel against God. If the name Goliath be interpreted as *transmigrans*, then if this verb be taken in an active sense, it denotes the activity of the devil in transferring all those who follow him from the Land of Promise to the land of perdition. The Vulgate calls Goliath *spurius*, by a misinterpretation of the Hebrew word which applies to the interspace between the two armies. This *spurius* means, according to Bede, that Goliath was born of an ignoble father, but a noble mother. This, again, might be thought to apply to those Goliard clerks who, sprung from the bosom of Holy Church, were yet bastard sons, inasmuch as they were not true to the mother who bore them; though, of course, Bede knows nothing of these Goliards.

Again, the various pieces of Goliath's defensive armor are to Bede various sorts of arguments or arguers whereby diabolical folly is defended. The devil protects his head when, although damned, he does not hesitate to announce himself as God. He protects his body when he puts it into the heart of the wicked to invent excuses for their evil deeds. All this defensive armor is made of brass, the most sonorous of metals, 'quia sive opera nefanda, seu dogma perversum, non invictæ veritatis agnita ratione, *sed fabulosa dulcedine consuevit eloquentiæ defendere secularis.*' Might not this have been subsequently turned against the Goliards, when we consider the vogue of Bede's works in the Middle Ages?

On v. 7 Bede continues—and its pertinence to our discussion will be evident: 'Namque opus quidem eorum quos adversus ecclesiam diabolus ad certamen profert, quasi ad texendum justitiæ et sanctitatis indumentum, oculis insipientium videtur aptissimum. *Ipsum autem acumen dicendi non aliquid ultra mundi hujus, qui sex ætatibus perstat, terminos intueri ac dicere novit. Qui cum tanti sint ingenii, ut possint æstimare seculum, Creatorem tamen ejus invenire nesciunt. . . . Et sicut in Psalmo centesimo quadragesimo tertio [Ps. 144. 8], qui proprie adversus Goliath scribitur, victor ejusdem Goliath Psalmista testatur: Quorum os locutum est vanitatem, et dextera eorum dextera iniquitatis.*'

Bede goes on to point out the pride which is an attribute of the devil, and to make David prefigure Christ. He adds (v. 23): 'Apparuit hostis antiquus ex impiorum præcordiis ascendens, et per actiones linguasque eorum nefarias malitiæ suæ superbæ contra electos, quod et hodie facit, venena dira jaculans.'

Another significant passage is the following (v. 43): 'Maledicit et per hæreticos corpori veri David in diis suis, *cum fictos de corde suo ac pessimo igni conflatos sensus, evangelicæ veritati præponere docet*; qui etiam carnalia docentes, spiritualium dicta vel acta præsumant se posse convincere. Talia magis gentilium superbis philosophis, vel barbaris quibusdam—his enim volucres cæli, ac bestię terræ, possunt decentissima significatione conferri—quam ecclesiasticæ eruditioni et humilitati congruere.'

Finally, two other extracts, on vv. 49 and 51 respectively, will illustrate the same theory of Bede's, according to which—in this respect resembling Ephrem Syrus—the power of the devil and his adherents is regarded as consisting in eloquence and cajolery, and its devilishness in its falseness: 'Percussus autem lapide cecidit in terram gigas; quia pulsatus Dei verbo *diabolicus error*, nequaquam celsus, ut multo ante tempore jactabat, et cælestis, sed terrenus fuisse innotuit, et infimus.'

'Sed et nos cum hæreticorum vesaniæ disputando occurrentes, non aliis quam his quæ ipsi ad nos reducendos proposuerant, vel argumentationum probamentis, vel testimoniis Scripturarum convinimus, eos *fabricatores mendacii*, et cultores esse perversorum dogmatum; gigantis profecto proterviam suo ense dejicimus.'

Rabanus Maurus, in one passage (*Patr. Lat.* 111. 58) merely considers Goliath as standing for the devil. Another passage (109. 52–3) is more important, since it rehearses some of the significant ideas presented above: 'Convertunt linguas suas contra diabolum, et sic Goliæ de gladio suo caput inciditur. (*Ex Gregorio.*) Item vir certa fide plenus, quæ sanctis solet ad justitiam computari, et ipsa Scripturæ sacræ, quæ hæreticus affert, testimonia colligit, et erroris ejus pertinaciam inde convincit. Contra nos namque dum sacræ Legis testimonia adportant, secum nobis afferunt unde vincantur. Unde et David typum Domini, qui videlicet *fortis manu* interpretatur; Goliath vero,

revelatus sive *transmigrans*, hæreticorum superbiam signans, hoc rebus locuti sunt quod nos verbis aperimus. Goliath quippe cum gladio, David vero cum pera pastoralis venit ad prælium. Sed eundem Goliath David superans, suo occidit gladio. Quod nos quoque agimus, qui promissi David membra ex ejus fieri dignatione meruimus: nam superbientes hæreticos et sacræ Scripturæ sententias deferentes, eisdem verbis atque sententiis quas proferunt vincimus.²

One of the chief intermediaries between the earlier and the later Middle Ages, so far as Biblical commentary went, was Walafrid Strabo. In his *Glossa Ordinaria* (*Patr. Lat.* 113. 536-7), which, according to the Benedictine authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (9. 21), represented to the twelfth century the complete understanding of Scripture, and from which, according to no less an authority than M. Samuel Berger, the greater part of the thirteenth century commentary on the French Bible is drawn (see Male, *L'Art Religieux en France au XIII^e Siècle*, p. 187), has the following: 'Goliath vero superbiam diaboli significat. . . . Christus diabolum de suis membris occidit quando crediderunt magi quos ille in manu habebat, et de quibus alios trucidabat, convertentes linguas suas contra diabolum, et sic Goliath gladio suo caput abscindunt.'

There was, therefore, no lack of means for making the clergy of the Middle Ages acquainted with the character attributed with general consistency to Goliath from the fourth century on. That the name and deeds of the giant were familiar throughout the mediæval period is indicated by Dante's allusions (*Mon.* 2. 10. 86-7 Moore; *Ep.* 7. 178-183); by Chaucer's (*Man of Law's Tale* 934)

O Goliath, unmesurable of length;

by the *Goliath* (*Goli*, *Goly*) of the *Cursor Mundi* (7443, 7553, 7575, 7577); and by the frequent use of the name to designate Saracen warriors in

²Cf. Chrysostom, *Hom.* 38 on First Corinthians (on v. 3): 'Seest thou how nothing is weaker than error? And how it is taken by its own wings, and needs not the warfare from without, but by itself it is pierced through? Consider, for instance, these men, how they too have pierced themselves through by their own statements.'

the Carolingian epic.³ The spelling *Goliath* is found as late as Shakespeare (*I Hen.* VI 1. 2. 33), side by side with *Goliath* (*M. W.* 5. 1. 23).

Familia is not an uncommon word in the Middle Ages to designate a monastic community. Thus Æthelbald of Mercia (A. D. 747) makes a gift (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* 1. 116) 'Mildredæ religiosæ abbatissæ ejusque venerabili familiæ quæ una cum ea conversatur in insula Thænet' (similarly 1. 117). So Cynewulf of Mercia (1. 125) 'familiæ Christi in Maldubiensi monasterio constitutæ.' Cf. 1. 129, 182, 230. Oswald (963) makes a gift (2. 398) 'familiæ Wiogornensis ecclesiæ.' The corresponding term in Old English was *hired* (sometimes *hīwan*, plur.), Thus, Wulfstan 184. 26-7: 'æt ælcen tidsange eal *hired* āpenedum limum ætforan Godes weofode singe pone scalm'; cf. *Cod. Dipl.* 2. 3 (line 36).

It would be desirable to ascertain with more certainty the date of the *Constitution* attributed by Mansi (*Conc.* 18. 324) to Gautier of Sens († 913): 'Statuimus quod clerici ribaldi, maxime qui dicuntur de familiæ Goliæ,' etc. It is usually assumed that this date is much too early; but Chambers, *Med. Stage*, 1. 61, seems inclined to attach some weight to Mansi's attribution.

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VILLONIANA.

The facetious legacy in verse does not rank high in the list of even the minor genres: except Villon, one can hardly name an important poet who has made use of it.¹ The fact is the more

³Thus *Pèl. de Charl.* 424; *Charroi de Nîmes* 518; *Prise d'Orange* 346, etc.; *Aliscans* 3965, etc.; *Prise de Cordres* 1162; *Enfances Vivien* 510 (all ca. 1160-1200); then *Garin le Loherain* 625 (Tartar name); *Anseis de Carthage* 2480, etc.; *Henri de Metz* 8780; *Octavian* 1311, etc.; *Maugis d'Aigremont* 1766; etc., etc. I owe these references to the kindness of my colleague, Professor Frederick M. Warren.

¹The list, however, includes Jean Bodel, Adam de la Halle, Jean de Meung, Eustache Deschamps, William Dunbar, with his *Testament of Andro Kennedy*, and Jean Regnier, author of the *Livre de la Prison*, printed in 1526.

remarkable that, using this insignificant form and drawing upon little else than his own life experience, François Villon should have been able to produce an imperishable work of art. His poems consist essentially in poignant thrusts, some witty, some humorous and most of them innocent enough, at friends, acquaintances and enemies. Add to these satiric hits the revelations of the inner life, brief but intense, of a semi-medieval townsman, fuse the words, verse and strophic form into an inseparable whole, and we have the *Lais* and the *Testament*.² In Villon's hands the facetious legacy rises to the dignity of vivid satire and interesting personal confession; and the whole is written in an individual and distinguished style.

To the series of *Congés* and *Testaments* written in verse before Villon and reviewed by G. Paris,³ may be added a few others, but they serve only to strengthen the conviction that Maître François Villon, except in his versification, was independent of predecessors. Guillaume de Machaut, for example, had inserted a sort of Last Will in the *Voir Dit*.⁴ *Je fis mon testament*, he tells us, *Et a ma dame l'envoyai*. It is in ballade form:

Mr. Samuel T. Pickard, literary executor of John Greenleaf Whittier, is authority for the statement that there exists among the Quaker poet's unpublished papers a "Last Will and Testament of a Man caught in a Bear-trap." While waiting for death a citizen of Amesbury is represented as disposing of his goods and chattels: in doing so he comments upon the character of the legatees in an amusing manner. (See a letter of William E. Curtis in the *Chicago Record-Herald*, Aug. 19, 1907.) As a curiosity, I mention the last will and testament (in prose) of Charles Lounsbury, who is said to have died in the insane asylum at Dunning, Illinois. After a formal preamble come the bequests, of which the following is a specimen: "Item, I leave to children inclusively, but only for the term of their childhood, all and every, the flowers of the fields, and the blossoms of the woods, with the right to play among them freely according to the customs of children, warning them at the same time against thistles and thorns. And I leave the children the long, long days to be merry in, in a thousand ways, and the night and the moon and the train of the milky way to wonder at, but subject nevertheless to the rights hereinafter given to lovers." Further details in *Charities and the Commons*, Vol. XVIII, p. 509.

²The old titles, *Petit Testament* and *Grand Testament*, should be discarded as without basis in tradition and contrary to the poet's own indications. (*Test.*, 78 and 755-8.)

³G. Paris, *François Villon*, 1901, p. 120 f.

⁴Ed. P. Paris, p. 25.

Pleurés, dames. . . .

Vestés vous de noir pour moi,
Car j'ay cuer taint et viaire palli,
Et si me voy de mort en aventure
Se Dieus et vous ne me prenés en cure.

Mon cuer vous lais et met en vo command,
Et l'ame a Dieu devotement presente,
Et voist ou doit aler le remenant;
La char aus vers, car c'est leur droite rente
Et l'avois soit departi
Aus povres gens. . . .

The *Testament allégorique* of Charles of Orléans,⁵ with whom Villon was in more or less intimate relations at one period, is also in ballade form and hardly more striking:

Puisque mort a prins ma maistresse
Que sur toutes amer souloye,
Mourir me convient en tristesse,
Certes plus vivre ne pourroye.
Pour ce, par deffaulte de joye,
Tres malade, mon testament
J'ay mis en escript doloieux
Lequel je présente humblement
Devant tous loyaulx amoureux.

The duke's bequests are few: he gives "mon esperit a la haultesse du Dieu d'Amours"; "la richesse des biens d'Amours" shall be divided among all 'vrais amans,' and finally,

Sans espargner or ne monnoye,
Loyauté veult qu'enterré soye
En sa chappelle grandement. . . .

The *Testament* of Eustache Deschamps,⁶ overlooked accidentally by G. Paris, is much more elaborate. The *Autres Lettres Envoyées par Eustache luy estant malade et la manière de son Testament par Esbattement* form a poem of 104 lines in octosyllabic couplets. Some of his many bequests resemble those of Villon, but hardly enough to prove a connection.

II.

The following observations bear upon matters of interpretation and text readings. The references are to Von Wurzbach's text, 1903.

Test. 117, *viel en viellesse*. Both the sense and the original in Jean de Meung's *Codicille* call for

⁵Ed. Champollion-Figeac, 1842, p. 149.

⁶*Œuvres complètes*, VIII, 29-32. See also Hoeffner's *Eustache Deschamps*, pp. 52 and 184, n. 4.

neur en viellesse. The mistake can hardly be Villon's.

Test. 129 f. The Diomedes episode is the longest piece of pure narrative in Villon, and is otherwise of more than ordinary interest as being a veritable *apologia pro vita sua*. It has escaped notice that Villon's verses contain more than one verbal reminiscence of the Latin original, the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury. I reprint parts of the original passage, from the text in Migne, cxcix :

In Græcia quis major aut clarior Alexandro ?
Eidem quoque eleganter et vere comprehensus
pirata scribitur respondisse. Cum enim Alexander interrogaret, quid ei videretur quod mare haberet infestum, ille libera contumacia, "Quid tibi, inquit, ut tu orbem terrarum? Sed quia id ego uno navigio facio, latro vocor; quia tu magna classe, disceris imperator. Si solus, et captus sit Alexander, latro erit. Si ad nutum Dionidi (*sic*) populi famuletur, erit Dionides imperator. . . .
Me fortune iniquitas, et rei familiaris angustia, te fastus intolerabilis et inexplabilis avaritia, furem facit. Si fortuna mansuesceret, fierem forte melior. At tu quo fortunatior, eo nequior eris."

MIRATUS ALEXANDER constantiam hominis eum merito ARGUMENTIS, "Experiar, inquit, an futurus sis melior, FORTUNAMQUE MUTABO, ut non ei a modo deliqueris, sed tuis moribus ascribatur."

Eum itaque jussit conscribi militiæ, ut posset exinde SALVIS LEGIBUS militare.

Cp. *Test.*, xx :

Quant l'empereur ot remiré
De Diomedès tout le dit ;
"Ta fortune je te mueray,
Mauvaise en bonne" si luy dit.
Ce fist il. Onc puis ne mesfit
A personne. . .

XXI :

Se Dieu m'eust donné rencontrer
Ung autre piteux Alixandre
Qui m'eust fait en boneur entrer. . . .
Necessité fait gens mesprendre
Et faim saillir le loup du bois.

Villon, characteristically, was ever ready to ascribe his sufferings to the persecutions of Fortune (cp. *PD.* 380, 442, 459 ff.), and the passages in

italics no doubt struck his attention as marvelously fitting his own pitiable case.

Test. 339, *Esbaillart*. The interchange of prefix is easily paralleled from Langlois' *Table des Noms propres: Acopert—Escopert, Apolice—Es-police*, etc. The Latin forms are *Abælardus*, *Abaiëlardus*, the latter occurring in the Latin poems attributed to Walter Map (ed. Wright, p. 28). In this connection I add an interesting suggestion of Dr. C. J. Cipriani, that *Abaëlard* may possibly be a compound of the Welsh *Ap* or *Ab* with the Germanic *Adalhard*. There is no phonetic objection to this etymology, and, as Dr. Cipriani points out, other instances of Germanic names with the Celtic word prefixed are not unknown.

Test. 355, *remainé*. As far as morphology goes, the word is susceptible of different interpretations. Paris rejected Longnon's idea (from *remanoir*) without however explaining his own. From *PD.*, 35 and 267, *remainé* would seem to be *Subj.* Ps. I of *remener*, in the sense of 'quote, quote again, reiterate.'

Test. 448, *emprunter elles*. *Elles* may possibly not be reflexive (Longnon), but may represent *ilz*, i. e., *famelettes*, while *emprunter* is 'borrow,' in the sense of 'imitate, follow in the footsteps of.' Cp. Montaigne I, ch. xxv: *Il sondera la portée d'un chacun: un bœuvier, un masson, un passant, il fault . . . emprunter chacun selon sa marchandise.*

Test. 636. A Cerberus with four heads is, I believe, unique. From medieval sources Prof. Bloomfield⁷ might have gathered many other curious additions to his interesting review of the transformations of the Dog of Hades.⁸

Test. 670, *fol s'y fia*. Editors of the text should

⁷ Cerberus, the Dog of Hades. The History of an Idea, by Maurice Bloomfield, Chicago, 1905.

⁸ To Jean de Meung, *Roman de la Rose*, 20737 ff., Cerberus is "*Cis mastins*," who hangs to the three breasts of Atropos; to the author of the *Chanson d'Antioche* (II, p. 129) he is a devil and a workman (*manouvrier*) who builds a tower; to Guillaume de Machaut he is one of the four "*roys d'enfer*" along with Pluto, Flouren and Lucifer. Eustache Deschamps tells us that Cerberus, "*dieu d'enfer*," was seen in his time carried about in effigy:

Au monde voit on porter Cerberus
O ses .iii. chiefs. . . . *Oeuvres*, I, p. 251.

refer to Tobler's *Beiträge*, I, 2, p. 217, and to Keidel, *Modern Language Notes*, x, col. 146 f.

Test. 685, *elle* may possibly mean 'elbow,' as in Gringore, *Soties* (ed. Picot, II, p. 35): *Sus! Qui est ce qui se frotte en mon elle?*

Test. 752. It is possible that in this passage the Lord is cited as hating the Lombards not, as commonly, because they are tricky merchants, usurers or misers, but as heretics.

Test. 852, *levé de maillon* 'baptized in swaddling clothes'; *lever* in the seuse 'to hold at the baptismal font' in Deschamps, I, p. 147. Cp. also *levare de sacro fonte*, quoted by Diez, *Dict.*, I, p. 12, s. v. *allevare*.

Test. 952. This unintelligible line may be emended by reading *sachier* (f) while *fait* may be taken in the sense of 'business, affair,' as in *Test.* 665, 667, 1087.

Test. 1126 ff. The two strophes are obscure. Von Wurzbach's note only adds to the confusion. The expressions *Prins à mastins* (1130) and *prins à* [so AFI] *un piège* (1138) are plainly in opposition. Apparently, one duty of the archers was to hunt and kill wolves, which we know were troublesome in winter in the vicinity of Paris. Possibly a bounty was paid for their heads (*hures*), hence the desirability of the bequest. Villon, whether in jest or not, says that wolves' heads (brains?) make a delicate morsel. As food it is light, and would make good provisions for campaigning. If the butchers' dogs prove useless as hunters, and traps are resorted to, then (as the skins would be whole, not torn) Villon, who is a good judge of pelts, directs that they be made into fur garments for the archers in winter. Labouche, *Les Arts et Métiers*, 1884, tells us: Les bouchers out longtemps nourri de gros chiens qui voituraient la viande sur de petites charrettes de l'abattoir aux boucheries.⁹

As parallels to the double protasis¹⁰ in lines 1138-9 may be cited from Chrétien, *Charrette* 3659:

⁹ These *mastins*, *vieux chiens de boucherie*, are also mentioned in the Legend of Pierre Faifeu, p. 39. See also an illustration, *Piège pour prendre Loups*, fifteenth century, in Iacroy, *Mœurs, Usages et Costumes au Moyen Age*, 1878, p. 208.

¹⁰ Cp. also Lücking, *Grammatik*, § 562.

se il la savoit

A la fenestre ou cle estoit,
Qu'ele l'esgardast ne vëist,
Force et hardement en prëist.

and from Wace, *Rou* 6261:

Et se je fail a mon dreit prendre,
Qu'Engleis se pöissent defendre,
Ja n'i perdrai mais que la teste.

Test. 1287, *Ave salus, Tibi decus*. The second of these two snatches of ecclesiastical Latin may be a garbled reminiscence of the vesper hymn *Tibi, Christe, dux et decus, | Certa spes fidelium* (Chevalier, No. 20446). Two hymns (Nos. 2094, 2095) begin with the words *Ave, salus*. . .

Test. 1398 ff. *semer (graine) dans un champ*, in the sense understood here by Longnon, is indeed a common figure of speech, and as old at least as Plato's *Timæus*. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that Villon may have used it here in the sense of 'devote attention to' a person or thing, a meaning for which there is ample precedent in the Parable of the Sower. Thus Rutebeuf, *Complainte du Conte de Nevers*, 91 ff.:

Lasus els cieus fet bon semer;
N'estuet pas la terre femer
Ne ne s'i puet repestre oisiaus. . .

Besides, the reading *quant le fruit me ressemble* has poor support: IF have *le fait*, and the meaning may be, 'seeing that the occupation (of devoting attention to you) is to my liking.' Moreover, Longnon's idea tends to remove the ballade from the time of Robert d'Estouteville's courtship where, from its general tone, it seems to me to most fittingly belong.¹¹

¹¹ I add the passages from Jean de Roye relating to Ambroise de Loré:

I, 12: Et lors, par maistre Jean Avin, conseiller lay en la court de Parlement, furent fais plusieurs exploits en l'hostel dudit d'Estouteville comme de chercher boistes, coffres et autres lieux pour savoir si on y trouveroit nulles lettres: et fist plusieurs rudesses oudit hostel a dame Ambroise de Loré, femme dudit d'Estouteville, qui estoit moult sage, noble et houneste dame. Dieu de ses exploits le veuille punir. . .

I, 201 (at her death, 5 mai 1468): et fu fort plainte pour ce qu'elle estoit noble dame, bonne et honneste, et en l'hostel de laquelle toutes nobles et honnestes personnes estoient honorablement receuz. (Ed. Mandrot, 1894.)

Test. 1486. *n'acoutassent*, to which G. Paris objected, seems intended to reproduce the *froyée* of the original *Dit de Franc Gontier*, I, 7 (text by Piaget) :

Soubz feuille vert, sur herbe delitable
Lez ru bruiaint et prez clere fontaine,
Trouvay fichée une borde portable.
Ilec mengeoit Gontier o dame Helayrie
5 Fromage frais, laict, burre, fromaigée,
Craime, matton, pomme, nois, prune, poire,
Aulx et oignons, escaillongne froyée
Sur crouste bise, au gros sel, pour mieulx boire.

Test. 1662. *doivent estre retrouvez* may be taken as equivalent to *seront retrouvez*, 'they will be found assembled, very naturally, at the house of Marion l'Ydolle,' as foreshadowed in ll. 1628 ff. Grammatically, the phrase seems analogous to the case of omission of the pronoun in compound tenses of reflexive verbs (Tobler, *Beiträge*, II, p. 57).

Test. 1741, *de ce prest estre*. This confusion of *prêt* and *près*, due to phonetic causes, is well known. Haase, *Syntaxe*, 112, 3; etc.

Test. 1861, *aller de mort a vie*. G. Paris remarked: Entendez naturellement *de vie à mort*. Ce genre de plaisanterie charmait Rabelais qui en fait un fréquent usage. Rabelais, it is true, would "kill a comb for a tailor" (I, xxxiii), but Villon's expression may possibly be a souvenir of the church formula "from death unto life (eternal)." Speaking of the Gospel according to John, the author of the Old French *Eruetavit* says:

N'i a celui qui mianz vos die
Comant Deus vint de mort a vie.

ll. 1025-6.

And elsewhere, speaking of Christ:

La biautez qui an vos sera
Quant vos vandroiz de mort a vie.

ll. 453-4.

Similarly, *Miracles de Notre Dame*, II, p. 5: *Par son chier filz sommes apellé de mort a vie*.

III.

PD. 267-8:

A ce propos un dit remaine:
De saige mere saige enfant.

A prominent characteristic of Villon's style is his habit of closing his huitains with an observation of general application, often a current saying,

maxim or proverb.¹² About forty strophes end in this manner in a total of upwards of two hundred. Is this habit an isolated peculiarity, or may it indicate the poet's connection with the traditions of some literary group? To summarize some results obtained from an examination of contemporary verse, made with the assistance of some of my pupils, it is convenient to distinguish several cases:

I. The author makes an original reflection of a general character, or is reminded of a current saying, and inserts it in the body of his strophe, or at the end, without particular intention.

II. The author habitually places a general remark at the end of the strophe, often using proverbs for the purpose, so that the practice amounts to a peculiarity of style. Villon may be classed here.

III. The author intentionally ends every strophe with a proverb, which a) resumes the strophe, or b) to which the strophe is only an introduction and explanation. Examples: of a) *Complainte V* of Charles of Orléans; of b) *Li Proverbe au Vilain*, ed. Tobler, 1895.

IV. The author composes strophes entirely of proverbs. Examples are Villon's *Ballade des Proverbes*, the *Mimes* of Bâif, etc.

Alain Chartier and Charles of Orléans are very sparing in their use of proverbs, either in mid-strophe, or at the end. Out of almost a thousand strophes, mostly huitains, some fifty instances might be cited. Besides the *Complainte* just mentioned, Charles of Orléans composed a *Rondel* entirely of proverbs:

Comme j'oy que chascun devise,
On n'est pas tousiours a sa guise,
Beau chanter si ennuie bien,
Jeu qui trop dure ne vault rien,
Tant va le pot a l'eau qu'il brise. Etc.

In seventeen *Soties* in Picot's collection, although the editor prepares us for a different result, examination reveals no more than about a score in a total of over 7,500 verses. In Greban's *Mystère de la Passion*, aside from a speech of Lazarus thrown exceptionally into strophic form, there seem to be not over a dozen sententious

¹² Sébillot's article on Villon's proverbs (*Revue des Traditions populaires*, III, 463) is unimportant.

remarks, much less common proverbs. The speech of Lazarus¹³ is in nine septains, each ending with a moral remark of general application. In the Picot-Nyrop collection, in some 3,000 lines, there occur but eight proverbs, and about the same number of general maxims, evidently original for the most part.

Turning to popular verse not in dramatic form, the number of strophes where the proverb-end is a common or constant feature, increases suddenly. At least ten poems in the first nine volumes of the Montaignon-Rothschild collection will fall under class II. They are: *Doctrinal des nouveaux Mariés* (i. 131); *Débat de Nature et Jeunesse* (iii, 84); *Ny trop tost ni trop tard Marié* (iii, 129); *Débat de la Dame et de l'Escuyer* (iv, 151); *Testament de Monseigneur des Barres* (vi, 102); *Débat de l'homme et de l'Argent* (vii, 302); *Réformation des Dames de Paris* (viii, 244); *L'Amant rendu au Couvent de Tristesse* (ix, 321); *Regrets de Picardie* (ix, 297); *Le grant Jubilé de Millan* (ix, 337). In all, a total of some 332 strophes, of which 40 end in what may be called proverbs.

Popular poems of the type of class III are very numerous at the period in question. The list examined includes the following: *La Danse Macabré des Hommes et des Femmes* (Collection Sylvestre); G. Coquillart, *Complainte d'Echo*; *Diet des Bestes et des Oyseaux* (M-R, i, 256); *Les Neuf Preux de Gourmandise* (ii, 38); *La Folye des Angloys* (ii, 253); *Les Loix de Mariage* and Sequel to same (iii, 168); *Le Songe Doré de la Pucelle* (iii, 204); *Le Débat du Jeune et du Vieulx Amoureux* (vii, 211); R. Gaguin's *Passtemps de l'Oisiveté* (vii, 225); *La Complainte de Venise* (v, 120), and three poems from Le Roux's *Recueil de Chants historiques*: a *Ballade envoyée par les Anglois*, the *Ballade de Fougères*, and the *Chanson contre Hugues Aubriot*. In a total of 715 strophes, 659 end in proverbs and maxims.

The general result, therefore, is to emphasize Villon's indifference to the aristocratic literature of the period, and his close affiliation with the bourgeois muse. As Paris said, he was not merely a *poète de ville*, but a *poète de quartier*. Yet, although his circle was narrow, he was far

above the common rhymesters whose excessive use of proverbs condemns their work to hopeless commonplace and the exclusion of what is personal and distinguished.

Villon's use of proverbs is also additional evidence that he was not greatly influenced by the learned world, then much addicted to dealing in quotable wisdom. Once (PD. 259) he cites in Latin a phrase from the "*escripture de Caton*," but with this exception his proverbs are from popular rather than learned sources.

Evidently the practice of placing a proverb in the culminating line of a strophe of fixed form is instructive as reflecting in a measure the intellectual range of the fifteenth century bourgeoisie. But the tendency itself is much older, and seems inherent to some extent in the strophe of fixed form. Thus De Gramont¹⁴ says, apropos of the sonnet: "Il est indispensable que le dernier vers, celui qui achève le sentiment ou le tableau, fasse réellement conclusion par quelque chose d'heureux ou de frappant, soit dans l'idée soit dans l'expression, *ni plus ni moins d'ailleurs que ne doit faire le vers terminal d'une simple strophe*." So in the *Romans de Carité et de Miserere*, observes Van Hamel,¹⁵ "le poète annonce son idée dans les trois premiers vers: ensuite il la développe dans les six vers (4-9) et enfin il la résume ou il en tire une conclusion dans les trois vers de la fin." In the 515 strophes of these two poems, some 23 may fall under our class II. In Helinand's *Vers de la Mort* the tendency is much more marked, for out of the 50 strophes 12 end with proverbs or generalizations. The tendency becomes rare when we emerge into the "spacious" air of the Renaissance.¹⁶ The epigrams of Marot, for example, are nearly all in strophes of fixed form (sixains, huitains, dizains, etc.), yet there seem to be no cases which would fall under our classes II and III.

Finally, there existed in Villon's day another obvious incentive to reserve the last line of the strophe for an epigrammatic phrase, maxim or saying that would bear repetition: the refrain of the ballade. In the fourteenth century, when

¹⁴ *Les Vers français et leur Prosodie*, p. 253.

¹⁵ Introduction, p. xcv.

¹⁶ This statement, of course, does not apply to the Senecan tragedy, not in strophic form.

¹³ Lines 15,794 ff.

lyric poetry was turned in the didactic direction, the refrain also becomes tinged with didacticism. The bourgeois *pays* often gave out for competition quotable verses embodying a general truth. The ballade refrains of Deschamps are frequently maxims or proverbs: those of Charles of Orléans and the authors of the *Livre de Cent Ballades* are comparatively free from the tendency. The extent to which this motive influenced Villon may be judged from the fact that one-fourth of his twenty-eight ballade refrains are sayings or current phrases.

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CHAUCERIANA. I.

THE DATE OF *The Clerk's Tale*.

Certain English Chaucerian scholars date *The Clerk's Tale* immediately after Chaucer's first journey to Italy; a conjecture which partly rests on the supposition that he was personally indebted for the story of Griselda to Petrarch, at a meeting of the two poets, which has been accepted as very probable by many Chaucer and Petrarch students.¹ Dr. J. S. P. Tatlock, in a well sustained argument against the whole of this theory, suggests that while there is no evidence for such a meeting, and no need of it in order to account for Chaucer's obtaining the Latin version, as "considering the reputation both of the *Decameron* and of Petrarch, mss. of his cultivated Latinization of its last tale are likely to have been speedily multiplied." As evidence of the early and wide-spread acquaintance with Petrarch's version, he calls attention to the version found in the *Menagier de Paris*, which was probably written 1392-4.² Quite as apposite to the matter in question, is the French dramati-

zation of Petrarch's version, found in a fifteenth century manuscript of the Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 2203, in which the date of the work is given as 1395.³ A version of a slightly later date in twelve line strophes, by a Lombard "Franchois Pietat" has been printed from a fifteenth century Bodleian Manuscript, Douce 99.⁴ Two Dutch versions were written about 1400⁵; an analysis of it appears in a Spanish moral treatise, which is to be assigned to the same date,⁶ as well as the translation into Catalan by Bernart Metge.⁷

Some of Petrarch's other Latin works had an equal fortune in being translated into other languages than Italian at an early date. If the main body of the *Res memorandae* was written in 1344,⁸ it was still unfinished when Petrarch died in 1374⁹; and as late as July 13, 1379, Coluccio Salutati, who was in close touch with the executors of the poet, asks for a copy in a letter written in regard to a copy of another uncompleted work, *De Viris*.¹⁰ Yet in 1393¹¹ Gower introduced into his second version of the *Confessio Amantis*¹² the story of Dante and the court sycophant, which Petrarch

¹ H. Groeneveld, *Die älteste Bearbeitungen der Griseldissage in Frankreich*, Marburg, 1886, Ausg. u. Ahbl. LXXIX, v-vi, xxxvi-xxxvii; cf. Petit de Julleville, *Les mystères*, I, 180, II, 342. This manuscript was already noted by Pichon, *Menagier de Paris*, p. 99.

² R. Hofmeister, in *Festschrift des Königl. Realgymnasiums zu Erfurt*, 1894, No. 8, p. 1; cf. Groeneveld, *l. c.* xxx, xxxi. On a later fifteenth century metrical version cf. R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 519.

³ J. Bolte, in Köhler, *l. c.* 511.

⁴ H. Knust, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, x, 36; Köhler, *l. c.* II, 511; A. Farinelli, *Giorn. storico della lett. ital.*, XLIV, 316; C. B. Bourland, *Revue hispanique*, XII, 168-171.

⁵ Wannenmacher, *Die Griseldissage*, 1904, 103; Morel-Fatio, Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 3, 109, 125; Farinelli, *l. c.* 312, 315; Bourland, *l. c.*, 211-213. Like Chaucer, Metge speaks with devotion of Petrarch, and does not mention Boccaccio, from whose *Corbaccio*, however, he filched the whole of the tirade against women of his "Tiresias." Farinelli, *l. c.*, 312.

⁶ Gaspary, *Gesch. der ital. Lit.*, I, 436; Kirner, *Giorn. stor.*, XVI, 409; cf. de Nolhac, *Not. et Extr.*, XXXIV, 1, 109, 113.

⁷ Vita of Pietro da Castelletto, in Solerti, *Le vite di Dante, del P. e del Boec.*, 272; Gaspary, I, 436.

⁸ Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, I, 330-1.

⁹ On date, cf. *Works of Gower*, ed. Macaulay, I, xxiii, cxxxiv; H. Spies, *Engl. Stud.*, XXXII, 258.

¹⁰ *Conf. am.* 2359* ff. 13: cf. Tatlock, *l. c.*, 221, n. 3.

¹ To Tatlock's bibliography add Belleza, *Giorn. stor.*, XLII, 460, for a note on the Italian supporters of the thesis.

² *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, 1907, 156; cf. 161 n. (Cf. a different version found in MS. Bibl. nat. 7387 (Pichon, *Menagier de Paris*, I, 99), which may be the same as that found in some imprints. R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*. II. 509-510).

was the first to tell in the *Res memorandae*.¹³ The *De remediis*, which was only finished Nov. 4, 1366,¹⁴ was translated by Jean Daudin into French before April 14, 1378, when Charles V ordered 200 francs to be paid him for translating "un livre appelé Patrac";¹⁵ and a translation of his version of the Penitential Psalms is dated Nov. 17, 1409.¹⁶ Manuscripts with selections of the Latin works, including the Griselda story, are found in France early in the fifteenth century,¹⁷ and a copy of his *Letters* is noted in the original catalogue of the library of Peterhouse, Cambridge, of 1426.¹⁸ Among the books presented to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by T. Markaunt in 1439 was a "Tractatus de Waltero et Griselda uxores ejus,"¹⁹ and a copy was in the library of St. Catherine's Hall, presented by the founder in 1475.²⁰ In Queen's College, Oxford, John Leland found on one of his visits between 1530-1546 a copy of Petrarch's version of Boccaccio's story²¹; and the manuscripts found by Bernard²²

at the end of the seventeenth century, in the Laud collection at the Bodleian, and in Magdalen College, Oxford, and in Benet²³—Corpus Christi—College, Cambridge, vouch for its vogue in England in the separate manuscript form, in which it was probably known to Chaucer.

As there is not a single instance of a copy of the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch, or of the numerous works in vernacular of Boccaccio appearing in the various fifteenth century English library catalogues, in which not unfrequent entries are found of their Latin works, the reputation of the *Decamerone*, for spreading the reputation of the story of Griselda, need not be considered. It was through the intermediary of the Latin version that the story under Petrarch's authorship passed through Europe as a chap-book.²⁴ The first French translation of the *Decamerone*, made in the early years of the fifteenth century by Laurent de Premierfait, was based on a Latin version of an Italian collaborator²⁵; and in one manuscript of this translation, a translation of Petrarch's version has been substituted for that of the original of Boccaccio.²⁶ The only *Decamerone* manuscript which was in an early English library was a copy of Premierfait's translation, presented by the Earl of Warwick to that famous book-lover, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.²⁷ The latter does not seem to have included it in his gifts in 1439 and 1443 to the Public Library at Oxford, in which are found so many copies of Petrarch's and Boccaccio's Latin works,²⁸ as well as Serravalle's Latin translation of, and commentary on, the *Divina Commedia*.²⁹

Coxe, p. 526); II, p. 73, (Coxe, *Codd. Magd. Coll.* 24 in *Cat. Codd. Mss. qui in Coll.*, etc.); III, p. 131; cf. Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, 1840, II, 184.

²³ Mullinger, *l. c.* 249, n. 4.

²⁴ R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 502-3, 534-5.

²⁵ H. Hauvette, *De Laurentio de Primofato*, 1903, 66.

²⁶ *Ib.*, 91. Premierfait, himself, in his laudatory Latin and French verses on Boccaccio, speaks of the Griselda story as a separate work from the *Decamerone*, and it is found in this condition only in the translation of Petrarch, P. Paris, *Les manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque du roi*, I, 220, 251.

²⁷ Delisle, *Cabinet*, I, 52, n. 4; Hauvette, *l. c.*, 91, n. 1, 96, n. 2.

²⁸ H. Anstey, *Monumenta Academica*, 760, 761, 764, 770, 772.

²⁹ Hamilton, *Twentieth Annual Report of the Cambridge Dante Society*, 32-4.

¹³ *Res. mem.*, Lib. IV (Opera, 1581, 427). On popularity of the story, cf. Papanti, *Dante secondo la tradizione e i novellatori*, 94, 116, 132; R. Köhler, *l. c.* II, 642; Shakespeare, *Jest-Books*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, Series I, 103.

¹⁴ O. Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, 112 n.

¹⁵ L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, I, 41, III, 329; *Not. et Extr.*, XXXIV, I, 273, 276-7. In copies in medieval English libraries, cf. *Collected Papers of H. Bradshaw*, 38, 54. Lydgate shows an acquaintance with it: *Prol. to Tragedies*; st. 37, 38; ed. Wayland, n. d. sig. A ii recto. A copy of it appears in an Oxford bookseller's accounts of 1510. E. G. Duff, *Library*, N. S. VIII, 259, 265. On popularity in Spain at the same period, cf. A. Farinelli, *l. c.*, 302-6, 308, 310.

¹⁶ Delisle, *Cab.*, III, 180.

¹⁷ de Nohac, *Pétr. et L'humanisme*, 2d ed., II, 304.

¹⁸ Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, I, 433.

¹⁹ J. O. Halliwell, *A Cat. of the Books Presented to C. C. College, Cam.* (A. D.) 1439, by T. Markaunt, 16. (Camb. Antiq. Soc. Misc. Communications, Part I.) This was probably the same copy noted in Bernard's *Cat.*

²⁰ G. E. Corrie, *Cat. of the Original Library of St. Catherine's Hall*. (Camb. Ant. Soc., Publ. I.)

²¹ *Collectanea*, 2d ed., III, 18. This was perhaps already noted in the *Catalogue of the Library of Queen's College* in 1472 (Cam. Ant. Soc., Publ. xv), not accessible to me. In Balliol Leland also noted a copy of "Epistolae Francisci Petrarchae," *l. c.* 62. This was in all probability that in the collection left by William Grey in 1478 (Coxe, *Codd. Ball. Coll.* in *Cat. Codd. Mss. qui in Coll.*, etc.).

²² E. Bernard, *Catalogi libr. Mss. Angl. et Nib.* 1697, I, p. 68, (cf. *Cat. Codd. Mss. Bibl. Bodl.*, Pars II, H. O.

CHAUCER'S "PETRAK."

Tatlock has confirmed Pollard's recognition of the fact that according to the preponderance of manuscript evidence, Chaucer's spelling of the poet's name was "Petrak," but his further suggestion on the source of this spelling is hardly convincing. "It is well known that Petrarch's father was named Pétracco, and that the poet's name would naturally have been Frauces Petracchi. The earlier form of the name is, however (even at times in autograph), often found in Latin and Italian MSS. of the fourteenth century, and must have been familiar" (159). Whatever the poet's name should have been theoretically, he wrote his name "Petrarca," with the variant "Petrarcha,"³⁰ and "Petrarca" is found in autograph manuscripts of his friends, Boccaccio³¹ and Coluccio Salutati,³² and of his executor, Lombardo della Seta.³³ Moreover, in his will he refers to his brother as "Gerardus Petrarchae,"³⁴ if his brother signs himself in Latin "Gerardus Petraccoli" or in Italian "Gerardo Petracollo,"³⁵ and he himself appears in official documents as "Francisci P[e]troquoli"³⁶ and as "Petrarquā."³⁷ No autograph manuscript of Petrarch's *Lettres* is known to Petrarch's scholars of the present day,³⁸ so one can not accept with Tatlock, Fracasetti's judgment on the authority of MS. B of the Bibliotheca Marciana, even if it should be identical with CL. XIII, 70, which has been shown by

de Nohac to be a collection of letters, made under the care, and with the corrections of Petrarch.³⁹ Fracasetti's statement that "Petracchi" is to be found in Italian manuscripts of the fourteenth century,⁴⁰ which he does not specify, can scarcely be accepted as authoritative against the mass of authentic evidence for "Petrarca." Tatlock (159, n. 3) has noted the spelling "Pétrac" in the *Menagier*; Jean Daudin, in his translation of the *De Remediis*, regularly writes "Petrach,"⁴¹ and the first publisher of this translation prints "Petracque."⁴² So that the spelling of the name was not peculiar to Chaucer, who if he had any precedent found it in a French version of Petrarch's story, a possibility which is by no means beyond proof.⁴³

None of Chaucer's successors seem to have followed him in spelling the poet's name incorrectly; Lydgate⁴⁴ writes "Petrarcke," the form used by Skelton,⁴⁵ while Gawain Douglas⁴⁶ and Barclay⁴⁷ wrote "Petrarche." If Henry Parker, Lord Morley, led astray by the chatter of the late Italian humanists,⁴⁸ wrote in an early unpublished work "Petrak" and "Petraccha,"⁴⁹ in his later published translations of the *Trionfi*,

³⁰ de Nohac, *Giorn. stor.*, XVIII, 439; *P. et l'hum.*, I, 99, n. 1, 111, n. 2, 114.

⁴⁰ *Lettere familiari*, I, 216, n.**

⁴¹ Delisle, *Not. et Extr.*, XXXIV, 1, 292, 295, 296. That he was translating a Latin MS. with the correct spelling is evidenced by his once writing "Petrarch," *ib.* 294.

⁴² *Ib.*, 289. Cf. Brunet, *Manuel du libr.*, 5th ed., IV, 567.

⁴³ The variants of the MSS. Bibl. nat., 7403, 7568 noted by Pichon, *Menagier*, I, 99, as well, perhaps, as MS. St. Victor 853, and Brit. Mus. MS. Royal, 19, C VIII (de Montaignon, *Le livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry*, xl, xliii), may approach closer to Chaucer's version, in which the French forms of the name are so striking.

⁴⁴ *Tragedies*, I, c., *Minor Poems*, ed. Halliwell, p. ix.

⁴⁵ *Garlande of Laurell*, 379; *Phyllyp Sparows*, 758.

⁴⁶ Ed. J. Small, I, 35.

⁴⁷ *Ship of Fools*, ed. T. H. Jamieson, I, 9. For the source of passage in Locher's *Prologus* to his Latin translation, where one finds "Petrarcham," cf. E. Sulger-Gebing, *Zeit. f. vergl. Lit.*, VIII, 23.

⁴⁸ Cf. Fracasetti, *Lettere familiari*, I, 216, n.**

⁴⁹ In his *Preface*—addressed to Henry VIII—to his translation of Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*, cited in G. Waldron, *The Literary Museum; or the Ancient and Modern Repository*, London, 1792, pp. i-ii; cited in part by A. Hortis, *Studi sulle Opere latine del Boccaccio*, 665, n.

³⁰ de Nohac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, p. 289, n. 3. In autograph MSS. we find Boccaccio spelling his name "Boccaccius," "Boccaccius," "Bocchacius" and "Bocchaccius." Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, 299, n. 3.

³¹ Hecker, *l. c.*, 298 and n. 6.

³² *Epistolario*, ed. Novati, c. g., I, 181; III, 84.

³³ de Nohac, *Not. et Extr.*, XXXIV, 1, 72.

³⁴ H. Cochin, *Le frère de Petrarque*, 148.

³⁵ *Ib.*, 223, 237; cf. 145. Cf. also Nicolaus "de Petrarcha," who lived in Naples at the end of the fourteenth century, possibly a son of Petrarch (de Nohac, *Giorn. stor.*, XVII, 146).

³⁶ *Ib.*, 197.

³⁷ *Ib.*, 223.

³⁸ de Nohac, *Petr. et l'hum.*, I, 112, n. 2. The Italian (!) letters printed in facsimile in Foscolo's *Essays on Petrarch*, cited by Tatlock, 159, n. 2, can hardly be considered seriously.

he writes "Petrarcke,"⁵⁰ and finally in Leland's works we find the familiar Latin form "Petrarcha."⁵¹

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THE SOURCE OF CHAPTER I OF
SEALSFIELD'S *LEBENSBLDER AUS
DER WESTLICHEN HEMISPHERE*.

I.

Professor Faust, on p. 47 of his Johns Hopkins dissertation, refers to a statement of Sealsfield to the effect that almost the whole of *Transatlantische Reiseskizzen* (i. e., *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt*) were published in English, in American newspapers during 1827-8, long before the German book appeared. Faust cites, as an instance (yet note the date), the sketch *A Night on the Banks of the Tennessee*, printed in the *New York Mirror*, Oct. 31 and Nov. 7, 1829. This sketch was afterward used as chapter II of *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt*.

I am not familiar with the above sweeping claim. In *Der Dichter beider Hemisphären*, p. 95, it dwindles to this: "Einige dieser Geschich-

ten waren ursprünglich englisch geschrieben und in amerikanischen Zeitungen veröffentlicht worden, hatten aber nicht viel Aufmerksamkeit erregt." This is evidently based on Sealsfield's autobiographic letter to Brockhaus, 21. June, 1854 (Hamburger, p. 52): . . . "Er hatte dieses Buch (viz.: *Transatlantische Reiseskizzen*), wie gesagt, in den Vereinigten Staaten bereits 1827 angefangen, im J. 1828 vollendet, einige Skizzen veröffentlicht, sie hatten aber nicht hesonderen Anklang gefunden." Yet the number of the sketches actually published before the appearance of the book (in 1834) is narrowed down to a single one, in a passage of the introduction to *Der Legitime*, p. xiii of the 12^e edition . . . "Ferner erschienen von den transatlantischen Reiseskizzen *Die Nacht an den Ufern des Tennessee* (A Night on the Banks of the Tennessee), in dem New Yorker helletristischen Journale *The Mirror*; die übrigen, obwohl ursprünglich englisch niedergeschrieben, wurden zuerst von derselben Buchhandlung Orell und Füssli im Frühjahr 1834 und folglich als deutsche Originalwerke herausgegeben."

The incongruity or, to use the mildest term, indefiniteness of Sealsfield's voluntary intimations, is obvious. Nevertheless, they point the way to the seekers after the early writings of that puzzling author. It is, therefore, very surprising that the search for unidentified Sealsfield property in American newspapers and magazines has not been more exhaustive.

As one result of my own efforts in this field of work, I desire to call attention to a story in the *New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette* of Saturday, Nov. 7, 1829 (vol. vii, No. 18, pp. 141-142). The very title, *A Sketch from Life*, is suggestive. As a matter of fact, we have here the crude first form of chapter I of *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt*. The resemblance, better identity, of the plot is unmistakable. Even one of the names corresponds: Morland is the Moreland of *Siebzehn, achtundzwanzig und fünfzig, oder Szenen in New York*. The sketch is signed "Emily."

I would not, for the present, pass upon the question whether "Emily" is a pen-name of Sealsfield or whether the latter appropriated the material of another writer for his purposes. It is

⁵⁰ Hazlitt, *Hand-Book to Early English Literature*, 455. On date of publication—not before 1553—S. Lee, *D. N. B.*, XLIII, 239.

⁵¹ *Naenii in Mortem Thomasi Viati*, 1542, also in *Itinerary*, ed. 1745, II, xiii; cf. *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, ed. P. Bliss, I, 402; *Collectanea*, v, 141. The entry "Petrarchae quaedam" in Ritson's list of Lydgate's works (*Bibl. Poet.*, 80), noted by Tatlock (159, n. 6), has no earlier authority than the entry in Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, 1748, 492-3, a description of a manuscript in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, which Mr. W. Aldis Wright, then Librarian, could not identify in a search made in answer to an enquiry made for me by Professor C. E. Norton, a dozen years ago.

Before leaving the *Clerk's Tale* it may be noted that Schofield (*English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, 192-3) discusses the stories of Griselda and Fresne as if their themes were identical, although R. Köhler argued against the affinity of the two cycles (*Die Lais de Marie de France*, ed. 1885, lxvi-ii), drawing conclusions that were accepted by G. Paris (*Romania*, XXV, 611, n. 2).

well in this connection to quote from Sealsfield's letter to Cotta (1828) which accompanied the shipment of about fifteen separate contributions; of these (and others that were to follow) Sealsfield says: "Sie sind teils ganz von mir teils in der Übersetzung so verändert, dass sie füglich mein Eigentum genannt werden mögen." This not only throws light on our author's method of gathering material; for, more than that, there remains the possibility that some of the sketches enumerated in the same letter were worked into *Lebensbilder* and the other novels.

But, in justice to Sealsfield, it should also be stated that in no case could the relation of *Siebzehn, achtundzwanzig und fünfzig* to *A Sketch from Life* be characterized as a mere plagiarism. The treatment of the plain outlines is so original, the very story so thoroughly Sealsfieldian in its vivacity and immediacy of dialog and milieu that we may regard the English sketch as a legitimate source of the German.

As somewhat akin to the subject, I wish to mention Sealsfield's remark in the introduction to *Morton* (p. 19 of the 12^o ed.): "Zwei dieser Lebensbilder sind zuerst in einer amerikanischen Zeitschrift erschienen, und später in einer Londoner abgedruckt worden." Without having given specific attention to the sources of the American novels of Sealsfield, I would point out to special students of *Lebensbilder aus beiden Hemisphären* that the names of the persons prove Sealsfield's familiarity with the American "Unterhaltungs-Literatur" of the twenties. Cf. particularly *A Tale of the West-Indies*, anon., in the *Mirror*. The hero is named Morton.

OTTO HELLER.

Prague, Bibliotheca Caesarea Regia.

THE RULE OF THREE ACTORS IN FRENCH SIXTEENTH CENTURY TRAGEDY.

The familiar usage of the Greek stage which allowed only three actors besides mutes and members of the chorus was handed down to French

playwrights in a form modified by transmission through Seneca's academic drama. The practical advantages secured to the Greek dramatist by having only a limited number of actors to train had small weight with the Roman author, writing, as he did, for a reading rather than a theater-going public. Accordingly, we are not surprised to find that, while usually making only three characters appear on the stage at once, Seneca does occasionally so interpret the Greek rule as to allow four speaking actors, any three of whom may enter into conversation, provided the fourth remains temporarily silent.¹ Such treatment follows the Greek custom theoretically, but practically makes necessary at least four actors, none of whom are mutes, a usage unknown to extant Attic tragedy.

The two examples that can be cited from Seneca of his departure from the Greek usage will make his position clear. In *Oedipus*, Act II, Creon, after announcing to Oedipus the approach of Tiresias and Manto, becomes silent, leaving the conversation to the new-comers and Oedipus, but not quitting the stage till the chorus begins some hundred lines further on. A still clearer case is found in the last act of *Agamemnon*, where Cassandra is the silent witness of the conversation between Electra, Aegisthus, and Clytemnestra, but speaks as soon as Electra leaves the stage. Four actors are necessary in both of these cases, but three is the largest number engaged in a conversation. Seneca thus modifies slightly the Greek usage, doing so in a manner not inconsistent with Horace's dramatic precept,

. . . nec quarta loqui persona laboret.²

Now, no one will claim that either the Greek or the Senecan usage was observed in the French medieval drama.³ Furthermore, neither Hardy⁴ nor the seventeenth century classic dramatists⁵

¹ Cf. Henri Weil, *Revue archéologique*, 1865, I, pp. 21-35, who comes to the same conclusions from a different point of view.

² *Ars poetica*, 192.

³ Cf. *Le Mystère du Viel Testament*, 441, seq.; *La Femme du roy de Portugal*, 20, seq.

⁴ Cf. *Scedase*, III, 2; *Mariamne*, v; *Meleagre*, II, 2.

⁵ Cf. Mairet, *Sophonisbe*, II, 3; III, 4; v, 5; Corneille, *Le Cid*, IV, 5; *Horace*, II, 6; *Héraclius*, v, 3; *Pompée*, I, 1; Racine, *Andromaque*, III, 6; *Atthalie*, II, 7.

limited themselves to three interlocutors. So strict a classicist as d'Aubignac, indeed, expressly permits the violation of the ancient custom.⁶ There remains to be considered, however, the French classic tragedies of the sixteenth century, known to follow most closely their Greek and Latin models. If they can be shown to have imitated the Greek usage and to have done so after the manner of Seneca, another indication will be furnished of the academic nature and purpose of these French plays, their dependence upon the Greeks and especially upon Seneca.

The standard sources of information as to French sixteenth century tragedy are largely silent in regard to the rule of three actors. I have been able to find a discussion of the matter only in *Robert Garnier und die Antike Tragödie*⁷ by Oscar Mysin, whose views are of no great value in this connection, since he asserts that the law of the three actors "sich auch bei Seneca durchweg bewahrt findet," and consequently is persuaded that Garnier is violating the rule when he is following Seneca's usage. Mysin takes up examples from Garnier's *M. Antoine*, which are examined below. His original investigation applies to this author only, but he states that the rule "wurde von den Kunstrichtern der Renaissance gleichfalls als Regel aufgestellt," quoting from Vauquelin,

"Et ne parle vn quatriesme en l'Etage avec trois :
Trois parlant seulement suffisent à la fois."⁸

Although this translation of the line already quoted from Horace is of decided interest, its occurrence does not prove that the rule of three interlocutors was observed by the French dramatists of the sixteenth century, since they cannot be presumed to have followed the advice of any contemporary critic, certainly not that of Vauquelin, writing, as he did, in 1597, after most of the dramatists had ceased to compose. It is true that the principle enunciated in Vauquelin's passage agreed with contemporary usage, but if we wish to be certain of the rules followed by French dramatists, we cannot rely upon this statement

only, but must make an examination of the plays themselves.

In order to determine the French usage, therefore, I have examined all the tragedies of the period in question that were accessible to me in this country. The list is not exhaustive, but, as it contains nineteen tragedies, including all that have come down from Jodelle, Garnier, and Montchrestien, I believe that it is long enough to show what rule was followed at the time. If the great majority of these plays are found to keep the Greek rule, or Seneca's modification of it, such uniformity can scarcely be due to chance, but seems rather to result from the fact that three was the largest number of interlocutors allowed by these French classicists, and that any play which introduced a fourth interlocutor abandoned in that respect its classic technique and approached the usage of the contemporary irregular drama.

The tragedies examined are the following : Beza, *Abraham sacrificant* (1550) ; Jodelle, *Cleopatra captive* (1552), *Didon se sacrificant* (1560) ; Melin de Saint-Gelais, *Sophonisba* (1555) ; Grevin, *Cesar* (1560)⁹ ; Bounin, *La Soltane* (1561) ; Garnier, *Porcie* (1568), *Hippolyte* (1573), *Cornelie* (1574), *M. Antoine* (1578), *La Troade* (1579), *Antigone* (1580), *Les Juives* (1583) ; Montchrestien, *Sophonisbe* (1596, republished in 1601 as *La Carthaginoise*), *L'Escossoise* (1601), *Les Lacènes* (1601), *Aman* (1601), *David* (1601), *Hector* (1604). It has been found that, besides the chorus and mutes, two actors, who could take different parts at different times, would suffice for *Cornelie*, *L'Escossoise*, and *David* ; that *Didon*, *Cesar*, *La Soltane*, *La Troade*, *M. Antoine*,¹⁰ *Hector*, *Aman*, and *Les Lacènes* require four ; while three are sufficient for the other plays mentioned. Thus it appears that the strictly Greek usage is not infrequently violated. It is pertinent to inquire, however, whether Seneca's modification of the Greek custom is also violated, whether the French abandoned the rule of three interlocutors,

⁹ Grevin's usage agrees with that of Muret in his *Julius Cesar*, the Latin original of the former's tragedy.

¹⁰ Four actors are here sufficient, for the *enfants de Cleopatre* are considered as mutes, saying only, "Adieu, Madame," and "Allons." These interpellations are too insignificant to allow the children who make them to be seriously considered as speaking actors.

⁶ See Arnaud, *Théories dramatiques*, 246-7, Paris, 1888.

⁷ Leipzig dissertation, 1891.

⁸ *L'Art poétique*, II, 465-466.

just as they required more than three actors. To answer such inquiry I shall consider individually the eight tragedies which make necessary the fourth player.

At the close of a conversation in *Didon* between Ascaigne, Palinure, and Achate, the speakers note the approach of Enée, who begins to soliloquize as soon as they are silent. The rapidity of this change renders it unlikely that the same actor played more than one of the four rôles, so that four players seem necessary, although there are not more than three who speak together. In *Cesar*, Act III, Calpurnie converses with her nurse, then with Cesar and Decime Brute, then with the nurse again. Apparently the nurse does not leave the stage; she certainly has nothing to say as long as the two men are present. We have, therefore, four actors, of whom only three engage in conversation at a time. Later dramatists would have divided this act into three scenes, but at this time such divisions are seldom made. Again, the fifth act of *La Soltane* presents eunuchs whose spokesman converses with Moustapha and the Sophe, but has nothing to say when the Soltan enters, even when addressed by the latter. In *La Troade*, Act II, Helen, Andromache, Astyanax, and Ulysse are each represented by an actor, but only three unite in conversation, for Helen ceases to speak as soon as she has called attention to the approach of Ulysse.

Now Mysin correctly notes that "in M. Antoine müssen in der Szene zwischen Cleopatre, Eras, Charmion, Diomedé vier Schauspieler nötig sein (V. 665-685), ebenso in der Schlusszene dieser Tragödie, wo Cleopatre, Eufion, Charmion, Eras gleichzeitig auf der Bühne sind." He fails to perceive, however, that this is no violation of Seneca's usage, for, in the first case, Cleopatre finishes her conversation with Eras and Charmion before turning to Diomedé, who has previously said nothing and had nothing said to him. He replies to Cleopatre, but the other women do not speak again. It seems probable that Diomedé does not enter till after Cleopatre has finished her conversation with the women, for his presence has not been remarked up to that time. The absence of stage-directions prevents this fact from being obvious. The second case mentioned by Mysin is clearly not contrary to Seneca, for Charmion

has nothing to say till Eufion has left the stage.

A similar situation is found in the fourth act of *Hector*, where Hecube becomes silent upon the arrival of Antenor, allowing the conversation to be carried on by Priam, Andromache, and the last arrival. The same thing occurs in the fifth act with the rôles changed, for there Andromache leaves the conversation to Priam, Hecube, and the messenger. The fourth act of *Aman* requires more than three actors, but only three converse together.

It is clear that in all the cases mentioned there is nothing opposed to Seneca's usage, for more than three actors are needed in the plays, but more than three do not converse together, a fact that would be more readily apparent if the scene divisions were marked and the stage-directions given. There is, however, a solitary violation of the rule in the third act of *Les Lacènes*, where Cratesiclea converses with Leonidas, Agis, and Pausanias. This is a comparatively late play and may have been influenced by the success of Hardy's irregular dramas. Its failure to conform in a single instance is not sufficient to break down the proof offered by eighteen plays of the existence of the rule. My examination of the tragedies shows, therefore, that the Greek usage holds for ten plays, the Senecan modification of it for eight, and that only one play allows the fourth interlocutor. These conclusions, of course, indicate that Seneca's influence was paramount rather than that of the Greeks, for, as the majority of his plays follow the Greek usage, it was possible for a French playwright to adhere to the Greek rule, though imitating Seneca alone, while one who introduced a fourth actor, but had never more than three interlocutors, departed from Greek usage, though still adhering to Seneca.

A few other facts may be cited to show that the French obedience to the Greek rule or Seneca's modification of it was not mere chance. Garnier, who observes the rule in all his tragedies, violates it in his tragi-comedy, *Bradamante*,¹¹ just as Hardy did later in his works of the same genre.¹²

¹¹ IV, 5 and V, 4 and 5.

¹² Cf. *Ariadne*, v, last scene; *Cornélie*, iv, 4; *Arsacome*, i, 2.

Such usage can scarcely be a mere coincidence. Again, cases occur in which two or more characters are treated as one, apparently to avoid the dividing of the conversation among four. Thus the eunuchs in *La Soltane* speak together, that is, one probably speaks while the others remain mute. So, too, in the fourth and fifth acts of *Les Juives* the wives of Zedekiah discourse frequently and at length, but always in unison, so that only one speaking actor would be required for the two rôles and only three interlocutors would be employed. As it would add dramatic interest to individualize the queens by dividing their rôles, Garnier's failure to do so in his masterpiece points to the fact that he was fettered in this respect by an academic convention.¹³

A further indication that the number of interlocutors was intentionally limited to three is found in the fifth act of *Hector*, where a messenger comes to describe the hero's death to Priam, Hecube, and Andromache. As the messenger approaches, Andromache faints and the chorus cries :

"Retirons la, mes sœurs, dedans ceste maison.
Cela vient à propos afin qu'elle n'écoute
Ce message de mort que tant elle redoute."

But as Andromache reappears after the messenger has ceased speaking and laments Hector's death at length, the author does not appear to have had her removed from the stage merely to avoid showing us her grief. Had he allowed her to remain, she must have joined Priam and Hecube in questioning the messenger, thus making four interlocutors. Her retirement to the house is "à propos," not to avoid the expression of emotion, which is the soul of sixteenth century tragedy, but to enable Montchrestien to adhere to the academic tradition that forbade a conversation in which four actors took part.

¹³ It may be argued that Garnier makes his ambassadors speak as one man in *Bradamante*, where the law of three interlocutors is freely violated, and that therefore the manner in which the queens speak in *Les Juives* is no proof of the observance of the law, but it must be noted that these ambassadors are introduced merely to bring about the dénouement, so that nothing is to be gained by their differentiation. The case of the queens, moreover, is not cited as absolute proof of the existence of the law, but merely as tending to confirm facts already stated in regard to it.

The evidence stated convinces me that the Senecan usage was law in French sixteenth century tragedy, but, before concluding, I desire to mention briefly the position of certain theorists in regard to this point of dramatic technique. Aristotle had mentioned in the fourth chapter of his *Poetics* that Sophocles was the introducer of the third actor, a statement repeated by Diogenes Laertius¹⁴ and Suidas.¹⁵ As none of these expressly prohibited the introduction of a fourth actor, it is upon Horace¹⁶ that the burden of the responsibility falls, for even if he did not intend to formulate a law, he expressed himself in a manner that could be readily interpreted as forbidding at least a fourth interlocutor. Among Italians Castelvetro, who is important in French dramatic history as the first formulator of the rule of the three unities, not only says nothing of Horace's precept, but completely misunderstands the statements of Aristotle and Diogenes Laertius concerning the introduction of the third actor by Sophocles. He declares that they meant that "Sophocle operò che i contrafacitori fossero tre, cio è tre maniere, vna de' ballatori, vn altra de' cantori, e vn altra de' sonatori, doue prima per Thespi non erano se non vna, che conteneua ballatori, cantori, e sonatori insieme, e per Eschilo duc, cio è vna che conteneua ballatori soli, e vna altra, che conteneua cantori, e sonatori insieme."¹⁷ Evidently a law of three actors means nothing to him.

Among French theorists Du Bellay does not descend to dramatic detail in his *Defense et Illustration*. His friend Ronsard, more definite than he in other matters, says nothing about the number of actors. Scaliger lays down no law as to the usage in tragedy, but he seems to be acquainted with Horace's direction, for, in speaking of another dramatic form, he declares, "Omne personarum genus introducere licet. Quatuor etiam in eadem Sceua loqui, nulla religio est."¹⁸ Jean de la Taille leaves minutiae to Aristotle and

¹⁴ *Life of Plato*, xxxiv.

¹⁵ In his *Lexicon*.

¹⁶ See the quotation from his *Ars poetica* at the beginning of this article.

¹⁷ *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata et sposta*, p. 87, edition of Bâle, 1576.

¹⁸ *Poetics*, III, cap. xcvi.

Horace, for "ie serois trop long à deduire par le menu ce propos que ce grand Aristote en ses Poëtiques, et apres luy Horace (mais non avec telle subtilité) ont continué plus amplement et mieux que moy."¹⁹ Vauquelin de la Fresnaye, as quoted above, gives a clear statement of the rule, which he translates directly from Horace. As he wrote too late to influence most of the writers of tragedy in the sixteenth century, his lines are of value chiefly in showing the trend of contemporary thought and confirming facts established by examination of the plays.

This comparative neglect by critics of a rule which dramatists were careful to observe goes to show that the sixteenth century theorists did not lead the poets and that, when the two agree, it is rather because both go back to the same source than because the former's rules were followed by the latter. References to Horace by Ronsard and la Taille, taken in connection with Vauquelin's translation of his *Ars poetica*, indicate his influence upon those interested in the drama. It is undoubtedly from him that the dramatists derived the formal rule of three interlocutors, which they found illustrated by Seneca's plays.

To sum up briefly, I conclude that the Greek rule of three actors was interpreted by the French to mean three interlocutors, according to their understanding of Horace's precept and Seneca's usage; that the rule, thus modified, was carried out by the chief writers of French sixteenth century tragedy, by Beza, Jodelle, Saint-Gelais, Grevin, Bounin, Garnier; that Montchrestien violated it only once; that such usage is another indication of the academic nature of the French *genre* and of Seneca's powerful influence upon it; and that in this matter the sixteenth century dramatists followed the Latin masters directly, rather than the theorists of their own day.

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THE FAERIE QUEENE AND AMIS AND AMILOUN.

Embedded in the structure of the *Faerie Queene* are fragments of the medieval romances which present something of the curious interest of the bits of Roman wall and the like, here and there appearing in the foundations of some noble cathedral. The business of identifying the *disiecta membra* of these earlier, less pretentious poets, though something has been done,¹ is as yet by no means complete. No apology, therefore, is necessary in putting on record a somewhat obvious identification of this sort, hitherto unnoted in print; especially since the parallel proposed is of sufficient extent to illustrate Spenser's method of incorporating in his own the work of the elder romancers.

To summarize briefly parts of the 7th, 8th, and 9th cantos of the *Faerie Queene*, Book iv: Amoret, in the cave of the giant Lust, learns from her fellow prisoner, Aemylia, how she, keeping tryst with her lover, the Squire of Low Degree, with whom she had arranged "away to flit," found in his stead "the Carle of hellish kind," Lust, who has since confined her in his cave; whence they are all rescued later by Belpheobe

Arthur slays the basilisk-eyed monster Corflambo, who is in pursuit of a squire holding a dwarf before him on his horse. From the squire—Placidus—he learns Aemylia's fate and also the fact that the Squire of Low Degree, when he arrived at the tryst, met there this giant Corflambo, who cast him into his dungeon. Here

¹ Thomas Warton, *Observations on the Faerie Queene*, 2nd ed., London, 1762, I, § 2: "Of Spenser's Imitations from Old Romances."

M. Walther, *Malory's Einfluss auf Spenser's Faerie Queene*. Heidelberg diss. Eisleben, 1898.

J. B. Fletcher, "Huon of Bordeaux and the Faerie Queene." *Journal of Germanic Philology*, II, pp. 203-112.

J. R. Macarthur, "The Influence of Huon of Bordeaux upon the Faerie Queene." *Journal of Germanic Philology*, IV, pp. 215-238.

E. K. Broadus, "The Red Cross Knight and *Lybeaus Desconus*." *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVIII, p. 202 f.

J. J. Jusserand, *Literary History of the English People*, New York, 1906, vol. II, p. 495, mentions a parallel between Britomart's innamoramento and an incident in Ortuñez de Calahorra's *Espejo de Principes*, etc., 1562.

¹⁹ *L'Art de la Tragedie*, 3b.

he was discovered by the giant's fair daughter Poëana :

'To whom she did her liking lightly cast,
And wooed him her paramour to hee :
From day to day she woo'd and prayd him fast,
And for his love him promist libertie at last.

He, though affide unto a former love,
To whom his faith he firmly ment to hold,
Yet seeing not how thence he mote remove,
But hy that meanes which fortune did unfold,
Her graunted love, hut with affection cold,
To win her grace his libertie to get.'

(iv, viij, 52-53.)

He succeeded in finding favor so far as to be allowed to walk about the garden under the eye of a dwarf. Placidus, hearing of his friend's imprisonment, lurked about the place until he was apprehended by the dwarf,

'For me he did mistake that Squire to hee,
For never two so like did living creature see.'

(iv, viij, 55.)

The supposed squire was remanded to prison for attempting to escape, where he found his friend,

'But him the more agreev'd I found thereby :
For all his joy, he said, in that distresse
Was mine and his Æmylias libertie.
Æmylia well he lov'd, as I mote ghesse,
Yet greater love to me then her he did professe.'

(iv, viij, 57.)

Placidus then explained to him how he might preserve his fidelity to his lady by letting him, Placidus, take his place in Poëana's ardent affections. This plan was put into operation with such success that Poëana again granted her supposed Squire scope to walk at large. On one of his outings, Placidus picked up the dwarf and fled, pursued by the giant, the predicament from which Arthur rescued him

At the end of this recital Arthur gains entrance to the giant's castle by a ruse, enlarges among others the Squire of Low Degree, who falls into Æmylia's arms, and, by the mildness of his presence, reforms Poëana into a suitable wife for Placidus.

The name of the Squire of Low Degree, Amyas, (iv, viij, 59, 63), and Æmylia, that of his lady,

suggest at once the romance of *Amis and Amiloun*,² which shows further several points of similarity with our story.

(1.) *The indistinguishable likeness of Amis nad Amiloun.*

In al þe court was þer no wigt,
Erl, haron, swain no knigt,
Neither lef ne loþe,
So lyche were þai boþe of sigt
And of on waxing, ypligt,
I tel ȝow for soþe,
In al þing þey were so liche,
þer was neiþer pouer no riche,
Who so beheld hem hoþe,
Fader ne moder þat coupe sain,
þat knew þe hendi children tvaín,
But hy þe colour of her cloþe.

(ll. 85-96; cf. *Amis e Amilun*, ll. 25-30.)

(2.) *Their perfect friendship.*

So wcle þo children loued hem þo,
Nas neuier children, loued hem so,
Noiþer in word no in dede.
Bitvix hem tvaín, of hlod & bon,
Trewer loue nas neuier non,
In gest as so we rede.
(ll. 139-144; cf. *Amis e Amilun*, ll. 1-25.)

² I quote from the Middle English version of the romance as printed by Kölbing, *Altenglische Bibliothek*, 2. Band, Heilbronn, 1884, with line references to the French text in the same volume. These forms seem to stand closest to that in which Spenser knew the story. The Latin prose version (Kölbing, p. xcviij f.), tells of no wooing lady and reluctant lover: 'Comes vero Amelius super regis filiam oculos iniecit et eam quam cito potuit oppressit.' Almost as ardent is the Miles of the numerous French prose versions printed during the sixteenth century. I quote from the earliest, that of Anthonie Verard, Paris, circ. 1503. Miles has chosen Bellisant as his partner: 'Mais Miles qui se fetoit goy et iolyz et estoit amoureux luy va estraindre les dois si ferme quelle se escria et luy dist fire tenez vous coy vous me hleez. Quāt miles lout crier si fut faisy damours et se sentit feru de ceste maladie et pūys luy marcha sur le pied qui nous signifie que le feu se alume' (f. xliij^{vo}). The lady returns his affection and, as he is about to start on a military expedition, summons him to her chamber, and blames him. 'Car deuant les gens mauez mōtre figne damour et que me voulez aymer chascun le vit clerement. Mais cest fans raïson. Car ie vous prometiz que talent nen ay' (xliij. v^o). Miles pleads as his excuse her exceeding loveliness, and in response to his plea for mercy she says: 'Mais se me voulez iurer sur le corps nōtre seigneur q̄ vous me prēdrez a femme par honneur ie vo' iueray aussi que iamais nauray aultre feigūr que vous et vous garderay loyaulment mon

(3.) *The wooing lady, Belisaunt.*

To sir Amis sche made hir mon
 & seyð opon hir play :
 "Sir knigt, on þe mine hert is brougt,
 þe to loue is al mi þougt
 Boþe bi nigȝt & day,
 þat bot þou wolt mi leman be,
 Ywis, min hert brekeþ a þre,
 No lenger libben y no may!"
 (ll. 569-576; cf. *Amis e Amilun*, ll. 251-262.)

(4.) *The reluctant young man, Amis.*

þan stode þat hendy knigt ful stille,
 & in his hert him liked ille,
 No word no spak he þo;
 He þougt: Bot y graunt bir wille,
 Wiþ hir speche sche wil me spille.
 (ll. 637-641.)

Loþ him was, þat dede to don,
 & wele loþer, his liif forgon;
 Was him neuer so wo.
 & þan he þougt, wiþ outen lesing,
 Better were, to graunt hir asking,
 þan his liif for to spille.
 (ll. 646-651; cf. *Amis e Amilun*, ll. 262-307.)

amour. Belle respond miles grant folie feroyc se ie vous reffufoye: plain feroye de grant traifon: car plus helle ne plus meilleur ne pourroye auoir de vous. Ain/i se con fentirent en vne/i bonne et ferme amour. . . ' (f. xlii^{vo}). On Miles' return, Bellisant visits him in the night, but the lover on this occasion displays not even so much hesitation as in the corresponding scene in the *Chanson de Geste*. (*Amis et Amiles und Jourdain de Blaivies*, herausg. v. Konrad Hofmann, 2^{te} aufl., Erlangen, 1882, ll. 623-693). The *Bibliothèque Bleue* of Alfred Delvau, Paris, 1859-62, gives the story in substantially the form, save for modernizations in language, of the early French prints. For a partial list of them, see L. Gautier, *Bibliographie des Chansons de Geste*, Paris, 1897, p. 52. The foregoing extracts sufficiently show that they stand further from Spenser than the Middle English form, especially in the name Miles (or Milles) and in that young man's more coming-on disposition.

I have not been able to find the Italian editions, Venice, 1503, Milan, 1513, 1530 (Gautier, *loc. cit.*). They probably do not differ from the French prose ('Eine italienische Übersetzung des gedruckten französischen Volksbuches,' Hofmann, *op. cit.*, p. v).

The version in Latin elegiacs of Radulfus Tortarius (printed by Hofmann, *op. cit.*, xxiv-xxx), leads us to infer possibly that the lady may have done the wooing but give no hint of reluctance on the part of Amelius.

My object is not so much to find a definite source for Spenser's narrative as to select for purposes of comparison the one among many versions of the story which stands nearest to the form in which he seems to have known it.

(5.) *The substitution of one friend for the other.*

Amiloun takes his friend's place in the trial by combat, while Amis lies beside Amiloun's wife—a sword between them. (ll. 973-1452.)

These correspondences are of themselves, I think, sufficient to show that Spenser has incorporated in his narrative parts of the story of the ideal friends of the Middle Ages. The similarity of names places it beyond a peradventure.

Let us now presume to trace out his footing so far as the scent holds. Suppose we adopt the suggestion that Aemylia's ill-starred elopement is modelled on that of Isabella's in the twelfth and thirteenth cantos of the *Orlando Furioso*.³ Spenser, his imagination now started, proposes to write the counterpart of this story—that of a *young man* frustrated from keeping a tryst. A brain crammed with romances at once suggests that the young man who was captured while endeavoring to keep a tryst was the Squire of Low Degree.⁴ Now the true counterpart to the giant Lust, who has characteristically been substituted for Ariosto's "turba," as the jailor of Aemylia, would be a lustful lady. This, we may say, reminds him of the situation in the well-known romance of *Amis and Amiloun*, where Belisaunt woos the reluctant Amis. At this point his mind leaps to the famous pair of friends and from their adventures he adopts the *substitution* of one for the other as a means of resolving his story. This *dénouement* does not come in very aptly; one fancies it were wiser of Placidus to seek Arthur immediately on learning of his friend's danger instead of thrusting himself into the same prison with the risk of depriving himself of all power to aid; furthermore, the opportunity for escape, of which Placidus successfully availed himself, lay equally at the disposal of Amyas. But, apt or inapt, Spenser's headlong imagination refuses to discard so promising an incident as the substitution of one friend for his double, once it is laid hold on. Nothing re-

³ R. E. Neill Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, xii (1897), p. 202.

⁴ As Warton remarks (Vol. II, p. 183), 'Squire of Low Degree' "seems to have been a phrase commonly known and used about this time." See the edition of the romance in the Albion Series by W. E. Mead, Boston, 1904 (pp. xi-xij), for instances of its use. I would simply give its application to Amyas some point.

mains but to point a moral—the reforming effects of magnanimity upon inordinate passion ; Poeana, thus transformed, pairs off with the unattached Placidus ; and the story is done.

The processes sketched above accord, at least, with what we may elsewhere infer concerning Spenser's method of composition. His impetuous fancy is no respecter of stories as such ; he tears a venerable romance to pieces for the sake of a few incidents ; he appropriates a name from another ; the rest may go. He rechristens personages⁵ he alters or loses the course of narrative in his eagerness for the pictorial ; but amid all this prodigality of appropriation and rejection that has gone to the illustration of the *Faerie Queene*, it is not unilluminating to observe, where it may be done, "th' accesse of that celestiall thiefe."

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A CURIOUS MISTAKE IN FREYTAG'S *DIE JOURNALISTEN*.

While looking through one of the annotated American editions of Freytag's *Die Journalisten* the other day, I came upon a passage which for a time puzzled me. I shall first give the reading, reserving my comment until later.

In the famous second scene of act two, where Schmock and Bolz are conversing at the entertainment which is given for the purpose of gaining votes for the approaching election, I read in the American edition in question as follows :

'Bolz. Was verlangen Sie von uns, Sklave Roms? Wir sollten Sie Ihrer Partei entziehen? Nimmermehr! Wir sollten Ihren politischen Überzeugungen Gewalt anthun? Sic zum Abtrünnigen machen? Wir sollten die Schuld tragen,

⁵ The name Placidus would, of course, be familiar to him, if not from the Golden Legend, from *The Worthie Hystorie of the moste Noble and Valiaunt Knight, Plasidas, etc. Gathered in English verse by Iohn Partridge, in the yere of our Lord, 1566*. Printed for the Roxburgh Club, London, 1873.

I am at a loss as to the name Poeana.

dass Sie zu unserer Partei kämen? Niemals! Unser Gewissen ist zart, es empört sich gegen Ihren Vorschlag.

Schmock. Wozu machen Sie sich Sorgen um das? Ich habe bei dem Blumenberg gelernt, in allen Richtungen zu schreiben. Ich habe geschrieben links, und wieder rechts. Ich kann schreiben nach jeder Richtung.

Bolz. Ich sehe, Sie haben Charakter. *Ihnen kann's in unserer Zeitung nicht fehlen*. Ihr Anerbieten ehrt uns, aber wir können es jetzt nicht annehmen. Eine so welterschütternde Begebenheit, wie Ihr Übertritt, will reiflich erwogen sein.'

I have italicized the passage which troubled me. I asked myself what could be the meaning of the sentence : 'Ihnen kann's in unserer Zeitung nicht fehlen,' or more particularly, what could Freytag in this connection have meant by the phrase 'in unserer Zeitung?' Failing to solve the difficulty as it stood, I began to suspect a typographical error somewhere. Perhaps, I suggested to myself, the author wrote or intended to write '*an* unserer Zeitung' instead of '*in* unserer Zeitung,' but I then noticed that even this proposed change with the meaning which attaches to those three words would, quite aside from the situation itself, be forbidden by the very next sentence : 'Ihr Anerbieten ehrt uns, aber wir können es jetzt nicht annehmen.' Furthermore, the whole situation would seem to preclude such a construction. Still clinging to the theory of a typographical error, I found that the only other possibility of such an error lay in the noun 'Zeitung.' This changed to 'Zeit' would at once solve all difficulty both for the sentence considered by itself and also if taken in connection with what immediately precedes and what immediately follows. The passage would then read 'Ihnen, kann's in unserer Zeit nicht fehlen,'—a journalist's clever thrust at the journalism of his time. This reading I then compared with the German edition of Freytag's *Dramatische Werke*, Band 2, Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1890, and was gratified to find my position confirmed there. The American editor does not state upon what edition of the play he based his text, and as the older German editions are not accessible to me here, I am unable to trace the error to its source. This I regret the more, as I have since discovered to my surprise that *five other* annotated editions of

Die Journalisten give the reading 'Zeitung,' so that the difficulty seems to have escaped the attention of at least *six* editors of the play, if not more.

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SOME UNPUBLISHED NOTES OF LORD MACAULAY.

I.

On April 14, 1713, the initial performance of Addison's *Cato* was given at the Drury Lane theatre. Cibber states that he had read four acts of the play as early as 1703, and that he had desired to produce it at that time, but Addison's diffidence and his fear of failure deterred him from submitting his tragedy to the verdict of the public and it was only at the instance of his friends that he finally allowed the tragedy to be presented.¹ The names of these friends we do not know, but they were undoubtedly Whig leaders, for with the actors and managers of his day Addison was not on intimate terms, and moreover many of his *Tatler* and *Spectator* papers on the theatre are marked by the severe strictures they contain on the lack of art and the low moral tone of the London stage. The town was not far wrong when it decided that the production of *Cato* was in part dictated by political considerations, and that the tragedy was in substance a stage sermon on liberty, a liberty which would be lost, the Whigs believed, if the Tory principles prevailed.

The Tories managed their case with characteristic cleverness. Instead of hissing the play as a Whig production, they applauded it roundly, and Bolingbroke calling to his box Bartou Boothe, who took the rôle of Cato, presented him with a purse of fifty guineas for defending liberty against a perpetual dictator, obviously meaning that Cæsar, the opponent of liberty, resembled the Duke of Marlborough, the idol of the Whigs. As if to answer this, keys to the play were published in which the reader is informed that not Cæsar but

the heroic Cato represents the Duke of Marlborough "famous for his success in war but also for his admirable sedateness and presence of mind in time of battle." In a *Prologue to Cato* (1717) Thomas Fitzgerald well expressed the situation :

'Twas worth remark with how much heat and rage,
When first our Cato graced the British stage,
Contending parties all his words applied,
And strove to lift the patriot on their side ;
Nay, by how natural an application
He chimed with every faction of the nation.
Of Freedom he asserts the glorious cause ;
Straight rung the theatre with Whig applause.
Short joy ! for in ten lines he changed the story,
And ranted like a hot tantivy Tory :
Fiercely exclaimed, from Generals for life,
From standing legions springs our civil strife.

Not only was Addison favoured with the applause of both parties, but he was most fortunate in the actors who interpreted his lines. Cato was played by Barton Boothe, a tragedian gifted with a superb stage presence and endowed with poetic imagination ; the rôle of Marcia, Cato's daughter, was taken by Nance Oldfield, the most popular actress of the day ; while Cibber, Wilks, and Powell were cast for important parts. It is not surprising that *Cato*, though produced at the end of the season, ran for thirty-five nights. In June the company visited Oxford, and Cibber in his *Apology* gives a most interesting account of the enthusiastic reception of the play by the undergraduates who crowded the house for three performances, for he observes that at this University town "A great deal of that false, flashy wit, and forced humour, which has been the delight of our Metropolitan multitude, was only rated at its bare, intrinsic value. Applause was not to be purchased there but by the true sterling, the *Sal Atticum* of a Genius. Shakespear and Jonson had there a sort of Classical authority." Evidently the undergraduate taste has changed.

Cato, then, is to be regarded as one of the most striking successes of the eighteenth century drama. In twelve years it ran through eleven editions, it was the first English play to be translated into both French and Italian, and Voltaire but re-echoed the popular opinion in his well known statement that "the first English writer who

¹ *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*, chapter xiv.

² Chapter xiv.

composed a regular tragedy and infused a spirit of elegance through every part of it was the illustrious Mr. Addison."

II.

In 1835 Macaulay was in Calcutta, President of the Committee on Public Instruction and President of the Law Commission appointed to frame a criminal code for India; and though he took up this arduous work with characteristic energy, he still found time for his reading. In the British Museum is a three volume edition of *The Miscellaneous Works in Verse and Prose of the Late Right Honourable Joseph Addison, Esq.*, London, 1766, which Macaulay read at this time; the exact dates which he jotted down being May 27th and 28th, 1835. On the margins of this edition he has made, as was his custom, many notes in pencil which are now so faded and illegible that it is somewhat difficult to decipher them. So far as I can ascertain, these notes have escaped observation, though the Museum catalogue calls attention to them. In George Birkbeck Hill's edition of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, three of the notes are given, under the *Life of Addison*, but these do not concern *Cato*.³ Sir George Otto Trevelyan, in answer to my inquiry as to whether these notes had been printed, could send me no information on the subject. As showing Macaulay's unbiassed opinion of the tragedy, they are of interest and I give them as I transcribed them.

When he made these comments, Macaulay was in a mood to be favourably impressed by Addison's writings, for at the end of the *Drummer*, which he read the same day as *Cato*, he has this curious bit of eulogy. "I admire this comedy extremely. It is Addison's all over—full of delicate humour and amiable feeling. The fun is never coarse, the sentimental passages are never ranting or mawkish. I am convinced that if he had cultivated his talent for the drama he would have surpassed any Comedy writer since the days of James the First. I like this play far better than any of Congreve's, Sheridan's, Farquhar's, or Vanbrugh's. An odd taste, perhaps. But so it is." With such a valuation of Addison's dramatic gifts, we turn to *Cato*.

The tragedy opens with a dialogue between Cato's sons, Marcus and Portius (both in love with Lucia), in which Marcus, among other matters, informs his brother that

Passion unpitied, and successful love
Plant daggers in my heart, and aggravate
My other griefs. Were but my Lucia kind!

Against this passage Macaulay has written the brief but expressive word "Bah!" A few lines further in this scene Portius points out Juba, a Numidian chief:

Behold yon Juba . . .
He loves our sister Marcia, greatly loves her.

The comment on these lines runs: "Unnatural. A Roman noble would as soon have thought of marrying his sister to a Moorish horse as to a Moorish Prince!" At the end of scene three is the comment: "Dennis's criticisms have a good deal of truth in them." After scene four is written: "The style is not easy enough for the drama, but there is considerable merit in this scene." The first act ends with the following simile:

So the pure limpid stream when foul with stains
Of rushing torrents, and descending rains,
Works itself clear, and as it runs refines;
Till by degrees, the floating mirror shines,
Reflects each flower that on the border grows,
And a new Heaven in its fair bosom shows.

Macaulay writes: "A pretty simile but dreadfully out of place. Good heaven, what a contrast between this play and one of Shakespeare's." Without quoting further from the play, his comments explain themselves. Act II, scene 1, "Most of the debate is very heavy." Sempronius's speech in this scene, "My voice is still for war," is praised in the sentence "This is worthy of Lucan." Scene 2, "This I used when a boy to think the finest scene in the play. We shall see." Scene 3, "A fine piece of stilted conversation." Scene 5, "There is considerable skill in this scene." At the very end of this scene he writes, "Very good. There is more dramatic art in this scene than in any other in the play." In scene 6, the speech of Sempronius beginning "Thou hast seen Atlas," has the brief comment "Rant." In this mood, the scenes in Act III are dismissed with the words "Stupid trash," "Trash," "Exquisitely absurd," "Stuff." The first three scenes of Act IV are characterized as

³ Vol. II, pp. 106-107.

"Abominable twaddle," "Nonsensical bombast," "Foolish nonsense." The fourth scene, where Cato meets the body of his son Marcus, fallen in battle, is praised in the sentence "This is the finest part of the play. Lucan might have written it." Cato's famous soliloquy on immortality, in the opening scene of Act V, is simply marked down the side of the page, without comment. At the close of the last scene is written "There is plenty of fine declamation in the play and one or two good dramatic touches, but it is even colder and duller and more turgid than I thought—the love scenes quite unbearable."

In July, 1843, eight years after he had made these amusingly pungent notes on *Cato*, Macaulay published his essay on Addison, a piece of writing that has done as much to establish firmly Addison's reputation as his own *Tatlers* and *Spectators*. While it would be absurd to take these pencil jottings too seriously, Macaulay had not forgotten them entirely. On Addison's poem to Sir Godfrey Kneller he had written in 1835 "Wonderfully ingenious. Neither Cowley nor Butler ever surpassed, I do not remember that they ever equalled it." In his essay on Addison, he observes: "Iu wit, properly so called, Addison was not inferior to Cowley or Butler. No single Ode of Cowley's contains so many happy analogies as are crowded into the lines to Sir Godfrey Kneller." Turning to the remarks on Cato in the essay, it is somewhat surprising to find the following opinion:

"About the merits of the piece which had so extraordinary an effect, the public, we suppose, has made up its mind. To compare it with the masterpieces of the Attic stage, with the great English dramas of the time of Elizabeth, or even with the productions of Schiller's manhood, would be absurd indeed. Yet it contains excellent dialogue and declamation, and, among plays, fashioned on the French model, must be allowed to rank high; not indeed with *Athalie* or *Saul*; but, we think, not below *Cinna*, and certainly above any other English tragedy of the same school, above many of the plays of Corneille, above many of the plays of Voltaire and Alfieri, and above some plays of Racine. Be this as it may, we have little doubt that Cato did as much as the *Tatlers*, *Spectators*, and Freeholders united, to raise Addison's fame among his contemporaries."

Here speaks not the critic, but the eulogist of Addison, for all discussion of the play on its own

merits is carefully avoided. Readers of *Cato*, despite their admiration for the author of the *De Coverley* papers, will feel that though these disconnected notes reflect in their severity a mood which prevents us from considering them too curiously, they yet show a true realization of the faults of this once popular drama, and contain in their very bluntness an impartial criticism lacking in the carefully considered periods of the famous essay.

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CERVANTES AS A DRAMATIST.

I. THE INTERLUDES.

In 1615,—with approval of July 3,—Cervantes published eight plays and the same number of interludes. In the prologue the author states that some years previous he had an opportunity of returning to his former leisure, and so he set about writing plays. But, as theatre-managers declined to buy his dramatic works, he consigned them to a chest, condemning all, as he says, to perpetual silence. Meanwhile, a bookseller-publisher (*librero*) told Cervantes that he would buy the plays if a prominent theatre-manager (*autor de título*) had not assured him that much could be expected from Cervantes' prose,—a statement that would be made only after the publication of *Don Quixote*, 1605,—but from his verse, nothing! Whereat the would-be dramatist was sorely grieved and lamented on the change of times and tastes. But he glanced over his plays and interludes, and, concluding that they were not wholly unworthy of publication, sold them at a reasonable price. "I took the money," says the author, "meekly, without having to higgie with actors (*recitantes*)."
Cervantes, hidalgo as he was, manifested uncommon sensitiveness in such matters. In the *Adjunta al Parnaso*, Pancracio says to him, "Why are your plays and interludes not acted on the stage?" To which Cervantes replies, "because theatre-managers do not seek me, and I do not seek them." It seems incredible that some such good friend of his, among actors, as Pedro de

Morales did not act as intermediary. Was there, indeed, a cabal, headed by Lope, the dictator, contriving against Cervantes, the playwright? Alas, the theatre-manager's estimate of the selling value of Cervantes' dramatic works proved to be all too true, for only one edition appeared during the seventeenth century. The volume has an interest all its own, because it was the first authorized edition of romantic plays published in Madrid. But we are here concerned more with the conclusions that may be drawn from the prologue: (a) The plays were written some time previous to their publication in 1615; (b) they were written at once and the same time,—*volví yo á mi antigua ociosidad . . . volví á componer algunas comedias . . .*; (c) The interludes were apparently written during the same period of dramatic production,—this is not stated expressly by Cervantes. But he says:

"Torné á pasar los ojos por mis comedias y por algunos entremeses míos que con ellas estaban arrinconadas, y ví no ser tan malas ni tan malos que no mereciesen salir de las tinieblas del ingenio de aquel autor . . ."

It will be noted that the interludes had been laid away with the plays, and, mark the word, he takes care to note that they, too, were not so *malos* as not to be worthy of publication. In other words, they had been consigned to the chest at the same time as the plays, and, of course, for the same reason. It is true that his interludes are almost wholly in prose, but one is in verse and all of them contain some verse.

Much has been written on the various periods of Cervantes' dramatic activity. This will be treated in a subsequent article, but attention may be called here to the fact that our author returned to the drama even after the *algunos años* he referred to in the above prologue. In his *Adjunta al Parnaso*, licensed September 16, 1614, the author states that he then had six plays and as many interludes. There are eight of each in the edition of 1615. The conclusion arrived at by Ticknor, namely, that the extra works were written after 1614 seems justified, but not because of the extra plays, for Cervantes had composed more than thirty from which he might select for the edition of 1615, but because in the prologue referred to above he avers that he was then (*i. e.*

in 1615) writing a play; "a comedy which I am composing, entitled, *El engaño á los ojos*." So too, after what has just been said there is no justification whatsoever for the conjecture of Hazañas de la Rua,¹ that the six plays alluded to were the six that Cervantes in 1592 agreed to write for Rodrigo Osorio.

In the biographies of the author of *Don Quixote* and in the special treatises devoted to his dramatic works may be found various vague and contradictory guesses at the possible dates of his second last (not last!) dramatic period. Surely it was not so far back as 1598–1603 as Díaz de Escovar would have us believe.² Morel-Fatio is nearer the mark in placing it vaguely, "*dans les dernières années de sa vie*."³ Knowing as little as we do of Cervantes' activities after the publication of *Don Quixote* in 1605, it is idle to speculate on the time when, as he tells us, he could return to his former leisure (*antigua ociosidad*). The interludes themselves give a safer clue. In *El Vizcaino fingido* reference is made to *Don Quixote* (the published work), proof sufficient to explode Díaz de Escovar's bubble. In the same interlude there is a possible allusion to a play written about 1611, and extremely popular, *La Ventura de la fea*,⁴ as also to the pragmatic against the indiscriminate use of coaches proclaimed January 3 and 4, 1611. In the *Cueva de Salamanca* mention is made of the bandit Roque Quinart, possible only after 1607. In *La Guarda Cuidadosa* a letter (*cédula*) is dated May 6, 1611. All this goes to show,—and more allusions might be cited,—that the interludes were written about 1610–12, probably indeed while the author was revising the *Exemplary Novels*, presented for approval by July 2, 1612. Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly has truly said,⁵ "few points in his history are more inexplicable than the fact that, after the amazing success of *Don Quixote*, he published practically nothing for the next eight years" (1605–1613). Doubtless during a part of this time, and largely because of the "amazing success" of his masterpiece, Cervantes was vainly courting Thalia in his endeavor

¹*Los rufianes de Cervantes*, 1906, p. 8.

²*Apuntes escénicos cervantinos*, . . . 1905, p. 42.

³*Études sur l'Espagne, série I*, p. 377.

⁴*Cf. M. L. N.*, xx, p. 41.

⁵*Galatea*, 1903, p. xxxviii.

to drive the wolf from his door. What records we have of our author during this period spell direst poverty.⁶ Rodríguez Marín, for purely stylistic reasons, supposes that the interlude entitled *El Rufián viudo* was composed before 1600. Such a conjecture is probably not warranted.⁷

Only a word need be said here about the relation of the *entremeses* to Cervantes' other works. Many of the characters reappear in *Don Quixote* and the *Novelas ejemplares*, to which they are most closely akin in manner, matter, and style. They form the humblest and least pretentious group in the author's trilogy, and like the two productions just mentioned, but unlike his verse plays, or poems, and pastoral romance, were most congenial to his temperament. The author of *Don Quixote* was, without doubt, most successful when most national. But there are other, and more definite, points of contact. Thus, for instance, in *La elección de los alcaldes*, a blanketing episode repeats Sancho Panza's unfortunate experience.⁸ In the same interlude the wine-test story of Part II of the *Don Quixote* is anticipated, with only minor verbal changes.⁹ In *El viejo celoso*, in addition to the parallel situation in *El celoso extremeño*,—*più non si pareggia mo ed issa*,—studied by Rodríguez Marín,¹⁰ and Eugenio Mele,¹¹ attention may be called to a comical touch which Cervantes repeats. The wife says of her jealous husband that,

"no me clavara él las ventanas . . . desterrara della los gatos y los perros, solamente porque tienen nombre de varón."

In the *novela* it is said of the husband,

"aun no consintió que dentro de su casa hubiese algún animal que fuese varón. A los ratones della jamás los persiguió gato, ni en ella se oyó ladrado de perro: todos eran del género femenino . . ."

⁶Máinez, in *Cervantes y su época*, p. 564, synthesizes very ably the new material collected by Pérez Pastor.

⁷Cf. *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, 1905, p. 155.

⁸Imitated by Mira de Amescua in *Lamónja de Portugal*.

⁹This story is not unknown in America, where it is told of two Southern judges, and very appropriately a leather-headed tack is found in the cask. If I remember well, this version is found in Cox's *Why we laugh*,—not now accessible to me. *See Cervantes note to Jacques de Vitry*

¹⁰*El Loaysa* . . . 1901, *passim*.

¹¹*La novella El celoso extremeño*, *Nuova Antologia*, 1^o ottobre, 1906.

In this same interlude we seem to be listening to a conversation between Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. Elsewhere we are transported to the world of indigent students, and soldiers, sacristans, gypsies, panders, convicts, jangling *mal-maridados*, in a word, the lower strata of that *callejera* society which Cervantes could depict so successfully. But in his choice of types of character, Cervantes manifested no originality, for all these personages had already appeared in the novellistic and dramatic literature of Spain. The vivacity of dialogue which the interludes have in common with our author's other works and which seems so peculiarly his own, had been practised by Cervantes' eminent predecessors (e. g., Lope de Rueda) in popular literature.

The interludes of our author deserve, therefore, despite the fact that they are essentially of the *género chico*, a high place in his productions. It is only an aristocrat like Ticknor who would, as Cervantes had done when ill-advised, consign them to a chest and eternal silence. Ticknor, here as elsewhere, set up an artificial standard and measured the works that came into his ken as Goldoni's Ottavio measured eggs with a ring; *questo passa, questo non passa*. It is time for us to judge for ourselves and to get out of the charmed circles of a Ticknor and a Schlegel.¹² The farcical interludes are Cervantes' most successful dramatic works, and are, indeed, a credit to the creative faculty and facility which produced the *Exemplary novels* and the *Don Quixote*.

Cervantes, who theorized in and out of season on the novel and the comedia, has said almost nothing about his conception of a proper interlude. For his types of character he followed the school of Lope de Rueda. The form fixed by Lope has never suffered much change, and in this respect the history of the interlude in Spain is very different from that of the comedia. No violent innovations were introduced and hence, too, there was no need of theorizing. Cervantes boasts, in the prologue so often referred to, that the language used in his *entremeses* befits the rank of the speakers, but this is true of Lope de Rueda's *pasos* as

¹²In the margins of Ticknor's copy of Royer's translation of the interludes are many exclamation marks, eloquent signs of protest against Royer's more favorable estimate.

well. The dance element was probably greatly developed, but at least one of Lope's interludes concludes with a dance, and as is well known only a part of his work has been preserved. Again, in the use of prose, Lope's example was followed. Cervantes wrote two of his interludes in verse, but there was a precedent for this in Lope de Rueda's *Farsa del Sordo*,¹³ which is a kind of interlude.

As dances form such an important part of some of Cervantes' *entremeses*, it is worth while dwelling upon some of his remarks on the subject. In *La gran sultana*¹⁴ he ascribes to a certain Alonso Martínez the invention of

"aquesos bailes
Que entretienen y alegran juntamente
Más que entretiene un entremés de hambriento,
Ladrón ó apaleado."¹⁵

Cervantes' reference to three favorite characters of the interludes is not exhaustive. That our author realized that the dance was part and parcel of the interlude is seen in a passage of his play, *La entretenida*, written about the same time as the *entremeses*:¹⁶

Marcela. Mira Cristina, que sea
El baile y el entremés,
Discreto, alegre y cortés,
Sin que haya en él cosa fea.

Cristina. Hanle compuesto Torrente
y Muñoz, y es la maraña
Casi en mitad de Ocaña
Que es un poeta valiente.
El baile, te sé decir
Que llegará á lo posible
En ser dócil y apacible,
Pues tiene que ver y oír ;
Que ha de ser baile cantado,
Al modo y uso moderno ;
Tiene de lo grave y tierno,
De lo meliflúo y flautado.
Es lacayuno y pajil
El entremés, y me admira
De verla una tira mira
Que tiene de fregonil.

¹³ Lope de Vega and Benavente wrote their interludes in prose, the accepted medium. See also Rouanet, *Les intermèdes espagnols*, 1897, *passim*.

¹⁴ *Teatro completo* (Biblioteca clásica), 1896, p. 392.

¹⁵ Cf. "Como los entremeses solían acabar por la mayor parte en palos," in ed. 1864, VIII, p. 251.

¹⁶ Volume III, p. 176.

The parties then leave for a rehearsal ; later the dance is given but without the interlude.

(To be continued.)

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FELGEROLE.

The word *felgerole*, *polipodium*, noted by Manitius, "Angelsächsische Glossen in Dresdener Handschriften," *Anglia*, xxiv, pp. 432, 433, is there left unexplained. The reference to an article by R. Fuchs, *Archiv f. latein. Lexicogr.*, x, 354, may have implied such an explanation, but the Romance origin of the word, if there stated, might have been given, thus sparing the curious a fruitless search for a Germanic source for *felgerole*. Indeed, the separation of the word at the end of the line, *felge-rothe*, p. 433, l. 5, indicates that the Romance origin of the word has not been offered.

Two variants in *felgerotha*, *felgerothe*, seem to complicate the problem. At first glance the word looks as if it might be a Germanic or Celtic compound, and if a compound the chances are that it would be of Germanic or Celtic origin, preferably Celtic, 'auf französischen boden.' I can, however, find no word corresponding to the first element, *felge*, in either stock. The supposition remains that the word is single, the *-ole*, *-othe* ending having been added by analogy with other words for the same thing.

Among other words for polypody are the OE. *eoforsearn*, the L. *radiolus*, *filix* (*arboratica*, *quercina*), *filicula*, *herba radioli*, the It. *felcequercina*, and finally the Fr. *fougère*. A mid-form for Fr. *fougère* in **felger-* may be assumed ; indeed, nothing short of this satisfies both phonology and meaning. The ending of *felgerole*, *-othe*, then offers less difficulty : analogy with **radiole* (< *radiolum*) and with **polipode* (< *polipodium*), cf. English *polipody*, both older words for the same thing, would explain the presence and the form of the ending.

It should be noted that OE. *eoforsearn* (ME. *everfern*) given in the Durham Gloss for *polipo-*

dium, and rendering *herba radiola* in the OE. version of the *Herbarium Apuleii* (Cockayne's *Leechdoms*, I, p. 34) is not expressly connected with the oak; but allusions to the oak are surprisingly rare in the *Leechdoms*. The Saxon version is almost literal in its rendering of the *Herbarium*, c. lxxxv, where the oak-polipody is not mentioned. Everfern grows 'on stanigum stowum' (lapiditis) and 'on caldum hus' (parietis). The *Læce Boc* is indefinite: 'bruce zledenan and eforfearnes uppe on treowe,' II, p. 130. Still the references in the Glossary to *Leechdoms*, II, s. eforfearn, leave little doubt that everfern, *filix quercina*, *radiolus* and *polipody* of the oak are the same.

Everfern is not behind the other Saxon simples in the variety of its virtues. It is good for headaches, *Herb.*, lxxxv; for cough, *Læce Boc*, I, xv, 2; *Lacnunga*, 112; for pain in the heart, *L. B.*, I, xvii, 3, and cf. lxiii, 'for the phrenzie'd' (*wif weden heorte*); for a wound-salve, *L. B.*, I, xxxviii, 10; for a burn, *L. B.*, I, lx, 4; for lung disease, *L. B.*, II, li, 3, 4; for 'uhshte,' *Lacn.*, 18; for poeks and skin eruptions in sheep, *Lacn.*, 81; for falling out of the hair, *L. B.*, lxxxvii; for palsy, *L. B.*, I, lix; for swelling of the neck, *L. B.*, I, xii. Not the least of its virtues lay in the under parts: *eforfearn neoðe-weard*, *Lacn.*, 81; 'Eft niðeweard eforfearn zybrifan,' *L. B.*, I, xvii, 3. Remembering the description of the plant in the *Herbarium*, 'heo hæfð on æghwylcum leafe twa endebyrdnyssa fægerra pricena and þa scinað swa gold,' one may suggest that this may have been the *aureus ramus* of the *Aeneid*, 6, 136 ff.; 201 ff. Professor Frazer's references to fern-seed, to St. John's oil, imply characteristics of the oak-polipody, rather than of the mistletoe.¹

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¹ *The Golden Bough*, II, p. 363 f. I have no critical apparatus for Vergil, and am quite in the dark regarding comment on the lines. One should consult such references as are given in Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 1, pp. 249, 258, 260, but these are out of my reach. I regret that I have only the first part of Berberich's dissertation on the M. E. version of the *Herbarium*, Heidelberg, 1900. Dr. Berberich there shows the difficulties of the scribes with the older Saxon characters, difficulties also apparent in Manitius's text of the Dresden glosses, corrected by Holt-hausen, *Anglia*, xxv, 387 f.

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Bibliografía Madrileña ó Descripción de las Obras impresas en Madrid, por el Presbítero Don CRISTÓBAL PÉREZ PASTOR, Doctor en Ciencias. Obra premiada por la Biblioteca Nacional en el concurso público de 1893, é impresa á expensas del Estado. Parte Segunda (1601-1620), Madrid, 1906.

Bibliografía Madrileña, etc. Parte Tercera (1621-1625), Madrid, 1907.

While the significance of Dr. Pérez Pastor's *Bibliografía Madrileña* was at once recognized, on the appearance of the first volume in 1891, these two parts, which now follow one another in rapid succession, after a lapse of nearly fifteen years, are of far greater importance. So fruitful have been the researches of this distinguished and tireless scholar that the student of Spanish literature always looks forward with eager expectation to a new volume from his pen, knowing that something hitherto entirely unknown is sure to be revealed to him. While these volumes, as their titles indicate, are mainly bibliographical in character, they contain numerous biographical documents of the first importance, which have been discovered by the author in the course of his laborious investigations. A few examples will give some idea of the value of Dr. Pérez Pastor's work. We begin with volume II:

No. 890 is a description of the first edition of the *Viaje entretenido* of Agustin de Rojas, published in 1603. In the preliminary pages and elsewhere in the course of this work, Rojas gives us a number of curious details concerning his life. To these the work before us adds the *Partida de bautismo* of Rojas, which is as follows:

"En dos de Setienbre (1572) se bautizó Agustin, hijo de Diego de Villadiego y Luisa de Rojas, vizcaina; fueron padrinos Luis Ferrer y Francisco Escoto, casados y estante en esta Corte.—El Licenciado Burguete. (Archivo parroquial de San Martin)."

We also learn from a Document here printed, dated at Valladolid, July 8, 1603, that Rojas, who had procured the privilege of printing and selling his *Viaje entretenido* for the period of ten years, disposed of this privilege to Francisco de

Robles, "bookseller to his Majesty," for the sum of one hundred ducats (= 1100 reals).

No. 873.—Interesting documents concerning Don Bernardino de Mendoza, including his last Will. (See *Bulletin Hispanique* (1906)).

No. 891.—The *Romancero General* of 1604. From marginal notes in two copies of this *Romancero* the authorship of quite a number of ballads has been determined. New facts in the lives of the following authors have been discovered by Dr. Pérez Pastor. Only a few, of particular interest to the writer, have been selected.

No. 957.—Juan Arze Solorzeno, author of *Las Tragedias de Amor*.

No. 989.—Bernardo de Balbuena, author of *El Siglo de Oro*. These are both pastoral romances.

No. 1016.—On the poet Juan Antonio de Herrera, who died on September 21, 1634. Cf. also No. 1561.

No. 1046.—On Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola. Cf. Part III, p. 409.

No. 1073.—On Lope de Vega's *Jerusalem Conquistada*.

No. 1091.—Interesting data concerning D. Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga. Cf. Part III, pp. 359, 360 and 368.

No. 1130.—On Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco.

No. 1177.—Concerning the historian Antonio de Herrera. Cf. Part III, pp. 380 and ff.

No. 1326.—Here the last Will and testament of Don Gonzalo de Cespedes y Meneses, *Coronista de S. M.*, is given, together with his *Partida de defuncion*;—he died in the calle del Sordo, Madrid, January 7, 1638.

No. 1377.—*Flor de Comedias de España de diferentes Autores*. Quinta Parte. Recopiladas por Francisco de Avila, vezino de Madrid. Madrid, 1615. Dr. Pérez Pastor makes it very probable that this edition,—which is quoted by Salvá,—never existed, but that the first edition was printed at Alcalá in that year. He also doubts the existence of the edition of Madrid, 1616.

No. 1412.—Many documents concerning the Licentiate Francisco Murcia de la Llana, *medico*, who, as *corrector de libros por S. M.*, had to read all the books,—good, bad and indifferent,—that

issued from the press for over thirty years. He died November 24, 1639.

No. 1538.—On the poet Vicente Espinel, *Capellan mayor* of the Bishop of Plasencia. We learn that he died on February 4, 1624.

No. 1553.—On Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla.

No. 1681.—Very interesting documents concerning the family of Don Francisco de Quevedo. Cf. Part III, p. 458.

We turn now to Part III. Here the results are even far richer. So much is here that is new and of the first importance, that it is very hard to make a choice.

Page 205.—Record of an action for breach of promise, in May, 1611, by Doña Mariana de Loaysa against the poet D. Juan de Jáuregui, who was mulcted in damages to the amount of 2000 ducats. He finally concluded to marry Doña Mariana, who withdrew the action or rather settled it in September, 1611. They were married on February 27, 1612 (p. 219).

Page 232.—On the *Orfeo* of Juan Pérez de Montalvan. On the title-page of the copy of the first edition (Madrid, 1624) in the Biblioteca Nacional, is written in a contemporary hand: "Este Orfeo le hiço Lope de Vega y le hiço en quatro dias." A copy in the Biblioteca de San Isidro contains the two following notes in a hand of the period: (1) "Este Orfeo aunque dice es de Jn° perez de mon | no es sino de Lope de bega." (2) "No se puede esconder la dulçura de lope en este Orfeo y no ai duda en qe sea suyo." There is a similar inscription in another copy. The most important part of this volume is the second Appendix, entitled *Documentos*.

Page 325.—On Julian de Almendariz.

Page 335.—On D. Francisco de Borja, Prince of Esquilache. His last Will is dated Madrid, February 12, 1658. He died on October 26, 1658 (p. 338).

Page 343.—On D. Alonso de Castillo Solórzano.

Page 344.—On Don Guillén de Castro y Belvis. In the light of the documents here published, the biography of this distinguished dramatist assumes an entirely different aspect. The first, dated Madrid, January 8, 1619, is a power of attorney to Geronimo de Herrera to sell 900 copies of a volume containing twelve comedias, published at

Valencia, and which were in the possession of Juan Bautista de Valda, a Valencian merchant resident in Madrid, to whom he had pledged them for 2600 reals, the cost of printing and conveying them to Madrid. This amount was owing to Vicente Ferrer of Valencia, who had advanced the money for printing them. This shows that his *Comedias*, Part I, Valencia, 1618 (of which there is a copy in the University of Leyden, which I described in my edition of D. Guillen's *Ingratitud por Amor*, Philadelphia, 1899), was published with the knowledge and consent of the author.

Page 345.—Deed of gift (dated Naples, October 28, 1619), of D. Juan Tellez Giron, Marques de Peñafiel, to D. Guillen de Castro, during the life of the said Marquis of "el cortijo de el donadio de Casablanca en el termino de Arahal (Andalucia) que tiene mil y ciento y sesenta y cinco fanegas de tierras," the said D. Guillen to enjoy the rents and profits of the same from the time that the said Marquis shall succeed to the estate of his father, the Duke of Osuna: "the said D. Guillen to pay 3000 maravedises yearly while he shall enjoy it."

We learn that D. Guillen's sister, D^a Madalena de Castro, was the wife of D. Melchor Figuerola y Borja, Caballero de la Orden de N. S. de Montesa, and a citizen of Valencia, and that D. Guillen's brother was Fray Francisco de Castro, "de la Orden de Santo Domingo de predicadores," in Valencia.

Page 351.—Deed of gift of the Duke and Duchess of Osuna of 17000 ducats as a dowry to Doña Angela Salgado, who was in the service of the Duchess, and who was about to marry D. Guillen de Castro. There is also a grant to her of 300 ducats yearly during the life of the said Duke, dated November 16, 1626, beside other grants and donations by the Duke to the said Doña Angela. On January 28, 1628, there is an obligation by D. Guillen de Castro and Doña Angela de Salgado y Castro, his wife.

Page 356.—Last Will of D. Guillen de Castro, dated at Madrid, July 26, 1631, by which he declares that his body shall be deposited in the "Hospital de los Aragoneses," until it can be taken to the city of Valencia. By his will D. Guillen left everything to "Doña Angela Maria

Salgado y Castro, mi legitima muger, para que los haya, lleve, goze y herede con la bendicion de Dios y la mia y por lo mucho que la estimo y quiero."

In the light of this document, written on his death bed, we may see that few men, perhaps, have been more maligned than D. Guillen. The false reports concerning him and his marital relations have been handed down from one writer to another, and I set this down in partial atonement of my small share in this unfortunate business.

The inventory of D. Guillen's effects, filed by his wife on August 2, 1631, is a long list, and shows that he was very far from being poor, for he had besides a pension of 300 ducats: "una pension que tuvo sobre el arzobispado de Tarra-gona." But Doña Angela was not faithful to the ashes of her Sichæus, and on April 15, 1632, less than nine months after the death of D. Guillen, she married Nicolas Mitarte, and in 1636 or 1637 she married again, the third venture being D. Fabian de Contreras (p. 362).

Page 377.—Don Luis de Góngora y Argote. In December, 1617, he paid 3600 reals for a coach: "una carroza de baqueta leonada."

Page 385.—D. Rodrigo de Herrera y Ribera, dramatist, died in 1657. In his last Will he states that he had sold his comedia *Lo cauteloso de un Guante y confusion de un Papel* for 800 reals.

Page 391.—Don Diego Jiménez de Enciso, dramatist. Petition to the King, dated February 4, 1629, in which he complains of his age and his bodily ailments which prevent him from riding either in a coach or on horse and requesting permission to be carried in a "silla de manos."

Page 412.—Pedro Liñan de Riaza, clerigo presbítero, was the son of Roque de Liñan and Agueda de Riaza, both of Toledo. Liñan died on July 25, 1607.

Page 427.—Mira de Amescua.

Page 434.—Agustin Moreto.

Page 451.—Juan Pérez de Montalban. This article contains an interesting document concerning Lope de Vega.

Page 463.—Don Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, born October 4, 1607.

Page 499.—Luis Vélez de Guevara. Among other interesting documents, there is a letter

dated February, 1633, beginning: "Yo estoy con la maior neçesidad y aprieto q̄ he tenido en mi vida," etc.

Page 518.—Cristóbal de Virués. On August 18, 1608, he sold the privilege for ten years of printing his *Monserate* and his *Obras traxicas y liricas* for 200 ducats. This proves that the edition of 1609 of the latter work is undoubtedly the first edition.

The above will give an idea of the great importance of the data collected by Dr. Pérez Pastor. These volumes are a very mine of information and are absolutely indispensable to the student of Spanish literature.

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OLD-LORE.

Orkney and Shetland Old-Lore. London: Printed for the Viking Club. Nos. 1, 2, 3 (Jan., April, July), 1907.

Orkney and Shetland Old-Lore is the title of a new serial publication, issued under the auspices of the Viking Club and Society for Northern Research of London, and directed by A. W. Johnston, F. S. A. Scot., as general editor. The object of this series should commend itself to all students of Scottish antiquity and especially that of the Northern Isles. Although the Norse chroniclers have left a fairly complete history of the Island Earldom during the centuries that precede 1200, and though the transactions of the last 400 years are fully recorded in accessible archives, there remains a period of over three centuries of almost total darkness. And even of the last four hundred years a vast number of facts are still buried in Kirk Sessions and Registers House Records, in private charter chests, and elsewhere. The Viking Club now proposes, through the Orkney and Shetland Old-Lore series, to publish these and to translate and print for the first time information from all available sources regarding the period from 1200 to 1500, whether printed works, manuscripts, archæology, folklore, or what not. The

series will, in addition, be a medium of notes and queries for all interested in these subjects. The importance of the plan for the elucidation of Scottish History is obvious from the fact that it is found to be necessary to compile a separate Diplomatarium for Orkney and Shetland, a necessity arising from the fact that these islands had self-government for seven centuries, down to 1611. The publication will be issued quarterly to subscribers only, of which there are already, we learn, 560, a very large proportion of which so far is furnished by that enlightened but rather impoverished colony, The Shetlands. Each quarterly will contain about forty-eight pages, sixteen of which will appear under the caption "Miscellany," and 32 as "Diplomatarium." It is also planned to issue extra works from time to time. Under the Miscellany will be published facts relative to northern genealogy, folk-lore words and phrases, saga references to the British West, the archæology and early industries of northern Scotland and the Isles; further also photographs of antiquities, reports on old manuscripts and papers, and book reviews. Under this head the three numbers, so far issued (January, April, and July, 1907), contain, among other things, a list of "Orkney and Shetland Societies"; "Two Jacobean Sonnets, written in Orkney," by William Fowler, poet at the court of King James VI; an article on "The Odal Families of Orkney," by J. Storer Clouston, and one by R. Stuart Bruce on "Old Time Shetlandic Wrecks." Of particular interest in this last article is the account of the wrecking of *Gran Griffin*, a remnant of the *Invincible Armada*, in August, 1588, and of the experiences of the admiral Don Juan and his crew during the enforced stay of seven weeks on the Isle of Faïre. Among relics of *Gran Griffin* are mentioned a gun, thirty inches long, now in Orkney, and some chairs taken from the admiral's cabin, and a silver flagon and drinking cup which are preserved in Shetland. There is further, from the pen of Jon Stefansson, a brief but appreciative account of the life of Biarne Kolbeinsson, the Skald, Bishop of Orkney, 1188-1223, whom the author regards as "the greatest man that Orkney has yet produced"; J. J. Smith Leask contributes an account in Orkney English of "An Orcadian Battle, a Hundred Years Ago," and W.

G. Collingwood, translator of the *Life and Death of Cormac the Skald*, offers in numbers two and three a rendering of a "Legend of Shetland from the *Fljotsdaela Saga*." In addition there are a number of book reviews and much interesting matter under the "Notes" department. A writer here contributes a note on gender in the Orkney dialect; he cites the fact that, as late as fifty years ago, few Orcadians in ordinary conversation used the neuter gender, everything being masculine or feminine. This would seem to be a special development in the language of the Orkneys, for such was not the practice in Iceland, nor is it to-day in dialect speech in Western Norway, whence the colonists of Orkney came. It may, however, be said that the prevalence of the feminine pronoun is a characteristic of English folk-speech. Further investigation would probably show that it is the feminine pronoun that predominates also in Orkney English. Relative to the use of the masculine pronoun in referring to the weather I may, however, say that the use of the masculine pronoun here is to-day characteristic of most of the dialects of Norway, as (translating the original phrases) "he's cold to-day" for "it is cold to-day," or "he's snowing" for "it is snowing." The rule is therefore that natural phenomena are thought of as masculine and when referred to by substitutory pronouns, the masculine is always used. Part 2 of the Old-Lore series, which will contain the *Diplomatarium* or "Orkney and Shetland Records," begins in number I with extracts, translation, and notes from Adam of Bremen, referring to the earliest Bishops of Orkney, and extracts from Annals and Ecclesiastical Documents relative to the Isles, while in numbers 2-3 this part is devoted to "Shetland Sasines" for the years 1623 to 1625. In succeeding issues are to be printed Orkney Sasines and a number of Scotch, Latin, and Norse documents, collected last year in Scotland by Professor A. Taranger of Christiania on behalf of the Norwegian Government for a forthcoming volume of *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*. Copies of these documents have been given the Viking Club in advance of publication; the text is to be edited by Professor Taranger and the translation of the Latin and Norse papers will be made by Dr. J. M. Stefansson. There will also from time to time

be printed extracts and translations of Scottish, English, Welsh, Irish, and Manx records, as well as translations from Norwegian, Danish, and Icelandic archives. A special committee of the Viking Club with Mr. J. W. Cursiter, F. S. A. Scot., as chairman, is at present engaged in making a collection of place-names in Orkney, which will be edited on the side of their etymology by Dr. J. Jacobsen of Copenhagen, whose work on *Shetland Place Names* is also to be re-issued. It is planned finally to form a fund of £2,000 to be invested and the annual interest used in making special researches into the dialects and folk-lore of Orkney, Shetland, and the North of Scotland. This very great work which has been so creditably inaugurated deserves the support of all lovers of British history and "Old-Lore." That it will be conducted on a high plan of scholarship the name of the Viking Club and Society for Northern Research alone is a sufficient guarantee.

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DE MAUPASSANT.

ALBERT LUMBROSO : *Souvenirs sur Maupassant avec des lettres inédites Portraits, autographes, instantanées.* (Rome, Bocca frères, éditeurs, 1905, 705 pp.)

LOUIS THOMAS : *La maladie et la mort de Maupassant.* (Brochure in 12. Bruges, 1906, 101 pp.)

EDOUARD MAYNIAL : *La Vie et l'œuvre de Guy de Maupassant.* Paris : Société du Mercure de France, 1906, 296 pp.

No writer belonging to the present generation seems to appeal so much to the scholarly as well as to the general public as Maupassant. Whatever is printed about him is almost torn from the hands of the publisher.

The three publications whose titles have been given above have attracted a good deal of attention; they are very different in kind, however.

The bulky volume of the baron Lumbroso, interspersed with a score of interesting pictures,

contains many valuable documents in the form of personal "Souvenirs" gathered from friends and acquaintances of Maupassant. There are a number of letters, and also articles previously published but out of reach for the ordinary reader. Occasionally the editor adds a few personal remarks and anecdotes. The book ends with a few selections from Maupassant, illustrating his different styles.

There is no order whatsoever in the arrangement of the material. The chapter on the last illness and death of Maupassant comes before the one on the childhood and youth. They are separated by "Notes sur la mère de Maupassant" and Souvenirs of a friend on "Maupassant et son théâtre." After reprints of appreciations of Maupassant by G. Pellissier et Gonceourt, comes an account of the inauguration of his statue at Rouen, followed by a "Bibliographie de Guy de Maupassant." Then a few pages concerning the relations of Taine and Maupassant; and again some "Détails inédits" on the childhood . . . This not particularly picturesque disorder continues until the last page of the book. Moreover, the author does not mind in the least if he repeats a number of times the same piece of information. He is not very particular, at other places, about the nature of his information (*e. g.*, p. 240, his "Bibliographie des œuvres posthumes" is incomplete; while he puts (p. 238) "Les dimanches d'un bourgeois de Paris" among the works published during Maupassant's lifetime). He puts down, without noticing them, contradictory statements (*e. g.*, p. 76 he states, giving as his authority Madame de Maupassant, that several other guests were present at the last meal taken at her house, and p. 119 he gives an account of Madame de Maupassant again, to the effect that Guy was "en tête à tête" with his mother. Or, p. 239, the two women who seem to have hastened Maupassant's insanity come to see him ("cela est absolument sûr") at Cannes a few hours before his attempt to commit suicide, when p. 118 he produces Madame de Maupassant's account that he saw them at the Îles Sainte Marguerite on Christmas eve, thus a week earlier, and that they left for Paris the next day. Again, p. 293, a declaration of Maupassant's is reproduced to the effect that he was never "docteur sur le chapitre

de la religion," and p. 300 we have the declaration of a friend "Il communia avec ferveur"). He overloads his book with unnecessary things (p. 597, he says that the Maupassants of Paris are in no way related to the family of Guy de Maupassant, and pp. 598 and 599 he offers all sorts of information concerning those people. See also pp. 91, 92, 95, 97). He tells us the whole story of the house where Maupassant was confined during his insanity, p. 804, and this house owned in the eighteenth century by the Princesse de Lamballe inspires him with very odd remarks: "Malgré nous, nous rapprochons de la mémoire de Guy de Maupassant celle de la belle Princesse. Les bourreaux qui l'ont saisie brutalement ne lui ont pas seulement ôté la vie, mais morte ils ont profané sa beauté et mutilé son sexe. Elle était coupable de dévouement à une Reine" (?).

It is only just to remark here that in the chapter on the childhood of Maupassant (pp. 287-300), the author mentions "en passant" the name of M^{lle} Ray (pseudonym: Madame Renée d'Ulmès) while borrowing word for word some of her anecdotes published in *La Revue*, and spoiling some others. As to *La Revue*, he never as much as mentions it.

With all those imperfections the book of baron Lumbruso, I repeat it, is full of very valuable material. In using it one must only be careful and not borrow any information without having previously ascertained that the statement is not perhaps contradicted in one of the other 704 pages of the volume. Even as it is the book will be widely taken advantage of.

It has already inspired two excellent monographs. One is the pamphlet of Dr. Louis Thomas: "*La maladie et la mort de Maupassant*," which, however, is not as valuable as the article by the same author on the same subject that appeared in the *Mercure de France*, June 1, 1905.

The other is Maynial's *La Vie et l'œuvre de Guy de Maupassant*, a very conscientious and keen piece of work. While the author borrows much from Lumbruso, he does not, however, confine himself to it; he has carefully read the Journal des Gonceourt and the Correspondance de Flaubert, for instance, and he has looked up many of Maupassant's articles in the *Gaulois* and

in the *Journal*. It is by far the best biography of Maupassant that we have yet seen. The third part especially throws a great deal of light upon that part of Maupassant's life which begins with the year when he so suddenly rose to fame and which ends with the few weeks before his insanity, in fact, the time of his literary career about which up to now we knew very little. As to the fourth part, although Maynial says modestly that he cannot expect to add much to Thomas' pamphlet, it is a masterpiece of rich documentation, lucid criticism, and sober judgment.

Maupassant's works, in spite of the title of the book, are taken up only in so far as they are explained by the life. But there are some reasons to believe that we may expect before long another volume from the same pen. What makes us think so is that there are articles of Maynial published in recent years in the *Revue bleue* and in the *Mercur de France*, which seemed distinctly to be fragments of a general study and which have not been made use of in the volume now just issued.

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SHAKESPEARE.

Shakespeare and the Supernatural: a Brief Study of Folklore, Superstition, and Witchcraft, in 'Macbeth,' 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' and 'The Tempest.' By MARGARET LUCY. With a Bibliography of the Subject by WILLIAM JAGGARD. Liverpool: The Shakespeare Press, 1906. 8vo, pp. 38.

If Miss Lucy is akin to that Sir Thomas with whom the young Shakespeare had trouble, she has made ample amends for the knight's lack of insight. We regret, however, that we cannot speak of this as an important contribution to the subject. Prepared as a paper for the Stratford-upon-Avon Shakespeare Club, it is certainly interesting as a popular statement of certain matters; but before being printed it should, we think, have been expanded and to some extent recast. Much that is really irrelevant (*e. g.*, the Queen's message, p. 25) should have been rigorously ex-

cluded; the excision would not have made it less readable.

Mr. William Jaggard has added a five-page bibliography of the subject. This becomes important in view of the fact that Mr. Jaggard now comes forward as the bibliographer of Shakespeare and announces, as approaching completion, "a bibliography of our national poet and playwright, including every known public or private issue of his plays, poems and collected works, and all known Shakespeariana in the English language whether manuscript or printed, embracing over fifteen thousand entries and references, with collations, copious notes, and a key to hundreds ofonyms and pseudonyms." From what he has done for Miss Lucy's book we may reasonably infer what he proposes to do for the larger work. We hope he will improve his method in several respects. He gives only the short titles, which are often inadequate; the dates; and the sizes. Scott's *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (1830) are dated 1856. Listing only book titles, he omits such volumes as Halliwell, *Memoranda on the Midsummer Night's Dream*, Brighton, 1879; R. G. Moulton, *The Moral System of Shakespeare*, New York, 1903; S. Lanier, *Shakespeare and his Forerunners*, New York, 1902; E. Hense, *Ueber die Erscheinung des 'Geistes' im Hamlet*, Elberfeld, 1890; S. H. Hodgson, *Outcast Essays*, London, 1881; H. R. D. Anders, *Shakespeare's Books*, Berlin, 1904; H. Ankenbrand, *Die Figur des Geistes im Drama der englischen Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1906 (appeared in 1905); Martin W. Cooke, *The Human Mystery in Hamlet*, New York, 1888; to say nothing of a large number of periodical articles of such importance as Schelling's article in *Modern Philology*, I, 31-47, the article in *The Quarterly Review* for July, 1890, and Sigismund's "Die medizinische Kenntniss Shakespeare's" in the *Jahrbuch*, XVI, 39-143, XVII, 6-66, XVIII, 36-80.

Why, moreover, does Mr. Jaggard limit this undertaking to works in English? As every one knows, much valuable criticism has come from the Continent. If Mr. Jaggard is unable to handle the foreign bibliography, let him secure the cooperation of reputable Continental scholars, in order that the whole mass of material may be brought into one comprehensive scheme.

These shortcomings lead us to think that the general bibliography promised may not prove all that it ought to be. A word now as to bulk. The Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft has since 1864 printed in its *Jahrbuch* about 1350 pages of analytical bibliography, containing about 10,000 entries (in 1900-6, 4337, numbered), in several languages, of course; yet Mr. Jaggard promises us only fifteen thousand *in all*. If he intends to include in his work an index to the periodical literature, or even to the most important articles, his book, if it is to be adequate, will evidently need to be greatly enlarged; if he does not intend to provide such an index, he should make the fact clear at the outset.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

El Sombrero de Tres Picos por D. PEDRO A. DE ALARCÓN, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary by BENJAMIN P. BOURLAND, Professor in Adelbert College of Western Reserve University. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1907. xvi + 250 pp.

It is surprising that in spite of Alarcón's popularity in America an edition of his masterpiece should have been so long in appearing. Unfortunately, much of Alarcón's literary production does not rise above mediocrity. His short stories, and his longer novels are too frequently marred by intemperance of language and conception, by melodramatic effects, often superficial and even grotesque. In his poorest stories like *El Final de Norma* and *El Niño de la Bola*, probability, motivation, and effective delineation of character are almost as conspicuously absent as in a novel of Georges Ohnet. But Alarcón has given us two short novels, *El Capitán Veneno* and *El Sombrero de Tres Picos*, where these characteristic defects are much less persistent and quite overshadowed by his personal charm as a story-teller. The first of these two novels has for some years been a

favorite in our schools and colleges. Professor Bourland now offers an excellently edited text of Alarcón's masterpiece.

The *Sombrero de Tres Picos* is a picture of Spanish provincial life in the early years of the last century, a charming evocation of those Spanish days when public opinion had but little voice in the conduct of the nation, when good or evil action depended upon the virtue or vice of individuals. There are possibilities of tragic treatment in this story of conjugal devotion menaced by vicious old age. Yet Alarcón spares us a lugubrious denouement by confounding the lecherous villain in a mesh of ridicule. There is no attempt to preach a moral, there is a refreshing absence of tirade and cloying sentimentality, and it is left to the plot to work out the justification of virtue and the undoing of villainy. The charm of the story lies in its objectivity, its spirit of cheerful tolerance, its racy and piquant dialogue, its rapid and climactic action, but to the lovers of the "cosas de España," its finest flavor is found in its highly colored and truly Spanish setting.

There are three parts in the Introduction to the present edition, the first, a biography of Alarcón, the second, a brief appreciation of his work as a whole, the third, a discussion of the *Sombrero de Tres Picos* and its sources. An abundance of useful information is condensed in these few pages of introduction, and the presentation leaves nothing to be desired.

The notes, which the Preface tells us are intended for the teacher rather than the student, are models of judicious selection and accurate scholarship. Spanish life and social habits are so essentially different from our own that a set of notes appended to almost any Spanish text, would they be more than perfunctory, must clear up any number of local and historical references and explain especially those difficulties of language which are rather social and historical in character than syntactical. In this the editor has been entirely successful. His notes could hardly be more thoroughly accurate or illuminating.

Unfortunately the work in the vocabulary is less creditable. We find there not infrequent faults of interpretation and omission, and not always the best judgment in the explanation of difficulties. The length and scope of the following comments

may be justified by the importance of both the text itself and the present edition.¹

2, 18, *se han enterado ya de que . . .* A better treatment than *enterarse*, "to inform oneself," would be *enterarse(de)* 'to learn,' 'find out.'—2, 19, *así que*. 'As soon as' seems better than "when."—3, 13, *andando* should be translated 'passing by.'—6, 7, *recelasen*. The translation 'suspect' seems preferable to "fear."—6, 13, *personas principales*. The vocabulary gives "chief (principal) persons." The more idiomatic 'people of standing' seems better.—7, 8, *trastorno* is translated "overthrow," "upsetting." 'Disturbance,' 'upheaval' make better English.—8, 12, *biscocho*. "Biscuit," "cracker," "zwieback" are not equivalents. The *biscocho* is a sweet cake, small and of varied shape, like our cooky. 'Ladyfinger' is the closest English translation.—11, 3, *parra* means 'grapevine,' which fits the sense here. I do not know of any authority for the translation "arbor."—11, 7, *por Pascuas*. I am inclined to doubt the accuracy here of the free rendering "on special occasions." Why not the more natural 'at Christmas time,' especially as the *mantecado* mentioned in the passage is among other things a Christmas food?—13, 16, *requiebrar*, translated "to court," "pay court to" does not usually mean at the present time more than 'to pay compliments to,' 'to flatter,' which exactly fit the context.—17, 7-8, *dejado que hubo*. This idiomatic construction occurring here and elsewhere in the text certainly requires some explanation.—17, 17, *ocurrencia* is said to mean "idea." 'Sally,' '(witty) remark' are better translations. Cf. *Dicc. Acad.*, "*dicho agudo y original que ocurre á la imaginación*."—18, 7, *penetrarse* is not reflexive here as the vocabulary has it. *Se* belongs with *empezar* and has the force of the indefinite subject 'one,' 'they.'—20, 29, *invernadero* is said to mean "winter house," "winter dwelling." Here it is synonymous with *invernáculo*, 'greenhouse,' 'hothouse.'—26, 21, *realce* is correctly translated in the vocabulary "relief embroidery," but the rendering of *de realce* by "elegantly," "richly," is misleading. Cf. *Dicc. Acad.*, "*bordar de realce, hacer un bor-*

dado que sobresalga notablemente en la superficie de la tela." So *bordados de realce* would mean 'embroidered in raised work.'—29, 9, *convenir*. Add to its meanings 'to be advantageous.'—30, 24, *más fácil sería que yo te dejase . . .* The vocabulary gives *fácil*, "easy." Of course, *fácil* means 'likely' here.—32, 15, *¡pedazo de bárbaro!* In a note this phrase is translated "you wild man," which is too insipid. *Bárbaro* in the vocative has a general condemnatory force which in this passage might be brought out roughly by 'You confounded numskull!'—32, 28, For *pillar* in *creyendo pillarne durmiendo la siesta*, the vocabulary gives "despoil," "rob." It means here 'to catch' ('thinking to catch me taking a nap'). Cf. *pillar una indigestión*.—42, 16, *Dios lo bendiga y me lo conserve más años que le conservó el suyo á mi Lucas*. *El suyo* certainly requires elucidation. It probably refers to the bishop mentioned on page fifteen, who was Lucas' protector in earlier years.—43, 11, *Zorro* is defined as "fox." Its pejorative force in Spanish should be brought out.—43, 18, *racimo*. I can find no authority for the translation "grape."—47, 17, *rezar* means here 'to mutter,' not "to pray."—49, 28, *habrá la de San Quintín* refers us to a note which is an unnecessarily detailed account of the battle of St. Quentin. A word of historical explanation is enough, since after all, the student wants a translation of the idiom which means, 'there will be the devil to pay.'—52, 20, *se me hubiera ocurrido*. The vocabulary should bring out the peculiar reflexive use of *ocurrir* (*ocurrírsele á uno*) as is done later on for *olvidar*, 53, 7.—57, 27, *desalmado*, erroneously defined as "dead man (pp. of *desalmar*, to kill)," means 'heartless, cruel person.' I have personally never heard of the verb *desalmar*, "to kill."—61, 4, *volver de visita al molino*. It is not *volver de visita* (cf. voc.) but *volver de visita á*, which means to 'revisit.' Yet ". . . le peguen fuego á la casa" (61, 7) is explained in the vocabulary as follows: *pegar fuego á*, "to set fire to." Here the *á* is unnecessary, since it would have its usual English equivalent "to" in the phrase "to set fire to."—62, 6, *beberse*. The force of the *se* is peculiar here having the idea of 'up' in the English 'to drink up,' and ought to be explained.—66, 1, *¡alcaldes á mí que soy de Archena!*, has an inter-

¹ The references are to page and line of the Bourland edition.

esting note, but only by inference can the student get from it the meaning, 'Just imagine mayors pitting themselves against me, a man from Archena!'—78, 7, *estar para* (inf.) is said to mean "to be in the mood to," "to be inclined to." Though the reverse is possible, *estar para* (inf.) usually means 'to be on the point of (doing),' and *estar por* (inf.) 'to be inclined (to do).' The Corregidor says in substance: "Let me tell you all about it. Why, I came near being drowned!" It would not be intelligible in the context were he to say: "I felt inclined to drown myself."—82, 23, *pobre hombre* is called "poor guileless creature." The context indicates a more salacious meaning. Garduña thinks the Corregidor is only 'half a man.'—79, 15, *sé ir á Madrid*. *Saber* seems to mean here, 'to be able to,' 'be capable of,' which are not given.—95, 18, *reventar* is translated for this passage "to weary," "wear out." It means here, to 'burst,' 'smash.'—121, 7, *se sentía*. *Sentir* is not given as a reflexive verb.—121, 16, *observara*. Certainly the pluperfect indicative force of the -*ra* ending should be explained in a note.

I have noted in the vocabulary the following inadvertencies:

Frontera (5, 17) and *criminales* (27, 3) are called adjectives.—14, 14, *y eso que no había* . . . The vocabulary gives *eso que no*, "although." But the *y* is quite necessary to the idiom, *eso que no* alone meaning nothing.—*Mole* (14, 19) and *credencial* (73, 19) are called masculine.—15, 17, *tomó la licencia absoluta*. The idiom as it occurs in the text is not *tomarse licencia absoluta* (cf. voc. under *licencia*), but *tomar la licencia absoluta*.—15, 19, *se casó con ella*. The vocabulary has *casarse*, equivalent to the intransitive English "to marry." This passage requires *casarse con*, 'to marry' (trans.).—60, 15, *echar á correr* is referred for explanation to the vocabulary under *echar* as *echarse á*, "to begin." Of course, the reflexive *se* does not occur in the idiom *echar á correr* on page sixty.—93, 1, *tal y como* means, not "just exactly" (cf. voc.) but 'just exactly as.'—223 (voc.). Improper punctuation and order cause *petate* incorrectly to mean "bolster," "mattress" on p. 31, l. 10, of the text.

In certain idioms containing verbs it is advisable to include in the vocabulary the preposition

that may depend upon these verbs. For example, in *de que se trata* (4, 9), it is not *tratarse* (cf. voc.) but *tratarse de*, which means "to be a question of." In the same way "*dar comienzo á*" (4, 17) without the *á*, is not equivalent to the transitive verb "to begin," or *parecerse* without *á*, to the transitive verb "to resemble." In these and several other instances the vocabulary omits the preposition from the idiom and yet inconsistently keeps it in the case of *encararse*(*con*) 74, 13, and *burlarse*(*de*) 74, 28.

Lope says somewhere:

"Señales son del juicio
Ver que todo lo perdemos,
Unos por carta de más
Y otros por carta de menos."

One of the problems in compiling a vocabulary is to know what to omit and what to include, having in view the needs of the student. It is to be regretted that Mr. Bourland should have been led in so many cases to explain what is self-evident and yet fail at times to explain what is really difficult. The following simple idioms are translated: *á la luz de* (3, 9) "in the light of"; *á proporción* (14, 12) "in proportion"; *gusano de seda* (11, 29) "silk-worm"; *á mi favor* (12, 5) "in my favor"; *sin necesidad* (32, 12) "uselessly"; *con dureza* (54, 24) "harshly"; *por vía de* (67, 16) "by way of." For the following more or less difficult expressions no help is offered other than the translation in the vocabulary of the separate words that go to make them up: *por el orden de* (3, 16) 'of the kind of'; *ni tanto ni tan poco* (37, 30) 'It isn't as bad as all that'; *¿Qué ha de pasar?* (39, 1) 'What do you expect to happen?'; *hay que* (46, 6) 'one must,' 'it is necessary'; *he aquí* (71, 25) 'voilà'; *á más no poder* (32, 16) '(laughing) as hard as she could'; *á punto que* (125, 1) 'at the same time as'; *algo menos será* (84, 22) . . . 'not as bad as that.'

The presence of such words as *sentimental*, *interminable*, *natural*, *personal*, etc., etc., would indicate that the editor aimed at compiling a complete vocabulary. With this point in mind the following omissions have been noted:

Extenso (16, 12), *continuo* (17, 7), *vibrante*, *elástico* and *atractivo* (18, 10), *grave* and *meloso* (18, 11), *difícil* (18, 12), *ingenioso* and *persua-*

sivo (18, 14), *lealtad* (18, 15), *deseo* as subs. and *instintivo* (18, 16), *empírico*, *profundo* and *desdén* (18, 17), *cualquiera*, pron. as 'whatever' (18, 18), *ironía*, *burla* and *sarcasmo* (18, 19), *ostentar* (19, 6), *se* as 'one another' (22, 1), *rigidez* (38, 17), *sinnúmero* (4, 22), *requerir* (1, 21), *tener á bien*, as 'to see fit to' (1, 16), *para que*, conj., 'in order that' (2, 22; 51, 13), *tener por*, 'to consider as' (4, 22), *según*, conj., 'according as' (20, 21; 72, 28), *pues que*, conj., 'since' (55, 14; 91, 24), *cuarto*, as 'room' (72, 16), *exclamar para su capote*, 'to exclaim to oneself' (91, 27), *con tal de*, 'provided that' (49, 3), *que*, conj., 'until' (50, 13).

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

TRISTAN UND ISOLDE in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit, von WOLFGANG GOLTHER. Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1907. 8vo., 465 pp.

Karl Immermann wrote (March 13, 1831) to his brother Ferdinand, concerning *Tristan und Isolde*: "Jammerschade dass so prächtige Sachen unter den Gelehrten vermodern! Man muss sie dem Volke schenken." Golther's work, steeped in thoroughness and seasoned with appreciative enthusiasm, confirms Immermann's compliment to the material, shows what scholars have not been responsible for its neglect, what poets have attempted its revivification and how one can best present it to the people.

The introduction reviews previous *Tristan*-forschung, beginning with Walter Scott's edition (1804) of the English poem *Sir Tristrem*, which Scott wrongly ascribed to Thomas of Erceldoune. Scott's work is nevertheless valuable, since it contains the first comparative treatise on *Tristan* literature. Throughout the entire work Golther is charitable toward the confident, though erring beginner, he drastically scathes the man who doesn't improve upon his prototype and utterly condemns him who is inferior to his predecessor. Due praise is given to Von der Hagen and Bü-

sching's edition (1809) of *Das Buch der Liebe* which contained the 1587 edition of the German *Prosaroman* and which called forth from J. Grimm (1812) a criticism replete with thoroughness and literary insight. The rest of the introduction is devoted to Von der Hagen's edition (1823) of Gottfried von Strassburg, Francisque Michel's valuable initiatory work (1835-39) on the French texts, especially those of Thomas and Berol, A. Bossert's monograph (1865), showing Gottfried's indebtedness to Thomas, Lichtenstein's first edition (1877) of Eilhart von Oberg, Gisli Brynjulfsson's work (1851) pointing out the importance of the *Tristramsaga* as an aid to the appreciation of Thomas, Golther's own monograph (1888) in which the Celtic and French elements are differentiated, Wilhelm Hertz's splendid editions (1894 and 1901) of Gottfried, Löseth's "sehr fleissige kritische Inhaltsangabe" (1890) of the French *Prosaroman*, and various other less significant monographs. Golther criticises Reinhold Bechstein's (1876) *Tristan und Isolde in deutschen Dichtungen der Neuzeit* as a work in which the bad is praised, the good is not recognized and the presence of the really great is not even faintly suspected. Golther's book proper is divided into nine "parts," the first of which deals with "Das Gefüge der Fabel." The Saga of *Tristan and Isolde* is based upon "Märchen, Novellen" and "Romanmotive," together with some historical elements and rests upon three main pillars: Morholt, the golden haired virgin and the antique motif of Paris and Oenone. The historical features are to be found in the *Morhaltabenteuer*, the romance in the other two constituent parts. An etymological study of the names of the six principal characters gives some idea as to the elements contributed by different nations.

In part two Golther reconstructs the *Ur-Tristan* by comparing the four independent versions—Eilhart, Berol, Thomas and the French *Prosaroman*, a task likewise accomplished by Josef Bédier, from whom Golther differs in a few significant particulars. Golther concludes: This *Ur-Tristan* was written by a French poet of marked genius and broad scholarship, between the years 1140 and 1150, contained 6-7000 verses, was almost surely not written by Kristian

von Troyes, possibly by Robert von Reims, called La Chièvre. Because of the interest that always attaches to an ingeniously constructed hypothesis, part two is the most readable chapter in the entire book.

Part three treats Eilhart, Berol, and the French *Prosaroman*. Eilhart von Oberg, a Low Saxon of the neighborhood of Hildesheim, wrote about 1190, in Middle German, a *Tristan*, in which he followed his French model slavishly and was in turn imitated by the continuators of Gottfried, Ulrich von Türheim (1240) and Heinrich von Freiberg (1290). Berol's *Tristan*, 4487 verses of which are still extant, was written toward the end of the twelfth century, the French *Prosaroman* between 1215 and 1230. Golther discusses these in detail and also briefly reviews a number of thirteenth and fourteenth century Spanish and Italian *Tristans*. Of interest is the specimen of Geibel's translation of the fourteenth century Spanish *Don Tristan*.

Part four is devoted to Thomas and his imitators. Thomas himself was broadly read in different literatures and treated his subject at great length and with many fine literary touches as well as peculiarities, learned etymologies and puns. Concerning Thomas' personality, little is known. He was an Anglo-Norman and wrote in England about 1160. That he belonged to the clergy can not be proved. About forty years elapsed between Thomas' *Tristan* and that of Gottfried von Strassburg. The two facts known with certainty concerning Gottfried are that he wrote his *Tristan* between Wolfram's *Parzival* and *Willehalm* hence about 1210, and died before it was completed. Gottfried knew French better than any other M. H. G. poet, and was otherwise well trained. Although Gottfried's indebtedness to Thomas is considerable, he went further and finished what Thomas began. Gottfried gave the saga at once courtly and classical form and is therefore superior to Thomas. Other treatments of Thomas' poems are the 175 verses of a Low Franconian poem, the Norwegian translation of Thomas by a learned monk at the instigation of King Hákon Hákonarson (1217-63), some free Icelandic renderings, Danish *Tristan* songs and the English poem in 304 strophes of 11 lines each.

Part five discusses *Nachklänge* of *Tristan* in epic and lyric forms, especially in the poems of

Kristian von Troyes. Part six reviews the *Tristanlais* and *Tristannovellen*: The *Folie*, Marie de France's *Gaisblatlai*, *Donnei des Amants*,—an Anglo-Norman poem of the twelfth century, Dirk Potter's (1411-12) *Minnenloep*, "Tristan Spielmann" and "Tristan Mönch." Part seven discusses the German *Prosaroman* and Hans Sachs's impossible *Tragedia mit 23 personen, von der strengen lieb herr Tristant mit der schönen Königin Isolden und hat 7 actus*.

The 162 pages of part eight are replete with scholarly criticism of the "Tristandichtungen der Neuzeit." Wieland brooded over a *Tristan* epic for about 30 years, wrote however, nothing. A. W. Schlegel finished in 1800 the first canto of *Tristan* in 91 strophes. He followed Gottfried closely. F. Rückert began a *Tristan* epic, taking up the story where Schlegel left off. The first canto of 32 strophes gave promise of a masterpiece. Immermann planned as early as 1832 his *Tristan*, left it until 1838, took it up again and worked on it until his death in 1840. Tieck thought of finishing it, but found it impossible. Wilhelm Wackernagel published in 1828 a *Tristan* epic, "ein Musterbeispiel schwungloser, gelehrter Poesie." K. P. Conz wrote (1821) *Tristans Tod*. His work based on Heinrich von Freiberg, has some merit. *Tristans Tod*, by F. W. Weber, first published in 1896, is of no value. Section two reviews the Gottfried revivals: Oswald Marbach, Wagner's brother-in-law, made (1839) the first attempt at a faithful rendering of Gottfried in modern German. The first complete version of Gottfried in modern German was the splendid rendering of Hermann Kurz (1844). To Gottfried's 19552 verses, Kurz added 3700. A. A. L. Follen treated (1857) the history of *Tristan's* ancestry in a way that makes the poem worthy of more notice than it has received. Karl Simrock's insipid unappreciative translation appeared 1855, W. Hertz's masterly translation 1877, Karl Pannier's Reclam translation 1901. Section three discusses ten *Tristan* dramas: Platen's promising but unfinished work (1825-27), the wretched production of Friedrich Roeder (1854), Josef Weilen's weak effort (1858) based on Immermann and dedicated to Grillparzer, Ludwig Schneegans' inane parody on Wagner (1865), Albert Gehrke's unpoetic drama (1869), Carl Robert's worthless piece of dramatic theft from

Wagner and Schiller (1866), Michael Rützel's unsuccessful *Isolde* (1893), A. Bessel's faint effort (1895) characterized as "Wagner verbessert," Ernst Eberhard's (1898) worst of all possible productions, and Albert Geiger's *Tristan* (1906), undoubtedly the most important and praiseworthy German *Tristan* drama of modern times. Golther suggests that Matthew Arnold's (1852) excellent *Tristan and Iseult* may possibly have influenced Wagner who was in London in 1855. From a number of other English *Tristans* one reads with keenest interest Golther's review of Swinburne's (1882) *Tristan of Lyonesse*, in which Swinburne is unreservedly praised. Golther has little to say in favor of the French *Tristans* by Armand Silvestre (1897), Georges Chesley (1904), Eddy Marix (1905). Under the heading "Tristanbilder" Golther mentions those of John C. Sargent (1884) as failures, praises however those of Hendrich, Strassen, Engels and Braune. In order to leave nothing unsaid he mentions the marble statuettes of Tristan and Isolde by Zumbusch.

Part nine is an unalloyed glorification of Richard Wagner. The construction of Wagner's *Tristan* has been fully cleared up by the publication (1904) of his letters to Mathilde Wesendonk. Wagner learned Gottfried from the Version of Hermann Kurz. The interesting question is raised as to whether Wagner was influenced by Novalis' *Hymnus an die Nacht*.

The work on the whole betrays at all times thorough, conscientious, conservative scholarship. The author states that he wishes some time to do for *Parzival* and *the Grail* what he has here done for *Tristan*. *Quod felix faustumque sit!*

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GERMAN LITERATURE IN AMERICA.

Parke Godwin and the Translation of Zschokke's Tales. By JOHN PRESTON HOSKINS. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America. Vol. xx, No. 2, for June, 1905. Pp. 205-304.

An excellent study in a field that is attracting considerable attention at the present time, and

presented in a clear, readable fashion. The preliminary sketch of the introduction of German literature in America is brief, but the conclusions drawn are undoubtedly correct. And the writer has happily avoided an error that is frequently made in studies of this character, that of grossly exaggerating the importance and influence of the subject of his researches.

From material gathered in a study of the American periodical literature,¹ I would offer a few suggestions and a brief appendix to Mr. Hoskins' bibliography of translations from Zschokke.

The influence of Professor Blättermann in the South is scarcely a matter of question. An examination of the *Virginia Literary Museum*, a scholarly and belletristic journal published by the University of Virginia during his professorship, shows how great was the activity he displayed and inspired in the department of German literature, and the frequency with which this journal is cited by the other magazines, particularly in the South, is sufficient evidence of the scope of this influence. But the work of Francis Lieber in South Carolina from 1835 to 1857 should also be taken into account in considering the question of German influence in the South. Also that of Mrs. Ellet, Mary Elizabeth Lee and Professor C. J. Hadermann, who did much translating for the magazines.

Mr. Hoskins inadvertently observes that the *Democratic Review* (Washington, D. C.) began publishing short poems from the German as early as 1835, whereas, in fact, the first number of that periodical was not issued until October, 1837. And Mrs. Ellet's free rendition of Tieck's "*Klausenburg*" appeared in the same journal for 1844, not 1845, as stated.

To the "Articles on Zschokke," listed by Mr. Hoskins from the magazines, should be added a biographical sketch in the form of a review of the autobiography "*Selbstschau*," republished from the *London Critic* in *Littell's Living Age* (Boston), VIII, 482, 1845.

¹ *German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, 1907. The writer hopes that especially the reference lists of this study may prove useful to those engaged in investigations similar in character to that of Mr. Hoskins.

Besides the translations of tales from Zschokke given by Mr. Hoskins, I find the following eleven numbers in the American magazines before 1846. Most of them are contained in periodicals not examined by him. Four, however, are from the *Southern Literary Messenger*, which he cites. There are nine tales in all, of which only two were known to him as having appeared in America in translation. All of them are complete except "*The Clairvoyante*," which is an extract from "*Die Verklärungen*," and "*The Hole in the Sleeve*," which is condensed :

1834. *The Leg (Das Bein)*. Given as "From the German," but not accredited to Zschokke. *Magnolia*; or, *Literary Tablet*, New York, I, 213.
1838. *The Leg (Das Bein)*. A different translation from the above, but also given as "From the German," and not accredited to Zschokke. *Bentley's Miscellany* (American reprint), New York, III, 480.
1839. *The Evening before the Wedding (Der Abend vor der Hochzeit)*. Signed M. L. P. Knickerbocker, New York, XIII, 329.
1839. *The Transfigured (Die Verklärungen)*. An editorial note says the translator is "a lady of Pennsylvania." *Southern Literary Messenger*, Richmond, v, 225.
1842. *The Clairvoyante* (from *Die Verklärungen*). *Magnolia*; or, *Southern Apalachian*, Charleston. New Series, I, 74, 152.
1844. *The Hole in the Sleeve. A Novелlette*. By Mrs. Ellet. "The following story is rather condensed than translated from one of Zschokke's tales (*Das Loch im Aermel*). Some liberties have also been taken with it." *Godey's Lady's Book*, Philadelphia, xxviii, 222.
1844. *The Betrothal of Mr. Quint (Herrn Quints Verlobung)*. From the German of Zschokke. By Miss W. Barrington. *Graham's Magazine*, Philadelphia, xxiv, 88, 126, 172.
1845. *The Warlike Adventures of a Peaceful Man (Die kriegerischen Abenteuer eines Friedfertigen)*. From the German, by Mary E. Lee. *Godey's Lady's Book*, Philadelphia, xxx, 157, 217.
1845. *Walpurgis Night; or, The First Night in May (Die Walpurgisnacht)*. Translated from the German of Zschokke. By Mary E. Lee. *Southern Literary Messenger*, Richmond, xi, 267.
1845. *Slight Causes (Kleine Ursachen)*. From the German of Zschokke. By J. D. McPherson. *Southern Literary Messenger*, Richmond, xi, 402.
1845. *Five Eras in a Woman's Life (Die weiblichen Stufenjahre)*. From the German of Zschokke. (Signed) Mary E. Lee, Charleston, S. C. *Southern Literary Messenger*, Richmond, xi, 633.

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CHAUCER'S Prologue 256.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—As to "His purchas was wel bettre than his rente" (Chaucer's *Prologue* 256), Professor Child used to tell his classes, something more than twenty-five years ago, that this was an old French proverb, equivalent to "His 'pickings up' were better than what he got regularly, i. e., than his income." Besides the oft-cited passage from the *Roman de la Rose*, we may consider the proverbial tone of a line in Froissart's *Joli Buisson* :—"S'il n'a rente, s'a il pourchas" (v. 2826). There must be many examples. That quoted by Professor Greenlaw from the Towneley plays (*M. L. N.*, xxiii, 144) shows the popularity of the proverb in England.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 7.

A NOTE ON THE SOURCES OF MARIE DE FRANCE.

In the valuable study, *Die Quellen des Esope der Marie de France*, which Professor Karl Warnke published in the *Forschungen zur Romanischen Philologie, Festgabe für Hermann Suchier* (Halle, 1900, pp. 161-284), a serious omission consists in the failure to include in the material studied the fables entitled by Hervieux *Ex Romulo Nilantii Ortæ Fabulæ Metriceæ*, and published by him in the second edition of his *Fabulistes latins* (Paris, 1894, vol. II, pp. 653-713). This collection of fables, known to the Romance Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University as the Romulus Metrieus, is found in MS. Lat. B. N. 111 of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The codex, according to F. Madan's *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (vol. III, Oxford, 1895, p. 363, No. 14836), was written in England in the eleventh century; certain "notes and glosses" in Old English are found in it.

The importance of this collection for the study of Marie de France is due to the fact that it presents in a number of cases a form of the version of the Romulus Nilantii, from which a large portion of the fables of Marie are ultimately derived, intermediate between the Nilantine original and the modified type represented by Marie. The resemblance of the Romulus Metrieus to Marie's *Esope* did not entirely escape the attention of Hervieux, who noted (*op. cit.*, vol. I, 1893, p. 804) that in the fable *De lupo regnante* (Marie, XXXVII, ed. Roquefort), the Romulus Metrieus (Fable xxxiv) agrees with Marie and the closely related versions of the Romulus Treverensis (= LBG) and the Romulus Roberti, in making the wolf the king of the animals in place of the lion. He does not seem to have extended

his examination any further, however, and concludes that the collection is a derivative of the Romulus Nilantii, though perhaps only a mediate one. The following facts appear to indicate that his alternative conclusion is correct, and that both the Romulus Metrieus and the Romulus Anglo-Latinus, the hypothetical lost ancestor of the Marie family, are derived from a modified version of the Romulus Nilantii.

A study of the fable of the "Nightingale and Hawk" (Romulus Nilantii, Bk. II, f. xi; Marie, LVII [ed. Roquefort]; Romulus Metrieus XXVII), made in connection with the work of the Romance Seminary of this University, first led me to take this view. In this fable the Metrieus differs from the Nilantinus only in inserting the incident of the nightingale's refusal to sing unless the hawk moves off, as his presence terrifies her so that she is unable to sing. The hawk complies, and the fable continues as usual in the Romulean tradition. This incident occurs in the Mediæval versions accessible to me only in the Romulus Metrieus and in the Marie family (including the Romulus Treverensis, and the Dutch versions of Gerhard von Minden [ed. Leitzmann, Halle, 1898, f. exviii] and the Magdeburger Äsop [Pseudo-Gerhard von Minden, ed. W. Seelmann, Norden, 1878, f. xxxi]). In the latter, however, except in the late Magdeburger Äsop, the fable terminates abruptly with the nightingale's reply, and a very lame moral explains that many people cannot speak well when frightened or overawed. Here the version of Marie seems clearly to come from a form of the fable similar to that of the Romulus Metrieus, with its conclusion lost or omitted.

The following examination of the first ten fables in Marie's collection furnishes evidence to confirm this view. The traits peculiar to Marie have been summarized and numbered by Professor Warnke in the article cited; certain of these traits, referred to by his numbers, are

here paralleled by similar points in the Romulus Metricus. References to other collections are derived from Warnke. Where no comparisons are made except with the Romulus Metricus, it is to be understood that he quotes no parallels from literature antecedent or closely subsequent to Marie.

Fable i. 1. M (= Marie): *gemme*; RN (= Romulus Nilantii): *margarita*; RR (= Romulus Rhythmicus, Hervieux, 2d. edit., vol. II, pp. 714-757): *lapis preciosus*; Berechiah: *iaspis*, *lapis pretiosus*; RM (= Romulus Metricus) *gemma*.

3. Moral. Cf. M: *le mielz despisent*, and RM: *contempnunt optima queque*.

Fable ii, 1.

M: *Ireement parla li lous,*
Ki mult esteit contrarious,
par maltalent parla a lui

RR: *Tunc lupus ore minax fera verba tonabat.*

RM: *Improbis lupus . . . ferox . . . trux . . . dixit.*

Fable iv, 1. M, Rt, and RR have two witnesses, correcting RN, which speaks of three but mentions only two. RM makes the same correction.

Fable vii, 2.

M: *Mei, ki sui lous, tieng jeo pur fol,*
qu'od mes denz ne trenchai tun col.

RM: *. . . non gaudes, rustice latro,*
Quod collum sorpsi non dentibus asperis.

Fable viii, 1. The error in RN, which speaks of the second warning as the third, is also found in RR; M corrects by referring to the second warning as the second; Rt corrects by introducing a third warning; RM = Rt.

Fable ix, 1. M has a mouse traveling from city to city and overtaken by night; cf. RM:

. . . muri urbano linquenti menia castris
Sereca campestris tribuit mus hospita noctis.

2. M *suriz de bois*; cf. RM: *glandesque nuces munera silue*. Odo calls the mouse *campestris* and *silvestris*.

4. RN: *cellarium omnibus bonis refertum*; M speaks of *plenté de farine e de miel*; RM:

centenoque domum pastu potuque refertum,
and, *infra, mellifluis cenis.*

Fable x, 2. RN: nest in *arbor*; M: *chesne*; RM: *robur*.

3. RN: *Cumque fumus et flamma . . . ad summitatem arboris pene pertingerent, aquila, . . . pullorum cura, ne perirent, vulpinos catulos incolumes matri reddidit, obsecrans ut adductum restringeret incendium.*

M: *Li aigles vit le feu espris;*
Al gupil prie c dit: 'Amis,
Estein le feu! Pren tun chael!
Ja serunt ars tuit mi oisel.'

Cf. RM: *Cum . . . aquila ardentem pertingere nidum*

Conspiceret flammam, clamans tunc
voce precatur

Ut vulpis fetus proprios jam spreta
teneret

Lenius atque ardor pullis extinctus
adesset . . .

As soon as possible I expect to publish a study of the forty-three fables contained in the Romulus Metricus compared with the same fables as found in collections belonging to the Marie group and in other Mediæval fabularies, including the Romulus Nilantii, the Romulus Rhythmicus, Berechiah, and the Odo group, in order to treat more thoroughly of the relations indicated in the present article. This study will also include a detailed discussion of the relations of the Romulus Treverensis and Berechiah to Marie.

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THE SOURCE OF THE STORY SAPI- ENTES IN THE SEVEN SAGES OF ROME.

In my edition of *The Seven Sages of Rome*, recently published in the Albion Series of Anglo-Saxon and Middle English Poetry, I assert (p. c) that *Sapientes*, the eleventh story in the Middle English versions, was probably an invention of the redactor of the Western parent version of *The Seven Sages*. I am now

satisfied that *Sapientes* is only another form of a well-known episode in the life of Merlin, the story of *Vortigern's Tower*.¹

The story of *Vortigern's Tower* first assumed literary form, so far as is now known, in the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius,² and was subsequently retold by Geoffrey of Monmouth,³ Wace,⁴ Layamon,⁵ Robert de Boron,⁶ and a score of others, reappearing in but slightly modified form in most of the romances of the Merlin cycle.⁷

Sapientes has the same central motive as *Vortigern's Tower*: the rescue of a king from distress through the agency of a miraculously gifted child born without a father; and it agrees with it in sundry other important respects.

¹I first observed the similarity between the two stories in the autumn of 1907. Subsequently I found in Professor Schofield's *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (Boston, 1906, p. 252) mention of a "Middle English romance of *Herod and Merlin* . . . a variant of the story of *Vortigern's Tower*." This started me on a hunt for the poem of *Herod and Merlin*, which I felt must furnish an interesting analogue to *Sapientes* and perhaps throw some light on its history. But an industrious sifting of the reference works on Middle English failed to reveal any further mention of such a poem; so that I have been driven to the conclusion that Professor Schofield meant by the "Middle English romance of *Herod and Merlin*" merely the Middle English version of *Sapientes*, to which Weber in his edition of the Auchinleck MS. of *The Seven Sages* (*Metrical Romances*, Edinburgh, 1810, pp. 91 ff.) gives the name "*Herowdes and Merlin*." To Professor Schofield, then, must be given the credit of having first recorded the connection between *Sapientes* and *Vortigern's Tower*. The purpose of the present note is to clarify his statement and to show somewhat in detail the nature of the relationship between the two stories.

²Sections 40-42.

³*Historia Regum Britanniae*, Bk. VI, 17-Bk. VII, 3.

⁴*Brut*, ll. 7491-7776.

⁵*Brut*, ll. 15419-16112.

⁶See the prose *Merlin* (based on Robert de Boron's poem), ed. Gaston Paris, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1886, I, pp. 38-60.

⁷See for the best account of these various versions, R. H. Fletcher, "The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles," [*Harvard*] *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, 1906, x, pp. 12 f., 20, 47, 61 f., 92, 118, 120, 131, 152 f., 162, and *passim*. See also W. E. Mead, "Outlines of the History of the Legend of Merlin," E. E. T. S., 1899, 112, *passim*; and H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, London, 1883, I, pp. 203-344.

The supernaturally gifted child, for instance, in both stories is Merlin; in both the king has as counsellors seven wise men, who are false to him, and who are unfriendly to Merlin; in both Merlin is betrayed to the king's emissaries by one of his companions with whom he is playing ball;⁸ and in both the king's distress is occasioned by the presence beneath his castle of a pond (or, as in *Sapientes*, a caldron) of water.

The chief respects in which *Sapientes* differs from *Vortigern's Tower* are: (1) in that the scene of the story is Rome, rather than some place in Wales (as in *Vortigern's Tower*); (2) the king is Herod, rather than Vortigern; (3) the king becomes blind whenever he attempts to leave his capital city,—this in consequence of the misdoings of the seven wise men, who have become richer and more powerful than the king (to which the repeated sinking of the foundations of the royal castle is the counterpart in *Vortigern's Tower*); (4) the search for Merlin is suggested, not by the sages, but by an old man; (5) Merlin is sent for that he may account for the king's malady (not, as in *Vortigern's Tower*, that he may be slain and his blood sprinkled upon the foundations

⁸This resemblance was long ago pointed out by Weber (*Metrical Romances*, III, pp. 369-370), who, finding a close agreement between a part of *Sapientes* as it appears in the Auchinleck MS. (ll. 2389 ff. in Weber's edition) and a passage in the Middle English *Arthour and Merlin* (ll. 1185 ff.) asserted that the author of *The Seven Sages* had borrowed from the *Arthour and Merlin*. Later, Kölbing (*Arthour and Merlin*, "Altenglische Bibliothek," Leipzig, 1890, IV, p. civ), on the basis of the same passages, suggested that the Middle English versions of *Arthour and Merlin* and *The Seven Sages of Rome* were the work of the same hand. Apparently neither Weber nor Kölbing observed the connection between *Sapientes* as a whole and the complete episode of *Vortigern's Tower*.

Additional note. At the suggestion of Dr. Campbell, the following excerpt is inserted from E. Brugge's "Studien zur Merlinsage," *Zs. f. franz. Sprache und Litteratur*, xxx, 205: "In einer französischen und einer englischen Version des *Roman des sept sages* tritt Merlin sogar an Stelle Virgils in Verbindung mit dem Kaiser von Rom auf; die Erzählung *Herodes und Merlin* (No. 7 des Romans) lehnt sich übrigens ganz an Galfrids Erzählung von Vortigern und Merlin an. Merlin konnte also offenbar die alten Philosophen auch in ihren Fäblixen vertreten."—J. W. B.

of the castle in order to fortify the walls of the building); and (6) the caldron (beneath the king's bed-room) which is the occasion of the king's blindness, contains seven boiling bubbles (M. E. *walmes*), which correspond to the seven wise men and which cease to boil when the wise men are put to death (this, over against the tent and the two dragons which are found in the rock beneath the pond in *Vortigern's Tower*).

To account for most of the differences between *Sapientes* and its source is obviously not very difficult. The change in the scene of the story was made, I imagine, in order to give more of local interest and of reality to the story. This change, in turn, necessitated the substitution of some other name for that of *Vortigern*. The third change was made in order to emphasize the falseness of the seven wise men, and the better to serve the purpose of the wicked queen, into whose mouth the story is put. The introduction of the old man furnishes a simple and natural enough addition. And the last two changes may be traced to the changes made in the first half of the story.

It is all but idle, I believe, to try to determine precisely what version of *Vortigern's Tower* served as the immediate source of *Sapientes*,—this, first of all, for the reason that much of the matter of the early chroniclers and romancers was probably current tradition before it was given permanent literary form; and, in the second place, because the redactor of the *Seven Sages* almost surely wrote from oral accounts. Incidentally it may be remarked that there is no motive common to *Sapientes* and *Vortigern's Tower* that does not appear in practically all of the versions, early and late, of *Vortigern's Tower*.⁹

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⁹ Negatively, it can be said that the version of Nennius cannot have been the immediate source, since the name *Merlin* does not appear in his account, the name *Ambrosius* being used instead. The versions of Robert de Boron and Layamon were composed too late to be seriously taken into account here, and the same may perhaps be said of the version of Wace (usually dated about 1155), since the

CLAM, STOCKFISCH AND PICKELHÄRING.

In his introduction to *Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten* (D.N.L. 23, xciii ff.), Creizenach devotes considerable space to a consideration of the clown who appears under the names of *Hans von Stockfisch*, *John Bouset* (i. e., *Posset*), *Pickelhäring*, etc. The results of his investigations may be summarized as follows: Sackville created for himself the name and rôle of *John Bouset* or *Posset* (prior to 1593); Spenser that of *Hans Stockfisch* (1618); and Robert Reynolds that of *Pickelhäring* (the name appears for the first time in the collection of 1620).

In concluding his argument for the German origin of *Pickelhäring*, Creizenach says: "Reynolds schuf sich für seinen Gebrauch eine Abart des komischen Typus und legte sich den burlesquen Beinamen *Pickelhäring* zu, einem Gebrauche folgend, an den man durch Sackville = Bouset und Spenser = Stockfisch in Deutschland schon gewöhnt war. . . . Wenn Reynolds sich als clown einen Fischnamen beilegte, so tat er dies wohl in Hinblick auf den Stockfisch Spenser." Very good, but why did Spenser choose a fish name? Can't we get down at least to the turtle?

I wish now to offer a suggestion as to the turtle; what supported him I am not at present prepared to say.

Immediately after the passage quoted above, Creizenach continues: "Other names for the clown have been preserved. Heinrich Julius

parent Western redaction of *The Seven Sages* was probably made by 1150 (Gaston Paris dates the old French metrical version *K* about 1155, and *K* was surely not the parent version). Hence, of the extant versions of *Vortigern's Tower*, that of Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *Historia*, written about 1136 and soon widely popular (see Fletcher, p. 116), would present the strongest claim as source, if it could be shown that the redactor of *The Seven Sages* drew upon written sources. But there is abundant evidence in *The Seven Sages* to support the theory of a basis in oral accounts; and there is certainly nothing in the transforming of *Vortigern's Tower* into *Sapientes* to discredit this theory.

calls the comical servant in the first version of his *Susanna* (1593) *Johan Clant*. We meet a similar name, *John Clam*, four times in Ayrrer's dramas, in the last of which he is expressly referred to as *der engellendisch Narr*. *Clam* or *clant* is doubtless a corruption of *clown*.¹ Concerning the phonetics of this explanation I have no doubt, but why seek such an explanation when a more natural one lies close at hand?

We know that from 1593 on English comedians were in Nürnberg¹ where they were seen by both Heinrich Julius and Ayrrer, whose works they profoundly influenced. We know the names of some of these comedians but not all. Why not assume that one of them, who played the rôle of clown, called himself, for some unknown reason, *John Clam*, after the familiar shellfish? This "engellendisch Narr" was used by Ayrrer in his plays and his name was either purposely changed to *clant* by Heinrich Julius, or else he made use of a corrupted form of the name. The change from *clam* to *clant* seems just as easy as that of *clown* to *clam*.

Now, if Reynolds called himself *Pickelhäring* because Spencer called himself *Stockfisch*, by Creizenach's own logic Spencer called himself *Stockfisch* because somebody *x* had assumed a fish name for his clown rôle. For the sake of argument I suggest that *x* = *John Clam*, a clown in one of the companies that performed in Nürnberg in the last part of the sixteenth century.

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THOMAS AND MARIE IN THEIR RELATION TO THE CONTEURS.

In a well known passage of his *Tristan*, Thomas, referring to those who "solent cunter c del cunte Tristan parler," says that "il en cuntent diversement" and adds

oï en ai de plusur gent,
asez sai que chescun en dit,
e ço qu'il unt mis en escrit.¹

The meaning of these lines is sufficiently obvious and Thomas, it would seem, clearly wants us to understand that he is acquainted both with what the 'conteurs' tell and what the poets have written about Tristan. Yet for a long time there was a little difficulty in interpreting the passage in this way. While 'conteurs' were thought to have been innumerable in France and in England before and about 1170, it was not known that there had ever existed, at that early date, a French poem on Tristan antedating that of Thomas. Indeed all evidence, it was supposed, pointed in the opposite direction. Industrious jongleurs busily engaged in telling the tales of Britain we met at every cross-roads throughout the first half of the XIIth century; but look wherever we would, we could not discover a poet at work on the Tristan legend until we reached the time of Béroul, Thomas, Chrétien, whose poems, it was added, were independent of each other. No wonder if between the two statements made by Thomas in the last two lines quoted above one felt inclined to accept fully only that which seemed in accordance with facts as we knew them? And until the last years most scholars would have been ready to sum up the matter in these words of Gaston Paris: "Il est clair que Thomas composait son poème pour un public qui connaissait déjà sous des formes variées les aventures de Tristan: il polémise ici² et ailleurs contre les versions courantes, et il essaie de donner au milieu de variantes contradictoires un récit logique et cohérent . . . Ces variantes étaient pour la plupart des narrations purement orales; Thomas signale ceux 'qui solent cunter c del cunte Tristan parler'; ils en content diversement, il l'a entendu de plusieurs gens, il sait ce que chacun en dit, et il n'ajoute qu'accessoirement et ce qu'on en a écrit."³ Yet no

¹ Ed. Bédier, I, ll. 2116-18.

² G. Paris is discussing ll. 2107-2123 of Thomas' *Tristan*.

³ *Romania*, VIII [1879], pp. 426-27.

¹ Cf. Cohn, *Jahrb. d. dt. Shakspeare-Gesellsch.*, XXI, 247.

scholar would write this now and G. Paris himself, before his death, had changed his opinion. M. Bédier has proved beyond a doubt that Thomas followed, at times pretty closely, an old poem on Tristan, the work of some unknown genius who composed it about 1120. Thomas, then, did know "go qu'il unt mis en eserit." But he also, we remember, claimed acquaintance with "go que cheseun en dit." Did he mean there what he said? We might then assume that he owed to the 'conteurs' the numerous additions that he made to his original and that they suggested him his changes and corrections. But this is clearly out of the question. In practically every case M. Bédier makes us feel that Thomas himself is responsible for the new setting and the new direction given to the legend. The old troubère is by no means a man who borrows from every quarter and has to work hard to reconcile contradictory statements; his aim is to adapt a somewhat archaic poem to a new and clearly defined literary ideal, and that is what he very consistently does from one end to the other. M. Bédier, I think, would subscribe to these words of Golther: "Es is nicht glaublich und wird jedenfalls durch den Inhalt nirgends bestätigt, dasz Thomas selbst von den conteurs andere Überlieferung hörte als von seiner schriftlichen Vorlage, dasz er wirklich, wie er seine Leser allerdings glauben lässt, mit Hilfe der conteurs seine Vorlage ergänzte."⁴ But why did Thomas in lines 2113-16 choose to refer his readers to oral tales that he possibly never heard and certainly never turned to account? According to Golther, the line in question comes straight from the old poem and was borrowed by Thomas for the express purpose of throwing a little dust in our eyes. "Somit ist anzunehmen, dasz er [Thomas] die Berufung auf die conteurs dem alten Tristangedicht entlehnte. Dadurch gab er sich das Ansehen, mündliche und schriftliche Quellen gekannt und benutzt und schliesslich zugunsten einer ganz neuen, bisher unbekannten Darstellung

verworfen zu haben."⁵ If we remember the peculiar customs of medieval translators or adaptators,⁶ there is certainly warrant for such an assumption. Yet in the present case it is doubtful whether this explanation is the right one. That Thomas may have wished to emphasize the difficulties of his task and make us think more highly of his skill, is not impossible. But before admitting that he had to borrow from his original the hint for his claim, I would suggest another explanation as possible.

There is in Marie's *Chèvrefeuille*, as Golther himself points out, a passage curiously similar to the lines of Thomas which we have just discussed:

Plusur le m'unt cunté e dit
e jeo l'ai trové en eserit
de Tristram e de la reine . . . ll. 5-7.⁷

How are we to understand this? Did Marie, to write her short 'lai,' make use of both oral tales and written sources? Or are we, as in the case of Thomas, to discount one of the two statements, and if so, which of the two? Golther offers no suggestion here. But more than one scholar, it is safe to say, would probably draw here a sharp distinction between Thomas and Marie and would decline to get rid of the 'conteurs' in any summary fashion. I believe, however, that we must deal with the two passages in exactly the same manner. Marie, in my opinion, found all the facts she needed for her 'lai' in a poem on Tristan which is precisely the old romance that Thomas set himself to rework.⁸ And like Thomas, she adapted these facts to the requirements of a literary ideal of her own. Why, then, did she mention the 'conteurs'? Hardly, I think, with the purpose of deceiving her readers. Indeed if these had any concern at all in the matter, they were likely to set a higher valuation on a tale expressly derived from a "book" than on any rendering of a jongleur's recital. We must seek elsewhere. One gen-

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ See for instance G. Paris, *Rom.*, VII, p. 426.

⁷ Éd. Warnke, 1900.

⁸ See *Zeitschr. für rom. Phil.*, XXXII [1908], pp. 276-285.

⁴ *Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit*, 1907, p. 139.

erally hesitates to explain away a passage from which far-reaching conclusions have long been drawn, by suggesting a meaningless mannerism, a mere trick in phraseology; yet I do this with some confidence. At least the following quotations, all from Marie's works, seem to me to point unmistakably in one direction:

e pur ceo kil auet *escriu*,⁹
si cum la reïne l'ot *dit*. . .
Chievrefueil, ll. 109-10.

es bons livres e es *escriz*
e es *essamples* e es *diz*. . .
Fables, Prologue, ll. 3-4.¹⁰

Voeil en romanz mettre en *escriu*,
Si cum li livre le nus *dit*. . .
Espurgatoire, ll. 3-4.¹¹

Ço qu'il volstrent cunter e *dire*,
Fist Seinz Patriz iluec *escrire*.
Id., ll. 361-62.

Nus le veïmes en *escriu*,
Issi cume jol vus ai *dit*.
Id., ll. 637-38.

Nuls ne purreit mustrer ne *dire*
Les plurs, les criz, n'en livre *escrire*.
Id., ll. 1109-10.

True, in all these passages, the meanings of the two terms *escrire* and *dire* are kept tolerably distinct, but no one will deny that, as rhyme words, they seem to betray a pretty close affinity. Might it not be, then, that we should have to take in consideration here the exigencies of the verse as well as the requirements of the sense? There is at all events very little doubt in the next set of instances:

si li manderez par *escriu*
e par paroles e par *dit*. . .
Milun, ll. 71-72.

Al chief de piece veit *l'escriu*,
ceo qu'il ot cumandé e *dit*. . .
Id., ll. 231-32.

⁹This is the reading of ms. H which ought to be preferred here as elsewhere (see *Zeitschr. für rom. Phil.*, xxxii, p. 280).

¹⁰Éd. Warnke, 1898.

¹¹Éd. Jenkins, 1903.

Ceo fu la sume de *l'escriu*
qu'il li aveit mandé e *dit*. . .
Chievrefueil, ll. 61-62.

Ci comencera la premiere
des fables qu'*Esopes escriu*,
qu'a sun mestre manda e *dist*.
Fables, Prologue, ll. 38-40.

Al finement de cest *escriu*
qu'en Romanz ai traitié e *dit*. . .
Id., *Epilogue*, ll. 1-2.

Ço que jo vus ai ici *dit*
E tut mustré par mun *escriu*.
Espurgatoire, ll. 2061-62.

Obviously in every case here '*escriu*' is the right word, and '*dit*' is but an echo which adds nothing to the meaning but stands the poet in good stead at the end of the other line of the couplet. Marie goes even one step further: she is so used to rhyming *dire* on *escrire*, she keeps the two words so little apart from each other that she seems unaware of the wrong meaning that may occasionally be read into them.

El tens le roi Estefne *dit*,
Si cum nus trovum en *escriu*. . .
Espurgatoire, ll. 503-04.

Does it not look at first as if the one who *said* was different from the one who *wrote*? And yet both words must clearly be referred to the same manuscript of Henri de Saltrey which Marie closely followed in her translation.

Pur ceo nus mustre par *escriu*,
meinte feiz est trové e *dit*. . .
Fables, 83, ll. 43-44.

Again, we are apparently dealing here with a writer and one or several '*conteurs*'; yet we have no reason to suppose that for this particular fable Marie used other sources than the collection of Alfred.

Par vieil *essample* truis *escriu*
e *Esopes* le cunte e *dit*. . .
Id., 93, ll. 1-2.

Once more, in spite of appearances, we are not to interpret that *Æsop* told a story which is also found written '*par vieil essample*'; in

both eases the work of Alfred is meant. Finally we come to a couplet which offers a pretty close parallel to the lines of *Chèvrefeuille* under discussion:¹²

D'un escharbot nus cunte e dit,
e jeo l'ai trové en escrit . . .
Id., 74, ll. 1-2.

This, at first sight, is very explicit and seems to point to two distinct sources; yet there is no doubt but that here again we are referred to the same original: Alfred it is who "cunte e dit" and as to the book where the tale was found written of course it is Alfred's.

Whether there is any reason for putting a different interpretation on *Chievrefueil*, 5-6, and on the lines from Thomas' *Tristan* which we first examined, the reader will decide for himself.

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AN ERROR IN BALAUSTION'S ADVENTURE.

The vulgate texts of Browning's *Balaustion's Adventure* exhibit in a certain line a curious variation of readings which seems to have escaped the notice of critics and annotators. In line 346 of the *Alcestis* Admetus says:

οὐτ' ἂν φρέν' ἐξαίρουμι πρὸς Λίβυν λακεῖν αὐλόν.

Browning turned the line thus, if we may trust the latest editions:

"Never now for me . . . to lift my soul in song
At summons of the Lydian (sic) flute."

It is not in the manner of Browning with malice aforethought deliberately to alter "Libyan" of the original to "Lydian." In the first place the connotation is vitally affected. As

¹² Plusur le m'unt cunté e dit — e jeo l'ai trové en escrit. It would be vain to argue that 'plusur' makes the assertion more definite: it just fills in the line; or should we attach more weight than one generally does to 'meinte feiz' in the line from the Fables quoted above (meinte feiz est trové e dit)?

all commentators point out, Euripides applied the term "Libyan" to the αἰλός because the lotus-wood from which it was fashioned came from Africa. The epithet was a favorite one and was utilized freely by the poet in subsequent dramas. The identical expression occurs in the *Hercules Furens*, 684; the variant Λίβυν λωτός is found in *Helen*, 170, *Troades*, 544, and *Iphigenia at Aulis*, 1036. "Lydian," when used in connection with the αἰλός or tibia, has to do with the quality or the style of the music rather than with the instrument itself. Secondly, as every reader of Browning knows, in the transcripts from the Greek, localizing adjectives, mythological designations, appellatives in general, are conserved with an accuracy which a jaunty periphrast like Dryden deemed worthy only of a "Dutch pedant." Undoubtedly to the English ear in which Horace's "Lydis tibiis," *Odes*, 4, 15, 30 and Milton's "soft Lydian airs" are ringing, "Lydian flute" has a sound less recedite than "Libyan flute." But our *poeta doctissimus* seldom if ever condescended thus to defer to his readers. Witness Browning Glossaries, Guide-Books, and Cyclopædias! Lastly—in the version of the *Hercules Furens* contained in *Aristophanes's Apology* which, it will be remembered, appeared in 1875, four years after the publication of *Balaustion's Adventure*, the poet rendered line 684 literally and correctly:

"Companied by the seven-stringed tortoise shell
And Libuan flute."

Is "Lydian flute," therefore, a slip committed by the poet? Is it a compositor's error? In what is, I fancy, the Cis-Atlantic *editio princeps* of *Balaustion's Adventure*, printed from the advance sheets by James R. Osgood, at Boston, in 1871, I find the hybrid reading "Lybian flute"—a palpable misprint. Does this form hark back to "Lydian" or to "Libyan?" Did the Boston proof-reader of a generation ago let a reversed *d* escape him or a transposition of *y* and *i*? The former mistake is perhaps the easier but either is typographically possible. The exemplars of the Riverside Edition (Houghton and Mifflin, Cambridge)

issued prior to 1887 repeat this absurd error; however, in the edition of 1887 the reading is corrected to "Libyan flute." This fact might be taken as proof that Mr. Browning did not mis-read Euripides but that compositors mis-read Mr. Browning, or that proof-readers bungled—until 1887. But the end is not yet. In the later Riverside Edition of 1899 in which the publishers "made sure of following with scrupulous care the author's latest revised text" "Lydian flute" appears. The standard text of Smith and Elder, London, 1889, presents the same reading. It is found also in the edition which was sponsored and annotated by the editors of *Poet Lore*, Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clark, Boston, 1898. This edition, too, the title page informs one, was printed "from the author's revised text."

Browning spent much of his time in the last two years of his life in revising his published works. The editions, therefore, which have appeared since 1889, should represent the poet's final version, as they purport to do. In this case, then, Mr. Browning will have to father a mistranslation. Psychologically considered, the slip is as interesting as it is excusable, notwithstanding the change in content involved. Paronomasia and the confusion of ideas closely associated in kind—both Lydian and Libyan are adjectives of nationality—exerted their effects. It was in precisely similar fashion that Munro, the translator of Lucretius, lapsed into the error to which attention was directed in the *Classical Review* for March, 1907, p. 48. In a passage in the *De Rerum Natura*, 6, 992, where the talk is of metals, the Scotch scholar rendered *vitro* by brass!

To err is human—even for the great. In Browning's case assonance and association were aided and abetted by reminiscence, possibly unconscious, of those stock phrases of poetical parlance that I have quoted—"Lydian pipes" and "Lydian airs." The sub-conscious self is as tricky a sprite as Robin Goodfellow and may have caught napping one who knew his Euripides as well as did Robert Browning—in spite of the array of parallel passages cited above.

There is a further consideration which adds a spice of humor to the matter. In respect to spelling both "Lydian" and "Libyan" are out of keeping with Browning's orthographical creed. Mr. Browning, as is well known, had decided notions as to the transcription of proper names from the Greek. In *Artemis Prologizes* he adopted the system to which he stoutly adhered notwithstanding considerable adverse criticism. Read his own remarks on the subject in the preface of the *Agamemnon* and in a note elicited in 1886 by the fun which Mr. Frederic Harrison¹ poked at the "reformed spelling." This note is printed by Mrs. Sutherland Orr at the end of her *Handbook to Robert Browning's Works*, and is repeated by Mr. George Willis Cooke in the *Browning Guide-Book*, p. 37. Browning's method of spelling "Greek names and places precisely as does the Greek author," prescribed *Ludian*, not *Lydian*, *Libuan*, not *Libyan*. It is respectfully suggested to future publishers and editors of *Balaustion's Adventure* that if after "the latest revised text," they must make Admetus say "Lydian flute," they tamper with the text tradition in so far as may be necessary to avoid "Lydian flute" for line 346 of the *Alcestis* and "Ludian slave" for line 675. To parody the immortal Weller *père*—let them not "spell it with a vye."

Whilst I am speaking up—in Balaustion's words—like

"a brisk little somebody,
Critic and whippersnapper in a rage
To set things right,"

I may as well in conclusion mention the fact that Mr. Berdœ's *Cyclopædia*, and the notes in the Porter and Clarke edition sedulously avoid comment on "Lydian" in the first passage in which it occurs but become judiciously exegetical at the second appearance of the word with the correct spelling *à la* Browning.

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¹ *Nineteenth Century* for January, 1886.

ZU TELLS MONOLOG.

Auf eine interessante Ähnlichkeit zwischen der Situation bei Tells Monolog vor der Ermordung Gesslers und der in Müllers *Golo und Genoveva*, II, 3, wo Wallrad von Sponheim den Mord Mathildens sinnt, sei hiermit aufmerksam gemacht.

In beiden Fällen haben wir einen Helden, der sich absondert von den ihn zum Frohsinn und Genusz einladenden Fröhlichen; der durch einen Widersacher von seinem sonstigen tugendhaften Leben abgebracht, Mordgedanken im Herzen hegt; der seinem Wild auf der Spur, der schweren Tat bevorsteht; Musik und Frohsinn als Begleitung, zu denen der Held nicht stimmt; beide Schützer der Tugend und der Unschuld; beide sich mit ihrem Vorhaben in einer langen Rede auseinandersetzend; (und wenn wir die Fortsetzung von Wallrads Rede S. 52 dazunehmen) beide zu Lastern verführt, die ursprünglich nicht in ihrer Natur lagen; Wallrad, Herz, Ohr und Auge apostrophierend, ganz in der Art, wie Tell Pfeil und Bogensehne anredet.

Der Anschaulichkeit halber seien hier die Hauptstellen einander gegenübergestellt:¹

Wallrad: S. 52, 22-27.

Ha, Mathilde, du raubst mir auch noch die Hoffnung sur Seligkeit einst; ich bin deinetwegen alles schon geworden, hast mich mit Lastern verwandt, zu denen nie vor Neigung in meinem Herzen lag. Rache! Rache! Bald nun über dich so, geleitet selbst von der Hand . . . von ihm—oh!

Tell: Zz. 2570. ff.

Ich lebte still und harmlos, das Geschoss
War auf des Waldes Tiere nur gerichtet,
Meine Gedanken waren rein von Mord.
Du hast aus meinem Frieden mich heraus
Geschreckt, in gärend Drachengift hast du
Die Milch der frommen Denkart mir verwandelt;
Zum Ungeheuren hast du mich gewöhnt.
Wer sich des Kindes Haupt zum Ziele setzte,
Der kann auch treffen in das Herz des Feinds.

¹ Der schillersche Text nach Bellermanns Ausgabe, der müllersche nach Sauer in Kürschners *Deutscher Nationallitteratur*, Bd. 81.

Wallrad: S. 41, 9-11.

Aber ruhig, mein Mut, bis zum Augenblick der Rache; Habe nun mein Wild auf der Spur, Mathilde, dich mit Netz und Garn umzogen.

Tell: Zz. 2637 ff.

Ich laure auf ein edles Wild. Lässt sich's
Der Jäger nicht verdrieszen, tagelang
Umherzustreifen in des Winters Streng,
Von Fels zu Fels den Wagesprung zu tun,
Hinanzuklimmen an den glatten Wänden,
Wo er sich anleimt mit dem eignen Blut,
Um ein armselig Grattier zu erjagen!
Hier gilt es einen köstlicheren Preis,
Das Herz des Todfeinds, der mich will verderben.

Wallrad: S. 41, 16-18.

Ha, was giebt's im Garten? Lauter Musik und Fröhlichkeit, lauter Hüpfen und Wohlleben! Will bald auch musizieren, aber aus einem andern Ton.

Tell: (*Bühnenanweisung*. Nach Z. 2645).

(Man hört von ferne eine heitere Musik, welche sich nähert.)

Bühnenanweisung: (Nach Z. 2652).

Eine Hochzeit zieht über die Szene und durch den Hohlweg hinauf. Tell betrachtet sie, auf seinen Bogen gelehnt. Stüssi, der Flurschütz, gesellt sich zu ihm.

Wallrad: S. 41, 26-7.

Bin nur aus Verzweiflung ein Schützer der Tugend.

Tell: Zz. 2634-6.

Und doch an euch nur denkt er, lieben Kinder,
Auch jetzt — euch zu verteid'gen, eure holde
Unschuld
Zu schützen vor der Rache des Tyrannen,
Will er zum Morde jetzt den Bogen spannen.

Es fragt sich nun, ob diese Übereinstimmung rein zufällig oder ob Schiller von Müller beeinflusst ist, denn eine gemeinsame Quelle der Situation ist nicht anzunehmen, da das Volksbuch von der Genoveva derartiges nicht bietet, auch eine anderweitige gemeinsame Quelle nicht nachgewiesen werden kann. Auch die vierte denkbare Möglichkeit, dass hier Müller von Schiller beeinflusst worden sei, ist zu verwerfen, da *Golo* schon 1781 fertig vorlag,² und soviel wir wissen, spätere Änderungen nicht erlitt.

² Heinse schreibt am 27. Okt. 1781 von Rom aus an Jakobi: Müller hat ein grosses Drama fertig, *Genoveva*, voll von Vortrefflichkeiten.

Es bleiben also die zwei erstgenannten Möglichkeiten, doch scheint mir bei der schlagenden, selbst bis auf die Worte, "Ich laure auf edles Wild" und "habe nun mein Wild auf der Spur" sich erstreckenden Übereinstimmung, die erstgenannte so gut wie ausgeschlossen.

Wie ist Schiller aber die Kenntnis des Stückes übermittelt worden? Im Druck hat er es nicht gesehen, da es 1811 zum erstenmal gedruckt wurde.³

Man denkt zuallererst an Goethe, der lange mit Müller in Briefwechsel stand und zwar in den Jahren von 1778 ab; doch war Schiller auf diesem Wege nichts übermittelt worden, da Müller zwar in dem schiller-goethischen Briefwechsel genannt, die *Genoveva* jedoch nie erwähnt wird. Auch Goethe kennt die fertige Arbeit offenbar nicht. Auch von anderen erfährt Schiller nichts soweit aus seinen Briefen zu ersehen ist.

Schwerer ist festzustellen, ob Schiller etwa auf mündlichem Wege diesbezügliche Kenntnis zugeflossen, doch ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass Schiller bei seinem Aufenthalt in Mannheim, 1782-85, von Dahlberg, oder sonst durch den müllerschen Freundeskreis, dies und das über Müllers Werke vernommen habe (Müller selber weilte zur Zeit bereits in Rom.). Um so annehmbarer ist dies, als *Genoveva* in Müllers mannheimer Zeit angefangen und wahrscheinlich ziemlich weit gediehen war, Dahlberg es deshalb gut kennen musste, selbst wenn er von Rom aus keine Abschrift des nun fertig gewordenen Werkes erhalten hatte.

Falls nun Schiller auf diesem Wege etliches aus Golo und *Genoveva* kennen lernte, so war ihm die Situation im Gedächtnis geblieben und wurde, als im *Tell* eine ähnliche Situation nötig wurde, ob in zur Zeit bewusster oder unbewusster Anlehnung an Müller verwertet.

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³ Maler Müllers Werke, Heidelberg bei J. C. B. Mohr, 1811, 3 Bände. Darin zum ersten Male gedruckt: III, 1-420, *Golo und Genoveva*.

"EINEN HASEN LAUFEN LASSEN" IN GOETHE'S *DICHTUNG UND WAHRHEIT*.

In the fourth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe describes two of the eccentric characters of his native town, von Reineck and von Malapart. While examining the flowers in Malapart's garden the two old gentlemen get into a discussion which threatens to develop into a serious quarrel. To avoid an open rupture their friends try to change the subject of conversation. Goethe says:¹

"Sie liessen einen Hasen nach dem andern laufen (dies war unsre sprichwörtliche Redensart, wenn ein Gespräch sollte unterbrochen und auf einen andern Gegenstand gelenkt werden); allein es wollte nichts fangen."

Heyne in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. iv, 2, p. 530, explains *Hase* as "Bild für eine Schnurre, einen närrischen, lustigen Streich" and believes that this metaphor, though faded, appears in our passage. Heyne's explanation, however, does not fit the context. There is no indication that the dignified company in Malapart's garden indulge in any humorous or witty remarks, the contrary is true. Sanders (*Wörterbuch*, vol. i, p. 220) suggests the hunting term *Wechselhase* and Loeper agrees with him (*Dicht. u. Wahrh.*, vol. i, p. 220, *Textrevision*): "Wechselhase, d. i. ein neu aufgejagter Hase, der die Aufmerksamkeit von dem erst gejagten ablenkt, solche Wechselhasen also liessen die Hausfreunde in Goethes Erzählung laufen."

The correct explanation has been given by R. M. Werner in Schnorr's *Archiv*, vol. xv, p. 287. He refers the expression to the popular story of King Solomon and Marcolphus. Solomon has commanded that the dogs should be let loose upon Marcolphus if the latter should presume to enter the castle again. Marcolphus, however, buys a hare, conceals it under his clothes and when the dogs set upon him, he lets the hare run and so rids himself of the dogs.

There is another version of this story which corresponds more closely to the use of the phrase

¹ Ed. Loeper, vol. i, p. 149; Hempel ed., vol. xx, p. 149.

by Goethe. It is told about the well-known Saxon court-jester, poet and university professor Friedrich Taubmanu.² The story is found in the collection of witty sayings first published at Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1703 with the title *Taubmanniana* (cf. Goedeke, vol. III, p. 267). This work was frequently reprinted, the last edition appearing in 1746.³ The Harvard Library contains a copy of this book without title-page and introduction. Whether it is the edition of 1703 or one of the later editions I am unable to say. On p. 182 we find the following anecdote entitled *Die gehetzten Hasen*:

“Taubmanu war bey dem Churfürsten in grossen Ungnaden, auch allenthalben befohlen, dass so er sich wieder bey dem Churfürstlichen Hof anmelden liesse, ihn mit den Hunden abzuhetzen. Aber Taubmann ersonne diese List: Er kaufte drey lebendige Haasen, nahm sie unter seinen langen Mantel, und gieng damit zu Hofe. Kaum war Taubmann zum Schloss-Hofe eingetreten, wurden alsbald etliche Hunde an ihn gehetzt: Geschwinde liess Taubmann einen Haasen laufen, und damit, weil die Hunde dem Haasen nachliefen, kam Taubmann über den Schloss-Hof mit Frieden hinüber. Indem er aber die Treppen wolte hinauff gehen, kamen ihm andere Windspiele entgegen; Taubmann liess geschwind einen andern Haasen unter dem Mantel hervor springen, welchen die Hunde die Treppe hinab verfolgten; und also kam Taubmann in das Churfürstl. Gemach. Aber ein ander Windspiel wartete auff unsern Taubmann, dass es also unmöglich schiene, das Churfürstl. Gemach einzukommen. Jedoch, als Taubmann auch den dritten Haasen unter seinem langen Mantel hervor springen liess, und die Hunde denselben über den Saal verfolgten, bekam Taubmann Luft, in das Churfürstliche Gemach einzutreten. Worüber sich der Churfürst hertzlich verwunderte, und dieser List halben Taubmann sehr freundlich bewillkommete.”

The story fully explains Goethe's phrase “einen Hasen laufen lassen.” Its use cannot have been very common, for Goethe himself

deems it necessary to give an explanation. It may have been an expression current only among Goethe's companions, who were doubtless familiar with the *Taubmanniana*. Wanders *Sprichwörterlexicon* (vol. II, p. 376, No. 217) registers the phrase and gives *Dichtung und Wahrheit* as source.

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NOTES SUGGESTED BY A CHAUCER CODEX.

The present note upon MS. Lambeth Palace 344 is made as a supplement to Mr. Lucius Hudson Holt's ingenious reconstruction of Chaucer's *Lak of Stedfastnesse*,—in the April number of the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1907.

Mr. Holt has carefully compared the MSS. of the poem, as given in Dr. Furnivall's various prints in the Chaucer Society publications. The critical text which results from this study is closest to the text as given in MS. Hatton 73. The variations from this text are:—

and for but, l. 3.

throw (through) for for, l. 6.

folk for folkes, l. 9.

worþynesse for rightwesnesse, l. 20.

to, omitted in l. 12.

These changes are all supported by other MSS., but there is no proof given that the sense is improved by a departure from MS. Hatton 73.

But Mr. Holt had no intention of following Hatton 73. That his critical text is closer to it than to any other, he was quite unconscious. He tells us (p. 427), “our text must be made up from a careful collaboration of MSS. H. (Harley 7333), S. (Shirley's MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20), and F. (MS. Bodley Fairfax 16) with Hat. (Hatton 73) Tr. and B.” (two worthless texts) “to check up the results and aid in doubtful cases.” He thus plainly classes Hatton 73 with secondary texts. Yet his critical text differs from S. in seven places: from H. in ten and from F. in nine places; and from Hat. in only five places.

I emphasize the importance of MS. Hatton 73 in this connection, because of its immediate rela-

² Cf. F. W. Ebeling, *Friedrich Taubmann. Ein Kulturbild*, Leipzig, 1882.

³ Cf. L. Fränkel in *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, vol. 37, p. 440.

tion with the hitherto unnoticed *ms. Lambeth 344*, both in this poem and in its entire contents. I compare the contents of the two *ms.* at once, omitting as immaterial the fact that most of the pieces here noted appear elsewhere. What is more to the point is that items 3 and 7 do not appear outside of these two *ms.* so far as I have been able to discover.

Ms. Lambeth 344 :

1. Lydgate's "Vertues of the Masse," fol. 1a-8a, a fragment beginning with the 24th stanza and running to the end. Hatton 73, fol. 1a, contains last stanza of the poem "Upon the Cross," fol. 1a and b; without a break comes Lydgate's "Mass" to the 39th stanza.
2. "Salvum fac regem, domine," a prayer in eight line stanzas, fol. 8b-10a. Not in Hatton 73. See below.
3. "Prayer in Old Age" (Lydgate), fol. 10a, Hatton 73, fol. 116a-b.
4. "Truth" (Chaucer) 10b. Hatton, fol. 118.

"Truth": 7. Hatton 73, *the shal*] Lamb. 344, *shall the*. 12. *erok*] *erokes*. 15. *the*] *om. hyt, inserted*. 20. *weyre*] *weye*.

5. "Lak of Stedfastnesse" (Chaucer), fol. 1a, Hatton 73, 119a.

"L. of St." 2. *mannes*] *man ys*. 13. *wilful*] *om. causeth*] *couseth*. 14. *al*] *om.*

6. "Queen of Heaven" (Lydgate), fols. 11a-12b. Hatton 73, fols. 119b-120b.
7. "Optima Oratio," a short Latin prayer with translation, fols. 12b-13a, Hatton 73, fol. 121a-b.
8. "Life of Our Lady" (Lydgate), fols. 13a-199b, with table of chapters at beginning. Hatton 73, fols. 10a-115b. The table of contents is in fols. 117a-118b, and Chaucer's "Truth" follows the end of the table, 118b.

Four folios have been lost from the beginning of Hatton 73. These may have contained Lambeth's art. 2. Otherwise Hatton contains every article in the Lambeth *ms.* and one stanza not in Lambeth. But as that is in the beginning of Hatton, and Lambeth too lacks its first leaves, it is easy to believe this article was also in Lambeth 344.

We have then, with these exceptions, two *ms.* with identically the same contents. The order varies only in respect to the article forming the body of the book.

Both *ms.* are on vellum with illuminated initials, in good hands of the middle xv century. The Hatton volume is by far the more elegant, however. At first glance, the haphazard order of Hatton 73 would make one think it the later *ms.*, but the text of Lambeth 344 is obviously inferior. We may, therefore, guess that Hatton 73 was compiled from various sources, while Lambeth 344 represents the putting to rights of Hatton 73. Hatton is in three hands, Lambeth in one.

I pass over the poems by Lydgate, remarking only that my collation of them for a forthcoming edition shows that Lambeth 344 is copied from Hatton 73 in every case. Its readings where different are always inferior and are the result of careless transcribing. I give one instance of my proof. The *envoy* to "Queen of Heaven" contains four lines riming in all other *ms.* *a-b-b-a*. But the scribe of Hatton 73, after copying the lines in order, found the plan strange to his ear,—and it was strange to English poetry till "In Memoriam,"—so he wrote "b." alongside l. 3 and "a" alongside l. 4. The obedient scribe of L. 344 wrote the lines accordingly *a-b-a-b*, though the sense is utterly against such an arrangement.

In the belief that a print of every text of Chaucer is justifiable, I now give my transcription of *Truth* and *Lak of Stedfastnesse* as they appear in Lambeth 344. At the same time I point out that the *ms.* is worthless for editors, since it is only a careless copy of *ms. Hatton 73*. But even that fact will probably raise the Hatton *ms.* to more consideration at the hands of the next editor of the Minor Poems. This it certainly deserves.

[Lamb. 344.]

[10b.]

GOODE COUNSELLE

Fle fro the prees & dwell wyth sothefastnesse
 Suffyce vnto thy good thought it be small
 For hoorde hathe hate and elymbyng tykelnesse
 Prees hath envye and wele ys blent ouer all
 Saveour no more than the be hove shalle
 Do well thy self that other folk canst rede
 And trowthe shall the dylyuere yt ys no drede.
 Peyne the not alle erokede to redresse
 In trust of here that turneth as a balle

Gret reest stondest yn lytell besynesne
 Be war also to spurne ageynst analle
 Stryf nat as dothe the crokes wyth the walle
 Daunt thy self that dauntest others dede
 And trowthe the shal dylyuere yt ys no drede
 That ys sent reseue hyt yn buxsumnesse
 The wastylyge wyth the wor[le] axeth a fall
 Here ys non home here ys byt wyldernesne
 Forth pylgryme forth beest oute of thy stall
 Loke vp an hyc and thanke god of alle
 Weye thy lust and lete thy gost the lede
 And trowyth the shal dylyver yt ys no drede.

[11a.]

Som tyme thys world was so stedfast and stable
 That man ys word was oblygacyoun
 Byt now yt ys so fals and disceyvable
 That word and dede as yn conclusyoun
 Be no thyng one for turned vp so downe
 In alle thys worle for mede and wyfulnesse
 That alle ys lost for lake of stedfastnesse.

Whath maketh thys worle to be so varyable
 But lust that folkes haue yndysceyoun
 For nowe a dayes a man ys holde vnable
 But yf he can by sum conclusyoun
 Do to hys neyghbour wrong or oppressyoun
 What couseth that but wrecchednesse
 That ys lost for lake of stedfastnesse

Trowtht ys put down resoun hys holde fable
 Vertu hathe nowe no domynacyoun
 Pyte exyled no man ys mercyable
 Thorough covetyse ys blent dyseresioun
 The worle hath made a parmytaeyoun
 Fro ryght to wronge fro trowtht to fykulnesse
 That alle ys lost for lake of stedfastnesse.

O prynce desyre to be honorable
 Cherysshe thy folke and hate entoreyoun
 Suffre no thyng that may be reprobable
 To thyn estate don yn thy regyoun
 Shewe forth thy swerd of castygacyoun
 Drede god do lawe love trowtht and ryghtwesnesse
 And dryve thy peple ageyne to stedfastnesse.

These baladdys were sent to the kyng

The word *baladdys* here refers to the four stanzas of "Lak of Stedfastnesse"; a common usage. This title, as well as "Goode Counselle," are copied from Hatton 73; they are given in the Chaucer Society print of Hatton. But Hatton had other titles originally, as I found recently by applying acid. The revived titles in the fine cultured hand of the copyist of these two poems read: ("Truth") *Chauncier [his?] balade vp on his deth bed*: ("Lak of Stedfastnesse") *Geffrey Chauncier sende these Balades to kyng Richard*.

The first of these headings is particularly valuable, since it sets the statement given on an earlier and firmer basis than John Shirley's word (in ms. Tr. Coll. R. 3. 20); for Hatton is not derived from Shirley. The motive for the erasures is hard to guess; perhaps Chaucer's relations with Richard II did not please a Lancastrian queen (see below).

To these texts I add the last stanza of *Lak of Stedfastnesse*, as it appears twice (fols. 245b and 319a) in ms. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21. It is there appended to Lydgate's "Prayer for King, Queen, People and Land," the poem being made over for King Edward IV. The ms. dates from this reign. I am unaware of any print of this version, though it has been known for some time. Mr. Holt does not mention it.

(fol. 245b.)

O prynce desyre for to be honorable
 Cherysshe thy folk and hate extorcion
 Suffre nothyng that may be reprobable
 In thyne estate doone in thy region
 Shew forthe thy swerde of eastigacion
 Drede god do law loue trowtht and worthynes
 And dryue thy folke agayn to stedfastnes
 Explicit quod Rogerus Thorney.¹

The version on fol. 319a is identical with the above, except that *agayn* is spelt *ayene*, and the *Explicit* is omitted.

A late Scots text of "Lak of Stedfastnesse" is in the Maitland Folio ms. in the Pepysian collection at Cambridge, p. 330. It has never been printed, so far as I know.

May I add a further word in defense of ms. Hatton 73? "Thys is my Lady More boke. And sumtym it was Queene Margarete boke," (folio 121b); "Thys ys my lady Dame Elizabeth Wyndesore Boke, the xiiii day off Decembre in the iiijth yere of the Reygn off kyng Herry the vijth," (folio 122a). This latter lady died 1531, as a later note signed 'Clarke,' fol. 123a, tells us.

Surely a volume enjoyed by all these noble ladies deserves a prime place in the noble roll of Chaucer mss.

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¹A worthy mercer of London, by whose means Wynkyn de Worde printed Trevisa's "De Proprietatibus Rerum"; mentioned in de Worde's preface.

SPANISH LITERATURE.

Crónica de Enrique IV, escrita en Latín por ALONSO DE PALENCIA. *Traducción Castellana por D. A. PAZ Y MELIA.* Tomos I-IV, Madrid, 1904-1908. *Colección de Escritores Castellanos*, Tomos 126, 127, 130, 134.

Owing to the fact that only a few short fragments of this chronicle have ever been published, even in the original, the work has been practically inedited; and unknown to all but a very small group of specialists. The Royal Academy of History at Madrid more than seventy years ago recognized the importance of the work, and has since then made two attempts to publish it. The Academy has lacked, however, the necessary funds for completing the task. In the meanwhile, the editors of the *Colección de Escritores Castellanos* have seen fit to publish a Spanish translation of the Latin original and have been fortunate enough to secure as translator the scholarly chief of the Department of Manuscripts of the National Library at Madrid.

The reign of Enrique IV has been known to us hitherto chiefly through the panegyric of his chaplain, Enríquez del Castillo who, while recognizing certain very unpleasant facts, usually finds some means of diminishing the blame that should in consequence thereof attach to the King and his supporters. The present work looks at matters from a very different point of view, so different in fact that even to one thoroughly familiar with Castillo's account, the reading of Palencia's *Crónica* will bear all the charm of novelty; and yet, despite this difference in point of view (or perhaps because of it), the two accounts bear each other out in a most unusual way. It must be borne in mind, too, that Alonso de Palencia was, like Castillo, an eye-witness of much that he recounts. Many of his statements have a very modern ring. His attitude on moral questions and especially his attitude toward Truth is in almost absolute harmony with that of our own day. He does not let a false sense of patriotism,

or a false regard for the Church, stand in the way of his telling the Truth as he sees it; and every one, whether Pope, Cardinal, King, Grandee or pleb, is excoriated when the author believes him guilty of offence; and offences there were aplenty, as witness the author's own words in the prologue:

"En tiempos pasados referí con especial complacencia los orígenes de la nación española; hoy me veo obligado á escribir sucesos que se resisten á la pluma. No se extrañe, por tanto, que el estilo decaiga ante la bajeza de los hechos y que se anuble el entendimiento al no hallar nada digno de gloria. Así vacilé largo tiempo entre emprender ó abandonar la presente historia, pues si por una parte mi cargo me impulsaba á escribirla, por otra, lo abyecto de los sucesos me desalentaba, repugnando al ánimo lo que la obligación me imponía. * * * Un poderoso estímulo pone, sin embargo, en mi mano la pluma al ver á príncipes por todo extremo indignos levantar de su abyecta condición á perversos aduladores, empeñados en ensalzar en sus escritos las más bajas acciones y en velar con hipócritas disfraces las torpes que de palabra reconocieron vituperables ó enebriaron con disímulo. Género de perversión es éste, que, cierto, yo trataré de destruir con la verdad misma, sin tener en nada el parecer de los que dicen que el historiador ha de callar los crímenes nefandos para que no vaya transmitiéndose de siglo en siglo su memoria. Poco sentido demuestran, en efecto, si creen más conveniente para las costumbres semejante silencio que el vituperio de las maldades, siendo de evidencia para todo hombre sensato que el consentir el mal contribuye más á propagarlo que á su imitación la censura. Así pues, yo me esforzaré porque los lectores vean claramente que no ha faltado un amante de la verdad, ya que han existido fautores de la mentira á quienes los rodeos de la narración harán con facilidad reconocer, cuando se lea la vida de Enrique IV diversa del relato que sigue."

It may be that the last phrase quoted from the prologue is a very thinly veiled reference to the account by Enríquez del Castillo mentioned above. This is the more likely in view of the hostility that is known to have existed between the two men, and in view of other more pointedly uncomplimentary remarks to be found in Palencia.¹ It should be remarked,

¹ Década Primera, Libro X, Capítulo I.—Tomo II, pp. 92-93.

further, that Alonso de Palencia's *Crónica* not only bears out the prologue in the impression which it gives of absolute sincerity in the relation of the events, but also in the impression of the author's spiritual torture at being obliged to record such events.

The Spanish title of the work does not do it entire justice, since the author begins with the marriage of Don Enrique to Doña Blanca de Navarra in the reign of Juan II, fourteen years before Enrique's reign began, and continues the account three years beyond Enrique's death, so as to include the peaceful establishment of Ferdinand and Isabella upon the throne of the united Spains; in other words, from 1440 to 1477. Still, it would seem that due proportions have been kept in dealing with the main subject as indicated by the title. For example, the first two books are devoted to a brief consideration of the reign of Juan II. They occupy the first one hundred and forty-two pages of the first volume, and form a well-proportioned introduction to the main subject. The remaining eight books of the first *década*, and all of the second *década* (1203 pages) are devoted to the reign of Enrique IV. The third *década* (657 pages) deals with the three years immediately following, and forms a very good post-script.

It has been noted that Alonso de Palencia criticised ruthlessly all persons whom he considered guilty of offense against the laws of righteousness. In the account of the festivities at Córdoba preceding the wedding ceremony of Enrique IV to Juana of Portugal, he has these bare facts to relate:²

"Al fin comenzaron diversos espectáculos dispuestos por los cordobeses, ignorantes de la tristeza del futuro cónyuge, por más que su impotencia fuese ya de antemano generalmente conocida. Pasábanse los días en la distracción de los juegos, y la nobleza acudía á muy varias atenciones, pues la juventud había hallado recientes estímulos al deleite en el séquito de la Reina, compuesto de jóvenes de noble linaje y deslumbradora belleza, pero más inclinadas á las seducciones de lo que á doncellas convenía; que nunca se vió en parte alguna reunión de ellas

que así careciese de toda útil enseñanza. Ninguna ocupación honesta las recomendaba; ociosamente y por do quier se entregaban á solitarios coloquios con sus respectivos galanes. Lo deshonesto de su traje excitaba la audacia de los jóvenes, y extremábanla sobremanera sus palabras aún más provocativas. Las continuas carcajadas en la conversación, el ir y venir constante de los medianeros, portadores de groscos billetes, y la ansiosa voracidad que día y noche las aquejaba, eran más frecuentes entre ellas que en los mismos burdeles. El tiempo restante le dedicaban al sueño, cuando no consumían la mayor parte en cubrirse el cuerpo con afeites y perfumes, y esto sin hacer de ello el menor secreto, antes descubrían el seno hasta más allá del estómago, y desde los dedos de los pies, los talones y canillas, hasta la parte más alta de los muslos, interior y exteriormente, cuidaban de pintarse con blanco afeite, para que al caer de sus hacaneas, como con frecuencia ocurría, brillase en todos sus miembros uniforme blancura."

The passage just quoted is not very flattering to the Spanish Court circle, and is especially severe toward the Portuguese ladies in the suite of the virtuous and unhappy prospective Queen Doña Juana. But the licentiousness therein portrayed pales before the pusillanimity of the King in such instances as the following. The Court being lodged at Seville, the King kept up his usual pretence of making war upon the Moors of the Kingdom of Granada. That it could be nothing but a pretence is shown by the fact that among his favorites both in the Court and in the army were many Moorish noblemen, officers, and soldiers. In many cases the Moorish noblemen and officers were quartered in the homes of Christian gentlemen. Such was the ease with Mofarrax, who lived with Diego Sánchez de Orihuela. The Moor fell violently in love with the beautiful young daughter of his host and she, accustomed to the ways of the gallants, unwisely flirted with him; but because of the difference in their religions she refused to have any more serious relations with him. Mofarrax, counting on the tolerance of the King, who usually favored the Granadinos in their gallantries, decided to resort to force and, taking advantage of a momentary absence of the parents, seized the damsel, gagged her,

² Vol. I, pp. 194-5.

covered her head, bound her hands and, strapping her like a bundle upon a mule and surrounding her with a troop of Moorish horsemen, carried her out of the city and into the Kingdom of Granada. The parents soon returned, and having learned of their misfortune, besought the favor of the King who, to console them, called them *necios y locos por dejar tan mal guardada y sola en la casa á la muchacha, dando así ocasión á aquel capricho*. And when the parents burst forth in still greater lamentations at such an iniquitous answer, he ordered the executioner to flog them publicly because they would not keep silence. In this black picture there is, however, one ray of light. The number of those who were devoted to truth and morality was not very great, as Palencia pointed out, but he seizes upon every opportunity to call those few to our attention. Two such, the Count of Benavente and Don Gonzalo de Guzmán, were present at this scene between the King and the bereaved parents and did not hesitate to voice their opinion of such actions, the latter of them saying, with a fine burst of irony: *También convendrá, señor, que mandéis al pregonero declarar por las calles de la ciudad, que á causa de la violencia y nefando crimen de los moros, perpetrado en tan importante población, mandáis azotar á los padres de la joven robada, por haber implorado con lamentos el favor de vuestra Majestad*.³ In spite of this stinging reprimand, no effort was ever made to recover the girl, nor was she ever restored to her family; and unfortunately her ease was far from being unique.

Now that we have seen something of the social conditions so far as the sovereign, the great nobles, and the gentry were concerned, let us turn our attention for a moment to the Church and the treatment it receives at the hands of the author, for he has something to say concerning the actions of Churchmen abroad as well as at home. Although passages concerning the conduct of affairs within the Church, and concerning the interference of

Churchmen in matters extra-ecclesiastical are numerous we shall confine ourselves to two typical passages representative respectively of the foreign and domestic phase of the question.

In the sixth chapter of the fifth book, he gives a brief account of the accession of Calixtus III to the Pontifical throne and has this to say:

"Antes de volver á tratar de muestras propias desdichas, no creo inoportuno referir los osados propósitos del papa Calixto, que murió ya decrepito, casi por el mismo tiempo que el Rey. Por ello se comprenderá fácil y evidentemente, cuán á su perdición caminan de día en día los asuntos de la iglesia, y cómo la barca de San Pedro, sin reparar sus hendiduras, antes desquiciada por voluntario extravío de sus pilotos, va derecha al naufragio, pues cuanto con más urgencia exigen los peligros el abrigo del puerto, destrozado ya el mástil por los vientos, desgarradas las velas y rotos los remos, más se esfuerza la insensata temeridad de los marineros porque zozobre en alta mar.

"Ya referí sucintamente algunos sucesos del pontificado de Eugenio IV, y el verdadero origen de muchas desdichas, y luego la apatía y desidia de Nicolás V, causa de la ruina de Constantinopla. Ahora diré que ó por los apuros cada día mayores, por desgracia de la suerte, ó por funesta astucia, subió al solio pontificio Alfonso de Borgia, doctor en decretos que en el reinado de D. Fernando de Aragón, padre de D. Alonso, fué uno de los consiliarios cuando la iglesia padecía cisma y Benedicto de Luna ponía su confianza en el castillo de Peñíscola más que en su derecho. * * *

"Una vez en posesión de la tiara, Calixto III pospuso todo otro cuidado al de sublimar á la dignidad cardenalicia á sus sobrinos, jóvenes de bajo nacimiento y faltos de cualidades recomendables. A uno de los tres, de instrucción casi nula, le dió el título de general del ejército de la iglesia, con el apellido de Borgia, al que atribuía tan feliz agüero como al de César. No paró aquí su hinchada arrogancia, sino que se atrevió á resucitar antiquísimos derechos sobre Sicilia, en virtud de los cuales el reino de Nápoles debía poseerse por delegación del Romano Pontífice, y por consiguiente pensó colocar en aquel trono á su sobrino Borgia, destituyendo á D. Alonso por los procedimientos del derecho ó por el empleo de la fuerza."

In the eighth chapter of the same book, the affairs of the Church in Spain receive equally blunt treatment and there is not the slightest attempt to cover up a very disgraceful scandal.

³ Vol. I, p. 198.

Outside the walls of Toledo lay the convent of San Pedro de los Dueñas, whose nuns had long been notorious for the licentious and dissolute life they led. The Archbishop had appointed the noble and virtuous Marchioness de Guzmán Abbess of this convent in order that it might be reformed by her exemplary habits and by her holiness. The King was looking for an opportunity to annoy the prelate and curtail his ecclesiastical authority, and considered this appointment a favorable occasion for carrying out his plans. In the short page devoted to the matter it is hard to tell which is seen in the worse light: the King or the Church.

"* * * envió [el Rey] ministros íncuos que, violando á mano armada la clausura, y despreciando las excomuniones, arrojaron de él torpemente á la Abadesa y á las monjas de honesta conducta que se resistían á la infamia, y dejaron bajo la dirección de D^a Catalina de Sandoval á las que vieron dispuestas á continuar en su vida de escándalo. Esta dama, nada cuidadosa de su honra, buscaba tan libremente el trato de los hombres, que habiendo el Rey intentado (aunque inútilmente a causa de su conocido defecto), hacerla su concubina, y estando ella perdidamente enamorada de un joven de grandes prendas, llamado Alfonso de Córdoba, llegó á solicitarle con tal ardor á sus criminales antojos, que el Rey, inútil rival, fuertemente irritado, mandó degollar á su competidor en la plaza de Medina. Arrastrada á multitud de criminales por su desenfreno, D^a Catalina se resolvió á continuar hasta el fin su vida de infamia. Aficionóse más á ella el Rey por tal motivo, y hallándose la ciudad, á causa de los crímenes cometidos, sujeta al entredicho que prescriben los cánones, obligó al clero á violarle contra todo derecho, lo cual dió motivo á innumerables escándalos. Resistía el atropello el Arzobispo; parte del clero, dócil á su superior, marchaba al destierro por obedecerle; otra se esforzaba por defender lo hecho. El Rey, entonces poderoso y rodeado de fuerzas numerosas de sus parciales, declaróse hostil al Arzobispo y dióse á investigar su ruina."

That the few passages I have cited do not represent unique, nor even extraordinary, cases is proven by an incident that occurred in 1460. At this time certain *Grandees* began to look about for some means for bettering the conditions of the Kingdom. They decided to present anew to the King a memorial that

had been presented to him in 1457 and to add thereto reference to certain facts that had occurred in the intervening three years. The tenor of the memorial was as follows:⁴

"Que al subir al trono, y siguiendo la costumbre de sus antecesores, había jurado el Rey la guarda de las leyes; pero que luego había despreciado todos los juramentos, no observando honestidad en su corte, ni justicia en el reino; por lo cual, si estaba determinado, cual correspondía, á cumplir satisfactoriamente con el cargo aceptado para gloria del verdadero honor, debía restaurar el vigor de las leyes y velar por su estricto cumplimiento; siendo así que en ellas recta y santamente se contenían los deberes de los reyes de León y Castilla, á saber: respeto á la religión; buen criterio para apreciar las nobles prendas; sagacidad para el conocimiento de personas; integridad en el gobierno; loable severidad en el castigo de los culpables; largueza para premiar á los nobles y á los valientes; y como en parte alguna de la tierra podrían hallarse leyes más santas, pero tampoco en ninguna encontrarse jamás desprecio de ellas más escandaloso, ni más general, le pedían de nuevo y le suplicaban con ahínco que eligiese personas de estado y de experiencia para su Consejo, y hombres de bien para la recaudación de los tributos: que reformase la disciplina del ejército, é hiciese la guerra á los infieles con el orden que sus antecesores la habían hecho: que apartase de sí y castigase á los moros y á otros criminales que en su compañía llevaba: que para corregidores de las ciudades y regidores de los concejos eligiese personas de notoria idoneidad para tan graves cargos: que la moneda fuese de buena ley, y ni se alterase su valor, ni se introdujese confusión en su ley, para evitar que se la tomase con recelo."

While one can but regret that such a state of affairs as is shown by this memorial should have existed, it is at least comforting to know that there were at the time men who dared to present such a document a second time to their sovereign.

The extracts given suffice to show the great importance of the work for every one who wishes to become thoroughly acquainted with one of the most vicious and yet one of the most interesting periods of Spanish history: the period immediately preceding the unification of the Spains.

⁴ Vol. I, pp. 324-325.

The work when completed will consist of five or six volumes. The translator will give us in the last volume the biography of the author, critical notes, and the historical documents that particularly bear upon the subject.

In the prefatory note the translator calls our attention to the fact that he is not giving us a complete translation, and explains that it is because the edition is meant to be popular, so to speak; the translation not being always literal nor always free, but suppressing or abbreviating all those digressions and moralizings of the author, so much in favor with historians of the times, but out of place to-day; and preserving the exact translation of the events and even the literal translation of every passage of literary merit; so that the reader will have a most faithful reproduction of the thought of the chronicler and of the succession of the events that he relates.

In spite of this explanation, it is to be regretted that some other plan was not adopted to obtain the same result. The desire of the scholar who wishes to read the whole of the author, and the desire of the translator to bring into bolder relief the bare facts that are recounted would both have been met by printing in smaller type and in their proper places all those passages that it has been deemed wise to suppress in the interest of definiteness. It should be noted, however, that these suppressions have not been made in any spirit of prudery nor with a desire for ordinary expurgation. It is a pleasure further to say that if we cannot have the whole text and must rely upon some one else to excerpt it for us, there is no one better equipped for the task than the present translator, an expert paleographer, a thorough Latinist, and a trained historian, inspired by an unfaltering desire to know the Truth.

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POLLAK'S FRANZ GRILLPARZER AND THE AUSTRIAN DRAMA.

Franz Grillparzer and the Austrian Drama by
GUSTAV POLLAK. New York: Dodd, Mead
and Co., 1907. xxi + 440 pages.

Tho Grillparzer has been accessible to high-school and college students for some years in school editions of individual plays, and altho he has been known and admired from the days of Gillics, Lockhart and Byron who welcomed his earlier works warmly, there has been, up to the present, no single English book devoted to the dramatist's whole activity. To introduce Grillparzer to the great English and American reading public is the aim of Mr. Pollak in the present work. In the main, Mr. Pollak has succeeded in giving a clear, readable account of the great Austrian dramatist. Especially welcome are the excellent translations from the plays themselves. These translations, practically the first since Gillies rendered a part of the *Ahnfrau* a few years after its appearance, are done with fidelity and skill and give the general reader, unacquainted with German, a vivid idea of Grillparzer's style and method. They are, perhaps, more successful in the lyric than in the distinctly dramatic passages. The latter are at times stiff and stilted.

But while the book is satisfactory for the general reader, since it is written with intelligence and a real love of the subject, it is disappointing to the student of Grillparzer who misses much that he feels ought to be presented for an adequate survey. After two introductory chapters on Raimund and Anzengruber, the author proceeds to outline as far as possible from Grillparzer's own statements the history of each play and to summarize its action with very free quotation in translation. Beyond this there is nothing but an excellently selected collection of other men's opinions. The book is strikingly lacking in vitality and originality. From the scientific standpoint it can be criticized for lack of a central idea and for too little use of the source material. Such material

as is used is treated with too little critical acumen. It is disappointing that the first American book on Grillparzer should not be a contribution to scholarship or at least should not bring some new points of view to the subject.

The individual chapters vary much in merit. Perhaps that on Ottokar is the fullest and gives, because of the very extensive extracts, the most satisfaction. The chapter on *Der Traum ein Leben* is decidedly the weakest and does not do the play even scant justice. The chapters on Grillparzer's life are pleasantly written and recall all the pathos of the lonely old man fighting against persecution by ignorant censors and bureaucrats, and yet proud and conscious of his own superiority. The chapter on Beethoven will interest the general reader tho its inclusion somewhat disturbs the proportions of the book. The two introductory chapters are also somewhat unfortunate. They lessen the emphasis on the main subject without being in any way a fulfillment of the promise conveyed by the second part of the title. Much more should have been made of Bauernfeld; F. Halm and Collin should have been discussed and Nestroy not have been dismissed with a few indifferent and contemptuous words. In the present day the American public could learn from Nestroy that in a musical comedy, plot, wit and biting, if cynical, satire are not necessarily wanting, and that this type of play can be made the vehicle for real thoughts without the entire prostitution of the intellect of the spectator.

To turn to some of the individual chapters: that on the *Ahnfrau* is sketchy and the treatment of the fate idea is inadequate. The whole basis of the vogue of the so-called fate-tragedy in the times, in the career of Napoleon, cannot be too strongly emphasized. The mention of Zacharias Werner in a book intended to be popular is a mistake unless his really great significance as a pioneer is brought out. A closer examination of the sources would show that the statements in Grillparzer's autobiography need modification when he discusses the origin of the play. Nor is enough made of

the wonderful plot of the drama. The stages of the anagnorisis with its three successive parts, each rising in horror, are well worth a discussion, for they are among the most striking in dramatic literature. Mr. Pollak makes nothing of the element of passion, of the blood taint, the unrestrained play of the emotions, of the mystery of the supernatural element and, finally, of the deep significance of Grillparzer's use of Fate which is ethically so superior to the idea then current.

That the trilogy *Das goldene Vlies* is a drama of the will has escaped Mr. Pollak. This play shows a struggle between the individual will of Medea and the universal will as represented by Greek civilization. To Medea the injustice and cruelty of life are overwhelming, but she stands as the representative of a race, of a culture, which must be swept away to make room for a greater and clearer civilization. The gradual growth of this will and its final dominance of Medea's life with the consequent wreck of her all, are Grillparzer's contribution to the legend. Medea is both tragic and pathetic.

Hardly a better play could have been selected than *König Ottokars Glück und Ende* to show in detail Grillparzer's dramatic method, and Mr. Pollak has given copious extracts from the most interesting scenes. But he has not focused his points and so the reader is left without a clear idea of the wonderful contrasts and the startling dramatic brilliance of the whole. So for instance, the connection between the three scenes which are decisive in Ottokar's life should be shown. These three, which mark the gradual climax of the tragedy, are the announcement of the election of Rudolf of Hapsburg, with all the dramatic irony of Ottokar's previous arrogance, then the falling of the tent at the malicious blow of Zawisch and, finally, Ottokar's mad plunge into the chapel where his ex-queen, Margaret, lies dead. The intimate connection of Ottokar's wrong to Margaret and his fall are not brought out with sufficient clearness. Mr. Pollak mentions the *Reim-chronik* of Ottokar von Horneek, but does not make enough of Grillparzer's ex-

haustiv historical studies in preparation for the play. Klaar's splendid analysis proves the prime importance of an examination of these sources for the just appreciation of Grillparzer's accuracy and of his power to ennoble as well as to vitalize a dry narrative. Unless some of these points are made vivid before the average reader's eyes, the play will seem, from Mr. Pollak's discussion, but a curious bit of obscure history and not a live tragedy.

In *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* the conflict between the artificial cloister world and the world of real life, of elemental passions, is not touched. Then, the slow movement of the fourth act, which has been deemed a fault of construction, should be explained and Grillparzer found to have been justified in thinking this very fourth act one of his best creations. The explanation of the apparent drag of the act is that the whole is intended to show the natural effect of a night of watching upon Hero. If the movement were quicker, the weariness of Hero, the leaden weight of sleep upon her, would not seem so real and her final slumber and the intervention of the priest would not be so well motivated. In this play, too, it should be pointed out that the priest acts from motives of conscience in his destruction of the lovers. He was narrow but lived up to his duty. This conception of the character is a striking evidence of Grillparzer's broad-mindedness, which allowed even to the ultra-conservative, if honest, the right of opinion and action.

Mr. Pollak is uncertain as to the place of *Der Traum ein Leben* among the dramatist's works. This play is one of the most individual of Grillparzer's plays and its connection with *Medea* has long been clear. Its renunciation of the striving of the world, its inherent pessimism, recall the oft-quoted lines from the end of *Medea*:

"Was ist der Erde Glück—ein Schatten!
Was ist der Erde Ruhm—ein Traum!"

The great art of the play in interweaving the real world with the world of dreams is unnoticed by Mr. Pollak. The character study of

Rustan also deserves more detailed discussion than is given it. The hero of this fairy play with its operatic atmosphere and its sensuous Oriental setting is another Jason, another Ottokar. His words outflly his deeds and his ideals his power of action and his moral force. He is a foreshadowing of the splendid delineation of the Hapsburgs which Grillparzer gives in the drama *Ein Bruderzwist in Hapsburg*.

A discussion of Grillparzer should show far more cogently than Mr. Pollak has done, some of the more constantly recurring of the dramatist's traits. So for example, the persistence of the strong woman contrasted with the weak man. So Sappho, so Medea, so King Alfonso and his strong, cold English wife. Then, the frequency of love, violent and consuming, at first sight, as in the case of Medea and Hero. The keen psychological analyses of race and other types of love, as in Berta and in Zawisch, might be dwelt on with interest. Grillparzer was a master in the skillful portrayal of animal passion in the human sex emotions and so one finds such characters as Rahel, Berta, Otto von Meran and Don Cesar. A chapter might well be devoted to showing how carefully Grillparzer motivated his plots (*Ahnfrau*, *Hero*, *Ottokar*, *Bruderzwist in Hapsburg*) and how minutely he worked out his characters (Jüdin von Toledo, Primislaus, Erny and Bankbanus, Hero, Leon). In these last two points he is unequalled in German literature. He may not have the spontaneous vitality of Goethe, with the consequent touch on every pulse of life, but he has an ability to motivate minutely the intricacies of human passion and to show the intimate workings of the human mind. If he cannot draw the universal meaning from a historical event as does Schiller, he can make history live and historical characters real.

Grillparzer, like Goethe and Schiller, was primarily an artist. He stood aloof from the petty squabbles of the day and echoed but little of the *Zeitgeist* in his dramas. These works are not hostages to the growing realism of the century but are independent, individual works of art, each with its own personality

and each illustrating some great artistic principle. But they are all imbued with glowing human interest; they are never cold and never doctrinaire. Tho Grillparzer, the man, was an Austrian patriot and deeply rooted in his native soil, Grillparzer, the dramatist, with his classic perfection of form, his force and his variety of interest must ever be classed among the first of the universal authors. He followed no models, belonged to no school, was always peculiarly himself and as time goes on and his work becomes known, he must receive the recognition which is his due. It is to be hoped that Mr. Pollak's book, tho lacking in many respects, will serve as an introduction to the great dramatist for the English-speaking public.

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MEDIÆVAL LATIN FABLES.

Der illustrierte Lateinische Aesop in der Handschrift des Ademar, Codex Vossianus. Lat. Oct. 15. Fol. 195-205. Einleitung und Beschreibung, von DR. GEORG THIELE, Privatdozent an d. Universität Marburg. In Phototypischer Reproduktion, mit 5 Abbildungen im Text. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1905. 4to., vi and 68 pp., with 22 plates.

The book here reviewed is one that is epoch making in the history of fable literature, and since the time of Hervieux there has been nothing so important. Unfortunately there are but few copies of it to be found in this country, one of them being in the Library of Congress at Washington. In a letter to Dr. G. C. Keidel of the Johns Hopkins University, written in December, 1906, Dr. Thiele announced that he intended to publish a critical edition of the *Æsopus Latinus* in the summer of 1907, but there has been as yet no notice of its having actually appeared in print. We may, however, look forward to it with great expectations, for together with his present con-

tribution to the subject it will doubtless revolutionize our views of the oldest Romulus collection. In the present volume, Dr. Thiele is concerned chiefly with the Ademar collection of fables.

The energy of the author in the writing of this monograph is truly remarkable, as he draws upon a wide range of evidence from archæological, linguistic, and architectural sources, besides other fields. His argument in brief is as follows:

The investigations hitherto made and starting with Phædrus and Romulus have never sufficiently determined Ademar's relation to them both. The text of the latter's work was published by Joh. Friedr. Nilant in 1709, whose uncle had discovered the manuscript containing it in the library of the University of Leiden. This Ademar collection of fables is accordingly called the Anonymus Nilantinus and it was most severely ridiculed by Lessing, because a poor Romulus text accompanied the edition and prejudiced him against it. Since the year 1709 no one had collated the Ademar manuscript, not even Hervieux. Thus the discovery had never been made that the edition of Nilant was incomplete, omitting both the arithmetical riddles and the illustrations. Dr. Thiele undertakes to give the correct text, to reproduce the illustrations that accompany it, and to prove that, in the main Ademar is Romulus, and in part Phædrus prosed.

Ademar's collection is very important in the history of fable literature, as it is the sole source for twelve of the Phædrus fables and for seven of the Romulus fables. It is, therefore, indispensable for a reconstruction of the Romulus *Æsop*. The illustrations deserve great attention, since we can point to an older, probably Greek *Æsop*, as the source of the Romulus collection and then demonstrate that the old *Æsop* illustrations as well have been transmitted to us.

Dr. Thiele traces the history of the difficulties found in placing Ademar in the fable scheme. Hervieux made no methodical attempt to determine his position, and is scored severely. The best work has been done by Zander, who, however, starts out from wrong premises, in that he excludes from consideration all fables that do not come from Phædrus, but deduces all that do agree, even if only in part, from Phædrus phrases. Dr. Thiele objects very strongly to the

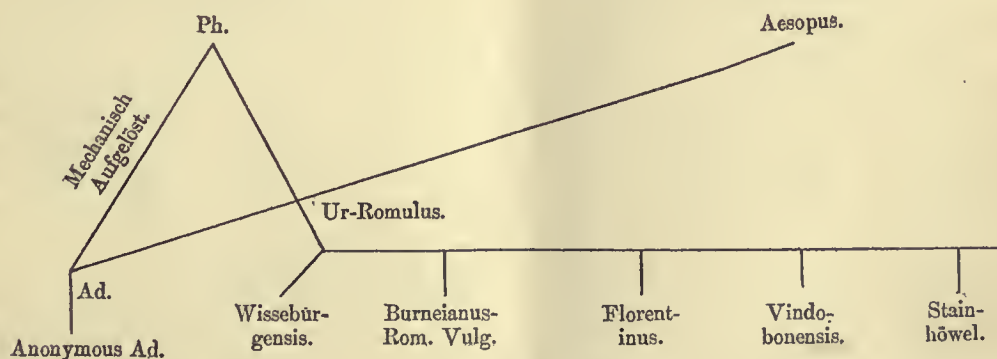
idea that there were any such paraphrases. He says we have here more than paraphrases. They were reworkings of Phædrus and other fable collections, and were not for school use, but for general distribution.

The book next takes up a regular study of the fables themselves, leaving aside the Wisseburgensis for a time. The author finds that at least twenty-eight of the fables come from Phædrus, but they do not come from an independent and complete Phædrus paraphrase. They are merely interpolated into the Romulus text from a Phædrus text, not metrically divided and which never led a separate and independent existence. By an example he shows that the differences between Ademar and Phædrus in these fables may be attributed either to omission, corrupt readings, or a misunderstanding of the meaning. There may have been an increasing successive degeneration of the Phædrus text, due to the changes it underwent in passing from poetry to prose, but there was no real paraphrase at once independent and readable.

The rest of the fables follow the Romulus text, as it is otherwise handed down to us. They either have nothing to do with Phædrus, or draw upon him merely for adornment, additional matter, corrections, or a variant. They point to no paraphrase. Take, for instance, the fable of the Accused Sheep. Zander derives this from a minor Phædrus paraphrase, which would be the original of both Romulus and Ademar. But Dr. Thiele shows that the dry Phædrus account cannot be the original of Ademar's interesting version. In fact, Phædrus, through ignorance or a bad source, got the story badly mixed up, whereas Romulus in

spite of his acquaintance with the Phædrus version saved the original variant. Our author inclines to see Greek influence in the extreme personification of the animals, which is not found in the Phædrus story. In short, the whole Romulus shows a tendency to fill out scanty Phædrus accounts from other sources. Sometimes this process goes so far that scarcely any traces of the Phædrus account remains, as in the case of the Thankful Lion. Here Dr. Thiele shows that the Romulus version gives details which can come only from an immediate knowledge of the old Roman arena. The Ur-Romulus must therefore be considered not a paraphrase, but an independent literary creation, and that the primary source of Ademar, although in twenty-eight fables he follows a pure Phædrine text. We have to deal with a compiler who knew and tried to fuse Romulus and the prose Phædrus text. This is proved: (1) by the language of Romulus; (2) by the arrangement of the Ademar collection; and (3) by an investigation of the illustrations.

Dr. Thiele can discover no law governing the choice of fables for the new Ademar between Phædrus and the Ur-Romulus, except that Phædrus enjoyed great popularity. Sometimes he finds that Phædrus was collated with the Romulus, even to a great extent. In the main, the fables directly out of the Phædrus collection are clearly defined from the Romulus mass, namely, twenty-eight out of a total of sixty-seven. Of these sixteen are still found in Phædrus as we possess it, but twelve come to us through Ademar alone. Dr. Thiele gives the following scheme of derivation:



Our author gives a chapter on variant readings, changes for corrupt passages, or changes due to ignorance, or to poetic, late, or Vulgar Latin words, all of which cause the difference in text between the sixteen fables as found in Phædrus and in Ademar. He says that the Ur-Romulus in its present form dates from the period between the fourth and sixth centuries, so we may probably assign the compilation of the Anonymus to the sixth century.

Dr. Thiele finds that the twelve Phædrine fables occurring only in Ademar, now lost from Phædrus, are so very close to the original that a partial restoration can be made of the Phædrus form, much in the same way that M. Menéndez Pidal reconstructed the *Infantes de Lara* from scanty remains of assonance. The author gives some of these reconstructed passages, made by other workers in this field, and also some indications of his own, promising more at a favorable opportunity.

Ademar in general follows the arrangement of fables in Romulus. This is made very apparent by comparative tables.

From the preceding account it may be seen how painstakingly Dr. Thiele has proceeded. There are no sweeping conclusions without first a great mass of facts based on the most minute examination and comparison.

Another important point demanding consideration is Ademar's relation to five other versions, namely, B(urneianus = Rom. Vulg.), W(isseburgensis), F(lorentinus), V(indobonensis), and S(tainhöwel). All of these used the same text as a source, in spite of the fact that of those fables which do not derive directly from Phædrus seven are found in none but Ademar. For instance, in one particular fable, F, B and V have four motifs in the moral that evidently from their nature arose at different times, as they show, so to speak, different ethical strata. Now since they all agree in these motifs, we must derive them from a strongly reworked Romulus original, and at the end they agree with Ademar. The presence of original ideas in Ademar's moral does not disturb these conclusions at all, since they are also found in the cases where the fable comes directly from Phædrus, and so must be due to the compiler. From many minor details, Dr. Thiele assumes that Ad.

and W. use a much better text than B., F., V. and S. The conciseness of Romulus Vulgaris is no proof of its old age, and our attention is called to the fact that Ademar alone interpolates in order to omit references to heathen worship.

There are at least five fables that cannot derive from Phædrus, and must come from Romulus alone, that is, from foreign sources. These facts are established, as in the case of the fable of the Crow and Crane, by linguistic and stylistic data. Phædrine origin is impossible for the fable of the Baldheaded Man and the Gardener for the reason that melons were unknown to the Latin author. In another case, the use of certain late words, such as *cavannus* for an owl is determinative. Another argument is that certain conversational dialogue is too late in origin for Phædrus.

One division of the work treats of the arithmetical riddles which follow the fables in the manuscript. These were common in Greek and distinctly popular in nature, as is seen from the titles, such as the two Merchants who sold a Pig for a Hundred Soldi. Dr. Thiele lays considerable stress on these riddles as throwing light on the origin of the fables themselves. Substantially the same ones are found in the Codex Burneianus, also in the manuscripts of Alcuin's works as published in 1777. They were not, however, composed by him, much less by Bede, in whose works they also appear. In Ademar these riddles are even spoken of as "fabulæ." Now all these riddle texts can be traced, it seems, to a common source, and this is said to be Roman. This fact is of great importance to the author, who is convinced that he has found just some such source for the Ur-Romulus.

The real centre of Dr. Thiele's investigations is his discussion of the illustrations. Here he announces that he has additional proof of his theories and that the illustrations are no less important than the fables themselves in studying their correlation. In fact, they form an integral part of the fable collections, and are subject to the same laws of continuity and traditional form as the literary part. They are accordingly reproduced in his book in well-executed facsimiles.

Those fables even that never existed in Phædrus are also illustrated, and therefore these illustrations must plainly have some other source than

Phædrus. Moreover, in the fables that are interpolated from Phædrus, we often have portrayed a distinctly variant version. For instance, one picture shows a weasel surprised while catching a mouse, a motif which is not mentioned in Phædrus though it is in all the others. The illustrations must come, therefore, from Romulus. They, the arithmetical riddles, and the fables must all alike stand or fall together. It is the same source that underlies Stainhöwel's illustrations, which are, however, in some respects more complete.

Inasmuch as Romulus illustrations always exist for each fable, Ademar must have used Phædrus only when the fable occurred also in Romulus. The compiler then took the pictures from Romulus and the text from Phædrus. The illustrations cannot be later than the fifth or sixth century. Dr. Thiele has submitted them to a thorough analysis. He finds various ancient traits in them, such as a pointed cap to mark out a traveller in one instance. This was the regular device in olden days. In another, the bare feet and double garment of a rich man at a meal show Roman, not Carolingian customs. Sometimes Roman detail seems to have been suppressed by the copyist. Landscape is very roughly and scantily dealt with, while much attention is paid to architecture. The melon is incorrectly drawn, but the palm and supposed olive tree are correct. The age of the drawings is shown by the decorative detail, the round-arched windows, etc.,—traits found also in the Vatican Vergil and the Utrecht Psalter, which thus makes impossible local Gallic or Carolingian-Frankish origin. In fact, Dr. Thiele is tempted to assume an Ostroroman Byzantine, or international later Roman type for such house architecture as he finds represented. For instance, he thinks he has the atrium of a late Roman house, represented by an arch on pillars, in Fable III at the bottom. The general architectural tone is antique, although Carolingian influence (which must have come in in the copies) is seen in furniture, utensils, and costumes. The shoe fastenings resemble those of early Christian pictures. Hair is worn in modern fashion. Unknown animals are poorly drawn, as the camel and the lion. As to the color of the original, he says: "We may assume that the original, which doubtless was of larger size, fully answered the demands which would be made upon a colored

fable collection about the year 400 in a city of southern France.¹

Here, therefore, we have the oldest replica of the same Romulus illustrations which in their most reworked form appear in Stainhöwel, Yzopet and Walter of England. This Ur-Romulus must have been illustrated in a heathen Roman centre. Traces of the lands of North Africa are found, while some of the riddles have an Oriental setting. But since it was composed about the year 400 in Gaul, a Greek illustrated fable-collection of Oriental origin can alone explain this. Dr. Thiele has studied and compared illustrations in Terence manuscripts in order to complete his ideas on these heads. Moreover, in the Bayeux Tapestry, deriving from Ademar, he finds scenes that must have their origin either in a mixture of Phædrus and Babrios, or in their common source. Lastly, a Roman gravestone has been discovered that seems to have a fable portrayed on it akin to the Ademar type.

In this connection it may be mentioned that a study of the fable entitled the Crow and Peacock's Feathers has been made in order to see if Dr. Thiele's theory was borne out in this instance. The plate accompanying this fable is described by Dr. Thiele as follows: "The crow is on the ground, decorated with a few, small peacock's feathers, surrounded by five tolerably well drawn peacocks. The peacock's tails are all surrounded with a heavy line. Each peacock holds in its beak a peacock's feather, torn from the crow. Two feathers are on the ground."² This, therefore, does not bear out Dr. Thiele's argument particularly well. The scene illustrated here is not at all the Greek setting, where there is a council and where numerous birds take part. It is distinctly the Phædrus type. There is also an evident attempt on the artist's part to show feathers left on the crow after the peacock's feathers have been torn off; so we may assume that, if Marie is following a Greek account when she says the crow was absolutely stripped of his own and other feathers, there is another point that needs explanation.³

¹ See p. 35.

² A free translation of the original German text is here given.

³ Karl Warnke, *Die Fabeln der Marie de France*, Halle 1898, No. lxvii.

This fable is one of the sixteen found both in Ademar and Phædrus, and so belongs to the class "mechanisch aufgelöst." It is therefore evident why Phædrus and Ademar so often differ from all the other parallel versions, five times in motifs, and nine times in diction, as has been found out by the use of comparative tables. The fact that quite often the Wisseburgensis tends to follow them might be explained by another scheme of derivation, in which this version would be more directly derived from Phædrus than some of the others. The author has forestalled this objection by saying that he considers Ademar and Wisseburgensis to have used a much better text than the rest; and then, too, he states that our texts in a number of cases are incorrect as given by Hervieux, and so rejects their readings. The most doubtful of Dr. Thiele's theses is the placing of Stainhöwel on a level with the Romulus Vulgaris. Of course, any table of motifs or diction will show a very close agreement among B., F., V. and S. In this particular fable B. and F. agree with the Latin Stainhöwel twenty-two times in motifs and sixteen in diction. Vindobonensis II⁴ follows at a little distance, but this may be accounted for by the fact that it is not a direct representative of the class. Nevertheless, until further evidence is furnished, so that we may assume with some sureness that the Latin Stainhöwel, a comparatively late version, really drew upon the Ur-Romulus, we must keep to the older and quite tenable theory that Romulus Vulgaris is its source, an idea quite in keeping with the prolific tendencies of this popular version.

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SHAKESPEARE.

The Genesis of Hamlet, by CHARLTON M. LEWIS.
New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1907.

The title of this book arouses misgivings, and these are fully substantiated by a perusal of its contents. The argument is based upon more or less

probable hypotheses, which are treated throughout as established facts, a procedure far too common nowadays in the building up of critical air-castles. Kyd is the undoubted author of the pre-Shakespereau *Hamlet*, the second Quarto is surely Shakespeare's revision of the piece represented by the first, and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is "beyond question" a rendering of Kyd's play. There are also not a few other assertions concerning which, as the author says, "conjecture may be confident." Indeed, if we may judge from the tone of many statements, Professor Lewis not only has the gift of seeing in the dark, but he seems to have enjoyed the precious privilege of entering into Shakespeare's artistic soul and watching it at its creative labors.

According to his view, all the modern difficulties in the interpretation of Hamlet's character spring from its being a "Belleforest-Kyd-Shakespeare compound." If we ask why the great dramatist took up and remodelled the old play, the answer is clear: "It was the irrational behavior of Kyd's hero that piqued Shakespeare's curiosity and drove him to depart as far from Kyd as Kyd had departed from Belleforest." What, then, in our present play is Kyd's and what is Shakespeare's? "Kyd is responsible for most of the plot, and Shakespeare for most of the characterization; Kyd for the hero's actual environment, Shakespeare for the imperfect description of his environment that has come down to us." These statements from the concluding chapter fairly represent the author's certainty about uncertain matters. Surely a correct understanding of Shakespeare is not to be obtained by such methods.

There are, it is true, arguments in support of all these propositions, but they in no wise justify unqualified conclusions of any sort. Moreover, to one who has in mind Professor Thorndike's study of the Revenge Plays, most of the author's remarks about such points as Hamlet's madness, his delay, his self-reproaches, appear to be based upon insufficient grounds. In general, it must be confessed, the present book gives the impression that the task has been taken in hand rather lightly. To oblige a man who attempts a new publication on *Hamlet* to read all that has been written on the subject is perhaps too severe a

⁴ Wien, Hofbibliothek, lat. 901.

penalty to impose, but the preparation certainly ought to be extensive. On such a matter, however, one hesitates to pass judgment. The suspicion that the preparation has scarcely been adequate may easily do the author an injustice. But, however that may be, no charitable consideration can interfere with the necessity of uttering a protest against turning theories into facts, and building upon them as though they were a solid foundation. During the past few years there has been an enormous crop of literary studies in which this fault has been but too manifest. Such works may be entertaining, they may even be stimulating, but it ought to be clearly understood and universally recognized that they have no critical value. Let us have facts that are undisputed, let us add to those inferences that may be fairly drawn from sufficient evidence; and let us confess that, as to the rest, we do not know. Theorize whosoever will: but let his fancies be properly labeled, so that a new generation will not be obliged to tear down a multitude of flimsy structures and spend half its time, energy, and learning in marshaling evidence to disprove what has never been proved.

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PORTUGUESE LITERATURE.

THEOPHILO BRAGA: *Romanceiro geral portuguez*. Segunda edição ampliada. Lisboa: M. Gomes, 1906-7. 12mo., 2 vols., viii + 639 and 588 pp., 1000 and 800 reis.

These two handsomely printed volumes contain popular traditional romances, and a third volume of the same *Romanceiro* is announced as *Romances com forma litteraria, do seculo xvi a xviii*. This last will therefore be in the nature of a reprint of Braga's *Floresta de varios romances* (1869), and cannot offer the interest of the popular ballads. The *Romanceiro* in turn is only one part of ten projected in a large scheme on which the veteran Portuguese scholar and publicist is at work, namely, the *Bibliotheca das Tradições portuguezas, edição integral e definitiva*. The *Historia da*

Poesia popular portugueza (3rd ed.) has already appeared in two volumes (1902-5); the other parts so far announced include a *Cancioneiro popular*, a *Theatro popular*, an *Adagiario portuguez*, and *Cantos tradicionais*.

Almeida-Garrett in 1851 made a beginning of collections of Portuguese popular ballads with the second and third volumes of his *Romanceiro*. The lack of scientific method in the book was compensated by the enthusiasm of the collector. Then followed the first edition of Braga's *Romanceiro geral* (1867), including poems published by Garrett and many more, all collected on the mainland. Another important volume edited by Braga (1869) was the *Cantos pop. do Archipelago Açoriano*, with its eighty-two ballads of all kinds, many of them the purest versions to be found in Portuguese. From the mainland again came Estacio da Veiga's small *Romanceiro do Algarve* (1870), covering territory hitherto untouched. Rodrigues de Azevedo made an important contribution with his *Romanceiro do Archipelago da Madeira* (Funchal, 1880). The Madeira versions are generally prolix and more or less modernized in form, but they often contain interesting variants. The Portuguese-speaking region of South America is represented by Dr. Sylvio Romero's *Cantos populares do Brazil* (Lisboa, 1883), but the romances among them are few and garbled. All of the collections mentioned are accompanied by notes, with the exception of the *Rom. da Madeira*.

The first editions of these books are long since exhausted, and only those of Garrett and Romero have to my knowledge been reprinted. It was, therefore, highly desirable to bring together all the material in the fundamental collections, with the addition of the considerable matter scattered more recently in periodicals and pamphlets; and such is the object of the present work, as we are told in a short preface replete with characteristic Braguensian generalizations. It is a pity that so important a labor was not performed more carefully than proves to be the case.

Pages vii-viii are occupied by a list of sources, twenty-one in number, arranged with no discernible system. The catalog is not complete, and as we cannot impute the deficiency to the editor's ignorance, we must lay it to simple care-

lessness. Thus most of the Galician romances in the book are taken from Pérez Ballesteros's *Cancionero pop. gallego*, which is cited; but the *Penitencia do Rei Dom Rodrigo* (II, 311) is to be found in Juan Menéndez Pidal's *Leyenda del Ultimo Rey godo* (1906, p. 176), which is nowhere mentioned. Neither does J. M. da Costa e Silva's *Isabel ou a Heroína de Aragão* (1832) appear, yet from it is taken the Gôa version of *Donzella que vae á guerra* (I, 144) and presumably two other Indian ballads (I, 548 and 550). Other texts which are utilized and should be added to the references are Diogo do Couto's *Decadas* (cf. Braga, *Hist. da Poesia pop. port.*, 3rd ed., II, 415) and Braga's own *Ampliações ao Romanceiro das Ilhas dos Açores*, in the *Revista Lusitana*, I, 99 ff. An unfortunate omission from both text and bibliography is that of the important *Versão portuguesa de Jean Renaud*, published by Leite de Vasconcellos in *Romania*, XI, 585-6. A collection of Portuguese ballads cannot be called complete without it.

The text itself is in large type, with ample margins, and without notes or comment of any kind. An exception is the reproduction of some of Garrett's original notes with the poems taken from him, but he is not credited with either. This is a serious defect in the book: that the source of each poem is not indicated, so that one must hunt in an indefinite number of places in order to get at the original comment. The work of compilation seems to have been done very mechanically; the most obvious misprints of the first editions are reproduced without any attempt at correction, and new errors are not wanting.

In the matter of classification of romances there has never been any uniformity. Durán, who dealt with all sorts of literary poems as well as popular ones, was compelled to multiply his classes; Wolf, who intended to include only popular products in the *Primavera*, used for the romances the broad divisions of *históricos*, *novelescos* y *caballerescos sueltos*, and *caballerescos del ciclo carlovingio*. Menéndez Pelayo in the *Tratado de los romances viejos* followed a like plan, only including in the last division the ballads of the Breton cycle and those based on Spanish books of chivalry as well as the Carolingians. Braga, after experimenting with various classifications in his previous collections, has now adopted one which is at least ori-

ginal, as follows: I. *Romances heroicos e novellescos* (1. Cyclo Odyssaico ou atlantico; 2. Cyclo Scandinavo-germanico; 3. Cyclo Carolingio; 4. Cyclo Arthuriano). II. *Romances de Aventuras* (1. Cyclo da Mulher perseguida; 2. Cyclo da Esposa infiel; 3. Cyclo de Peregrinos e Cativos; 4. Cyclo de Xácaras e Coplas de burlas). III. *Romances historicos e lendarios* (1. Cyclo Neo-Godo e Mosarabe; 2. Cyclo portuguez tradicional e semi-litterario). IV. *Romances sacros e devotos* (1. Cyclo evangelico popular; 2. Cyclo Marial; 3. Cyclo santoral).

Much might be said about this division, and the mere reading of the titles will suggest queries to anyone. In what does a *Romance novellesco* differ from a *Romance de Aventuras*? Why should the *Conde Alarcos* series fall in class II rather than I? A closer investigation of the division of subjects brings on a shower of doubts, but a few examples must suffice. Why is the *Conde Claros* series (I, 306-408) put with the Arthurian cycle? And indeed the majority of themes included in this division would have hard work to prove their right there. There is a bare possibility that the *Donzella que vae á guerra* series (I, 95-148) may belong in the Scandinavian cycle, but *Tristes novas* (I, 94) assuredly does not. On the other hand, one might expect to see the ballads of the *Conde d'Allemanha* (II, 1-29) considered Carolingian, as was done by Wolf (*Primavera*, no. 170). What do we find under the altisonant heading "Odyssaic or Atlantic cycle?" One theme from Portuguese maritime history, another from universal folk-lore, and two which to an uncurbed imagination might suggest passages of the Odyssey, but certainly have no connection with it or with the Atlantic Ocean.

Even if we accept Braga's ideas at their face value, the arrangement has many flaws which are the result of pure carelessness. Two poems are repeated word for word: *O que diz o rouxinol* (I, 316) is the same as *O Laranjal* (II, 282), the latter occupying the correct place; and *As duas donzellas* (I, 594) has a double in *Morenita* (II, 281), which should be omitted.¹ There are

¹ A like slip appears in Menéndez Pelayo's *Romances tradicionales*, where the *Canción de una gentil dama y un rústico pastor* is repeated (*Antología*, x, 179, n. 1 and 193).

numerous instances of misplaced poems. *As tres irmãs* (I, 166) belongs with *Flor do dia* (II, 226, cf. also I, 29); *Conde Claro* (I, 405) should be transferred to p. 350 of the same volume. The three poems, I, 414-419, belong with the series of *Dom Carlos d' Alem-mar* (I, 356-408), as does also *Dona Ausenda* (II, 222). The fragment entitled *Bandeira de guerra* (II, 287) should be included in the series called here *Bella Infanta* (I, 33-69). In some cases two or more themes which might better have been kept separate are grouped under the same head (cf. *Dom Carlos d' Alem-mar*, *Dona Anna*, etc.); but it would be wearisome to particularize further.

Each volume is provided with an index of titles. I note only two omissions, *As duas donzelas* (I, 594), and *O Fradinho pedinte* (II, 534). An index of first lines does not appear so necessary in this case as it is for Spanish *romances*, where the title is usually secondary. In passing it may be remarked that the absence of any sort of index from Menéndez Pelayo's collection of *romances* (*Antología*, vols. VIII-X) is a serious blemish to the work, and the less excusable since Durán long ago set a well-nigh perfect example of indexing.

It would lead too far to go into a comparison of Portuguese and Castilian traditional ballads, though the question is most interesting. Why are the former so much more numerous? Here are five hundred and sixty-six different poems and variants, nearly all collected from oral repetition within the last eighty years, against two hundred and two in the *Romances tradicionales* of Menéndez Pelayo (*Antología*, x), of which eighty are mongrel versions from Catalonia and Turkey. Perhaps fifty other Castilian traditional *romances* have been published, including fourteen more from Turkey (*Rev. hisp.*, x, 594 ff.). One would be at first inclined to account for the disparity by the greater industry of the Portuguese investigators, for Spanish territory outside the mainland has scarcely been touched by ballad-hunters; South America very little, and Cuba, Porto Rico and the Canaries not at all. It is likewise true that the south-eastern part of Spain proper still awaits exploration by the folk-lorist. But even taking these facts into consideration, it seems likely that the Portuguese people have preserved

its taste for the short epic more than the Castilian, which latterly has become devoted to the lyric. Leaving out the Azores, Madeira, Brazil, India and Galicia, we still have two hundred and eighty-two ballads from continental Portugal, compared with some one hundred and fifty of equally pure Castilian lineage, gleaned from a larger area. And yet the great majority of subjects reached Portugal through Castile; very few are native. Looking back to the great Spanish collections of the sixteenth century, it would seem that the epic spirit has been dying out in Castile in proportion as it has risen in the eastern and western borders of the Peninsula.

To sum up, the second edition of Braga's *Romanceiro geral* is a compilation which will be indispensable to folk-lorists. It will not replace the previous collections, because it has none of their notes and introductions, but it will prove a boon to the many who cannot possess them. There is probably little more to be expected in the way of new finds which ought to go into a collection of Portuguese *romances*, but this work is below the standard which we might expect from its experienced and learned editor, and far too faulty for a true "edição integral e definitiva."

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FRENCH RENAISSANCE.

Maurice Scève et la Renaissance lyonnaise . . .
par ALBERT BAUR. Paris: H. Champion,
1906.

While this scholarly work adds but little to our knowledge of Maurice Scève and his *milieu*, yet it presents in a very succinct form what has hitherto been scattered through different publications. And the picture of the Lyons of the Renaissance, including the numerous literary portraits, is sufficient in itself to render this study valuable, even though it repeats to some extent what has already been presented in the masterly thesis of M. Buisson on *Castellion* and the justly celebrated life of *Dolet* by Mr. Christie.

Of the youth of Maurice Scève little is known, although his father played a very prominent rôle in the legal circles of Lyons. It is nevertheless very probable that the rich, though poorly classified, archives of that city contain much undiscovered information concerning this family. But to undertake a thorough search through the vast array of documents would require far more time than one would care to spend. And still it is only in this way that any light can be thrown on that mysterious personage, A. Scève, who has a poem in the *Livre de plusieurs pièces*,¹ and whom M. Baur has entirely omitted.

But if the author has been unable to unearth much of interest concerning Scève's early life, he has made up for this by giving us a very careful study of the poet's first literary attempts, which at once placed him at the head of the *École lyonnaise*. The influence of Scève's literary friendships, to which he was more or less susceptible, is well brought out in several of the succeeding chapters. However, one can hardly accept the characterisation of one of these personages—Louise Labé—as a mere “*courtisane*.” M. Baur bases this conclusion on the statements of the poet, Olivier de Magny, and the historian, Claude de Rubys. M. Montaury,² on the contrary, has clearly shown “*qu'il n'y avait que du dépit*” in their accusations, inasmuch as they were both rejected suitors of the *Belle Cordière*. The very fact that de Rubys selects the chapter devoted to the praise of the virtues of the poetess as evidence of the unreliability of Paradin's *Histoire de Lyon* is sufficient to cast on him the suspicion of a desire for vengeance. Furthermore, de Rubys was an implacable enemy of all who sympathized with the Renaissance.³ It is not surprising, therefore, that he should nourish some ill-feeling for Louise Labé, who was the favorite of the poets and scholars of the new school. And M. Baur is incorrect in stating, as additional evidence of the “*mauvaise conduite*” of the *Belle Cordière*, that she forms the subject of Gabriel de Minut's work

on *la Beauté*.⁴ The lady therein described is Paule de Viguier, a Toulousan, who was the Abbess of a convent. As a matter of fact, it is very doubtful if Minut ever was in Lyons. After the death of his father, Jacques de Minut, president of the Parliament of Toulouse,⁵ Gabriel went to Ferrara, where he received the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1544.⁶ Afterward, he returned to Toulouse, where he remained until his reception in the Parliament which occurred after 1550. It is, therefore, probable that to him, the *Belle Cordière*—if known at all—was a mere name.

M. Baur is doubtless correct in his assumption that Scève was in no way responsible for the *Quintil Horatian* which Barthélemy Aneau wrote in reply to the *Déffense et Illustration* of Du Bellay. However, it is impossible to accept his statement that if the *Quintil* is a protest against the *Déffense*, “*il l'est aussi contre Maurice Scève*.” The frequency with which the names of Aneau and Scève were coupled by the poets of the time suffices to show their intimacy.⁷

⁴The full title of this volume, which has rarely been given, is as follows: *De la Beauté, / Discours divers, / pris sur deux fort belles façons de parler, desquelles / l'hébreu et le grec usent, l'hébreu Tob / et grec καλὸν κ'αγαθόν, voulant signifier que ce qui / est naturellement beau est aussi naturellement bon; / Avec la Paule-Graphie / ou description des beautés d'une dame tholosaine nommée / la Belle Paule; / Par Gabriel de Minut, / Chevalier, baron de Castera, seneschal de Rouergue. / A Lyon / Par Barthelemy Honorat, / 1587 / Small in-8° of 268 pp. This exceedingly rare work (which is in the *Bibl. Nat. Réserve*, R 2,550) was reprinted at Brussels in 1865. The reprint, however, is now almost as rare as the original edition. Cf. also Picot, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Rothschild*, II, p. 337, and Baudrier, *Bibl. lyon.*, IV, p. 157.*

⁵Cf. Visagier's funeral oration on him in the *Epigrammatum Libri* IV, Lyon, 1537, in 8°. Also *Lettres de Jean de Boyssonné*, published by M. Buche in the *Revue des Langues Romanes*, 1895-97. A curious epigram, addressed to Gabriel de Minut, is found in *Stephani Forcatuli* (Étienne Forcatel) *Iureconsulti Epigrammata*, Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1554, in 8°, p. 181. For further information on Gabriel, see Baudrier, *op. cit.*, II, p. 185, and IV, pp. 111 and 158.

⁶Picot, *Les Français à l'Université de Ferrare*, 1902, p. 29.

⁷Cf. the *huitain* of Charles Fontaine addressed to *ses deux amys, monsieur Maurice Scève et maistre Bartolomey Aneau*, in the *Fontaine d'Amour*, Paris, 1546, fol. mvi v°, *Bibl. Nat.*, Rés. Y^e 1609. It may also be added that notwithstanding the close friendship of Aneau and Fon-

¹*Le Livre de plusieurs pièces, c'est à dire faict et recueilly de divers Autheurs, comme de Clement Marot et autres: ce que tu verras en la page suivante. A Lyon, par Nicholas Bacquenois, 1548, pp. 74-79.*

²*Revue du Siècle*, 1899, pp. 77-89.

³Cf. his *Résurrection de la Messe*. Lyon, 1563.

As a whole, this is a very meritorious work, and deserves a place among the numerous scholarly volumes that have been devoted, in recent years, to the literature of the French Renaissance. It is, therefore, with pleasure that we look forward to the study of the poetical works of Maurice Scève which M. Baur has in preparation.⁸

JOHN L. GERIG.

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he published a catena of quotations exhibiting the various uses of *to have one's reed* that have come under his observation.

The Old Norse phrase of which he quotes an (unreferenced) instance, would seem to me at first sight to be equally rare, as it is not recorded by Vigfusson. Will Mr. Flom give us quotations for that also?

C. TALBUT ONIONS.

Oxford, England.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A READING IN *Piers Plowman*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—My attention has been directed to a comment by Mr. George T. Flom, in your issue of May, on a contribution of mine to the *Modern Language Review*, relating to a reading which I discovered in a Bodleian MS. of *Piers Plowman*. I must confess myself greatly surprised at Mr. Flom's statement that the phrase, *to have one's reed*, "may be found in both Southern, Midland, and Northern M. E., and in Old Norse." Had I known that this was the case, I might have modified my note a little. But so far I have been unable to trace any instance of this phrase besides the well-known one in the received text of the passage we are discussing. (The other, quite different, locutions, which Mr. Flom's quotations exemplify, are, of course, familiar.) I suggest that Mr. Flom would be making a useful contribution to Middle-English lexicography if

taine, we find no mention of the latter poet in Aneau's works.

⁸As of mere bibliographical interest, it may be added that there is in the *Bibl. de Chantilly* a copy of Scève's *La déplorable fin de Flamete*, 1535, Lyon, of which M. Baur knows only the one in the possession of M. Abel Lefranc. Scève has also translated some of the *Paradossi* of Ortensio Lando (Venetia, 1545, in 8°, fo. 42) which remain inedited. My friend and teacher, M. Émile Picot, called my attention several years ago to an interesting distich of Scève on the title of the *Forcianæ Questiones*, in quibus varia Italorum ingenia explicantur, multaque alia scitu non indigna, autore Philalethe Polytopiensis cive (Neapoli, excudebat Martinus de Ragusia, anno 1536, in 8°).

"LONGFELLOW AND HIS HEXAMETERS."

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In the suggestive letter in your March number on "Longfellow and His Hexameters," there is a slight error which, for the sake of those among your readers who care for accuracy in what Donne calls "those unconcerning things, matters of fact," had perhaps better be corrected. The writer asks, "What perhaps suggested to Longfellow that he was to accomplish, to some extent at least, what Clough and Southey had failed to accomplish?" It was, however, Longfellow's hexameters that set Clough on the writing of *The Bothie*. This appears from the following sentence in an interesting letter to Emerson, dated February 10th, 1849:

"Will you convey to Mr. Longfellow the fact that it was the reading of his *Evangeline* aloud to my mother and sister which, coming after a reperusal of *The Iliad*, occasioned this outbreak of hexameters?"

This letter is to be found in *The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough*, London, 1869, Vol. I, p. 135.

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON.

Shady Hill, Cambridge, Mass.

June 10, 1908.

A NOTE ON *Piers the Plowman*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In *Piers the Plowman*, Passus v, 28-29 (Skeat's edition, 1906), occurs this passage:

"Thomme stowue he tauzte • to take two staves,
And fecche felice home • fro þe wyuen pyne."

BRIEF MENTION.

Professor Skeat finds it "a difficult passage" because of the "two staves." He says: "I suppose the sentence to mean that *Tom Stowe*, who had neglected his wife and let her get into bad ways, or who had allowed her to be punished as a scold, had much better fetch her home than leave her exposed to public derision. Such an errand would require a strong arm, and two staves would be very useful in dispersing the crowd. I do not think it is meant that he is to beat *her*, for then *one* would have sufficed; nor would Reason give such bad advice."

Assuming Professor Skeat to have the correct line of argument, would he not have explained the passage entirely, if he had gone a step further and supposed that Felice was quite as anxious to be brought home as Tom was to bring her? For not even a scold would like the vexation and notoriety of the cucking-stool, when there was any possible means of avoiding it. In such a mood Felice, who was probably one of the laboring class and consequently possessed of some muscle, would be no contemptible ally for Tom in working out her own salvation; and the pair, each armed with a staff, would beat a much more effectual retreat through the jeering, interfering crowd than would be possible, if we assume that Tom had to conduct an obdurate wife with one hand and dispel a meddling crowd with the other. Indeed, he would surely know that such an undertaking would be foredoomed to failure. We can only suppose, then, that Tom, familiar with his wife's disposition, knew he could rely on her to aid in her rescue; accordingly he went armed with two staves. This, however, is a mere suggestion.

A. W. FISHER.

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INTERNATIONAL ROMANCE DIALECT SOCIETY.

We have just received the prospectus of a *Société internationale de dialectologie romane*, whose headquarters are at Brussels and whose object is the study of the various Romance idioms, particularly the patois. The entire Romance territory is divided into twelve districts to each of which a specialist has been assigned in order to collect, revise, or edit material for publication. This material, according to its nature, will appear in one of three publications adapted to the particular kind of contribution: a *Revue*, a *Bulletin*, and a *Bibliothèque de dialectologie romane*. Besides the twelve districts comprising the territory where Romance idioms are those principally spoken, there are five divisions comprising non-Romance nations, but among which there is more or less activity in Romance subjects, according as any one particular phase presents itself for consideration. One of these five divisions is the United States. If it be recalled that out of a population of 76,303,387, 10,356,644, or 13.6% are foreigners, the reason for including this country as possibly worthy of study becomes apparent. There are certain areas whose linguistic features have already received some slight attention, Canadian-French, for instance, that of Louisiana, and the Portuguese of New Bedford. There may also be found settlements of Italians and Spaniards in our country whose ethnological and linguistic conditions may prove of much interest for this International Society. Further information will be gladly sent to those sufficiently interested in the object of the society to care to correspond with or furnish data for publication to the United States editor: J. Geddes, Jr., Boston University.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 8.

CONCERNING *THE FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD*.

In Miss Traver's valuable study, *The Four Daughters of God* (*Bryn Mawr College Monographs*), a position of importance among the medieval churchmen and poets who treated the allegory suggested by the Psalmist, "Misericordia et Veritas obviaverunt sibi; Justitia et Pax osculatæ sunt," is assigned to Bishop Grosseteste. "In his theological poem, the *Chateau d'Amour*, the allegory from Bernard's sermon appears in a novel setting; for by shifting the scene from a heavenly to an earthly court, he has transformed it to a feudal romance" (p. 29). The originality of Grosseteste in this respect I question; for from my own studies in the allegory, though far less exhaustive than Miss Traver's, I can point to a similar modification of the story, which must have antedated the bishop's poem, and which must have been of considerable importance.

A sermon attributed to Bede in the older editions of his works,¹ tells of a "Father of a family, a mighty King," who had a Son equal to him in power, and four daughters, Mercy, Truth, Justice, and Peace. He had also a favored servant. Thus far the sermon and poem agree. But more explicitly than Grosseteste, the preacher, identifying the servant with Adam, explains the reason for the one restriction placed upon this servant, and his attempted shifting of responsibility upon "the woman" when called to account for disobedience. The preacher describes, too, in full the duties of the four "tortores" to whom the offender is delivered: the first (I follow the order of the text), to imprison him; the second, to behead him; the third, to strangle him; the fourth, to torture him. These men are later

named: Prison of Exile, Worldly Misery, Death, and the Worm. Then the intercession of Mercy and the ensuing controversy are given as in the *Chateau d'Amour*, except that the preacher, explaining why Peace can not dwell where there is discord, does not bring the fourth daughter into the debate till the Son has already effected a reconciliation. In other respects the sermon and the poem are essentially the same.

This sermon, like others formerly attributed to Bede, was rejected by Giles. It may, though, be the rude draft of a sermon by Bede which some monk cared to preserve. At all events, it was probably written at a date sufficiently early to give cause for the common tradition as to its authorship. May it not, then, deserve some of the credit which Miss Traver assigns the *Chateau d'Amour* for first introducing important modifications in the allegory? *Les Quatre Sereurs*, I should judge from her outline, follows the sermon in describing the effort of the guilty servant to evade punishment, in treating explicitly the different punishments of the four jailers, and in rehearsing the progress of the debate. The part that Peace plays in *Les Quatre Sereurs* is not made plain in the outline; but I am inclined to believe that the poem was derived from the sermon, or some related version of the allegory—at least not exclusively from the *Chateau d'Amour*.

To the chapter of the monograph on the "Processus Belial" I may add a little by calling attention to a sermon preached "ad populum" in the twelfth century by Peter of Blois.² Its subject is the judgment of a sinner. Before God, the judge, Satan brings his accusations against the prisoner, Man, charging him with infidelity to the sacraments, treason, and theft. Conscience, too, in spite of the prisoner's questioning the legality of a woman's testimony,

¹ *Opera Bedæ Venerabilis*, 8 vols. Basil. 1563. Vol. 7, c. 511-513.

² Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. 207, c. 750-775.

supports the charges, reminding Man that through his sin she has lost her original purity. Man, in fact, is hard pressed by his accusers, until the three daughters of the judge, Faith, Hope, and Charity, come to his aid. They, however, meet the wily arguments of Satan, and, after Faith has taught the accused the words of salvation, *Credo, Credo*, they lead him before the throne, where he implores and receives forgiveness.

From the contents of this interesting sermon, which may be entitled *The Three Daughters of God*, it is plain that it could not have been the source of those later texts discussed in the monograph. But as an early instance of the participation of the Devil in this type of theological allegory, the sermon may not be here irrelevant.

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A LETTER FROM MEDINILLA TO LOPE DE VEGA.

Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla was born at Toledo in the year 1585. His real name was Baltasar Eloy de Medinilla, and with this name he signed a sonnet which he contributed to a poetical contest, held at Toledo in 1605, in honor of the birth of Philip IV.¹ He later adopted the more poetic name, Elisio.

Medinilla is of particular interest to us, as having been one of Lope de Vega's most devoted friends. We cannot say just when this friendship began, but in 1608, Lope left to Medinilla the task of correcting the proof of his epic poem, *Jerusalén Conquistada*.² Lope's pastoral romance, *Los Pastores de Belén*, contains laudatory verses by Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla, and Barrera noted that Lope introduced his friend into the story under the name of Elisio.³ This intimacy continued, and when

Lope's beloved son Carlos Felix died in 1612, Medinilla wrote a letter of condolence to the grief-stricken father, expressing his affection for him, and urging him to bear with patience his great sorrow. This letter is included in a manuscript collection of the works of Medinilla preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid.⁴

In 1617, Medinilla's first work appeared with the title: *Limpia Concepcion de la Virgen señora nuestra. Por Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla*.⁵ The poem is preceded by a number of laudatory verses, and Lope de Vega gives it his unqualified praise, saying:

Letor, no ay sílaba aquí
Que de oro puro no sea.

We learn in the prologue that Medinilla had been working on the poem for seven years, and that for two years, Lope had tried to persuade him to publish it, but the author had hesitated, fearing to incur the censure of the critics.

This poem, in praise of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and inspired by the writings of San Ildefonso, aroused the hostility of certain members of the Dominican Order. In a letter to the Archbishop of Seville, Medinilla relates how a certain Dominican, named Jacinto de Colmenares, had preached against the doctrines contained in his poem, and fearing the enmity of that Order, he wished to submit the case to the higher ecclesiastical authorities.⁶

His letter to Colmenares is also found in this manuscript collection.⁷ He urged that

⁴ MS. 4266, fol. 84b-88b. This manuscript was described by Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca*, Vol. III, col. 698.

⁵ Madrid, Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1617. Nicolas Antonio, *Bibliotheca Nova*, Vol. I, p. 182, mentions an edition of this work, published by Alonso Martínez, in 1618. Salva, *Catálogo*, Vol. I, p. 218, believed that Nicolas Antonio had mistaken the date, as well as the name of the printer, for he knew of no other edition than that of Madrid, 1617. However, there is a copy of an edition of 1618, printed by Viuda de Alonso Martín, in the Biblioteca Nacional.

⁶ MS. 4266, fol. 84-84b, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 79-83b.

¹ *Relacion de las fiestas*, etc. Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca*, Vol. I, col. 753.

² Barrera, *Nueva biografía de Lope de Vega*, p. 148.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

courtesy should be especially observed in the pulpit, and that if his poem contained doctrines which were not recognized by the Church, his critic should have admonished him in a kindly way. He had diligently inquired as to the motive for the attack against him, and had learned that his sole fault consisted in having defended the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and he gloried in the name of ignoramus which he had received in the defense of Our Lady.

This poem is the only work of Medinilla which was published. He also wrote a number of *versos á lo divino*, and a *Descripcion de Buena Vista*, in forty stanzas, dedicated to the Archbishop of Toledo, Sr. D. Bernardo de Rojas. This is accompanied by a commentary, the work of the Archbishop's nephew, D. Francisco de Rojas y Guzman, Conde de Mora.⁸

Medinilla was assassinated about the year 1620,⁹ and Lope de Vega mourned the sudden death of his friend in tender verses:

Lloraré, cantaré tu fin violento,
Y con el canto moveré llorando,
A mayor compasion y sentimiento.¹⁰

It was believed by some historians of Spanish literature that the dramatist Moreto took part in the assassination of Medinilla, but the true facts of the case are contained in a letter of Sr. D. Joaquín Manuel de Alba to Sr. D. Luis Fernández-Guerra y Orbe.¹¹ Here we learn that in 1620, Doña Gracia de Rentería y Medinilla and Doña Estefanía Suárez de Medinilla, sisters of Baltasar Elisio, and nuns in the convent of Santa Ursula of Toledo, took action against Don Jerónimo de Andrade y Rivadeneyra, for the murder of their brother. The case lasted for nine years, when the sisters agreed to drop the prosecution, provided that the murderer pay a certain sum of money, and

should not enter Toledo within four years, without their consent.

Two references to Medinilla's death by Antonio López de Vega, in his *Lírica Poesía*, Madrid, 1620, may prove that the former met his death about a year earlier than has been generally supposed. The *Privilegio* for this volume was signed March 19, 1619, and the *Tasa* was signed November 23, 1620. On fol. 27, we find a sonnet on the death of Medinilla:

"En digno sentimiento de la infelice muerte de Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla, cultissimo ingenio Toledano, honra de su patria, lustre de las buenas letras, robado violenta, i intempestivamente á los ojos de sus amigos, mas vivo, i presente siempre en el dolor de sus memorias.

"Cayó en Elisio (o hado riguroso!)
Cisne al Tajo, honra á Apolo, gloria á España.
I usurpa á todos la violenta saña,
Dulce canto, alta lira, hijo glorioso." etc.

This is followed by another sonnet, *Epitáfio sobre la sepultura del mismo*, which begins:

"Yaze aquí Elisio, Elisio, o peregrino,
Cuya armónica ciencia, i docto canto
Respetarán los Reynos del espanto,
I sacrilego más fué el hierro indino."

Judging from the fact that Medinilla's death is mentioned in a book, the *Privilegio* of which was signed in March, 1619, we might infer that he was already dead at that time. However, it is possible that these two sonnets were added after the signing of the first *Privilegio*.

It will be remembered that Lope de Vega dedicated to Medinilla his comedia *Santiago el Verde*, which was published in the *Trezena Parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio*, Madrid, 1620. The fact that the *Aprobacion* for this volume was signed September 18, 1619, might prove that Medinilla's death occurred after that date. However, it may be that this volume of comedias was ready for the press in the early part of the year 1619, and that the *Aprobacion* was not granted until September of that year.

Since Medinilla's letter to Lope on the death of his son Carlos Felix is of some interest for Lope's biography, it is presented herewith,

⁸Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca*, Vol. III, col. 691-695.

⁹This is the date given by Barrera, *Nueva biografía de Lope de Vega*, p. 148.

¹⁰*La Filomena*, Madrid, 1621. See *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. 38, p. 366.

¹¹*Ibid.*, Vol. 39, p. xvii.

also a poem in *décimas*, by Medinilla.¹² I have kept the original spelling, but have changed the punctuation where I thought it necessary.

*A Lope de Vega Carpio en la muerte de Carlos
Felix su hijo, consolacion.*¹³

Despues que supe por carta vuestra, la ruina domestica (tal juzgo para vuestra alma en el dolor, la muerte de ese Angel), era oficio mio procurar remitir vuestra pena con algun consuelo, que con estudio he dilatado, porque antes aplicára á vuestro sentimiento intempestiuo remedio, ia porque la herida era tierna, que estocada peligrosa, ia porque ninguna verdad podré colegir en esta consolacion, que no la ubiesedes primero meditado. Conozco el afecto de los padres, aunque no lo soi. Conozco vuestra constancia, que no puede faltarles, auendo mezclado la piedad con la erudicion, porque aquella no consiente que no querais lo que Dios quiere, y ésta enseña á tolerar lo que solo á nosotros sucede, mas lo que no se puede remediar con lagrimas. No espereis pues, á que el tiempo disminuia vuestro dolor, porque es medio de ingenios plebeios, ni quiteis gloria á la razon, que mejor es dejar al dolor antes que os deje; i de los sabios es, preuenir al tiempo, i ocurrir á la pena que nace, porque no sentir los males, no es de hombres, como ni de varones no sufrillos. Aunque la que haureis recibido colijo de la mia, y así pareceria inhumano, si impidiese llorar á un padre, quien siendo extraño no basta á detener el llanto. Pero conuiene la integridad á un hombre como vos, porque ia que no podies olvidar el dolor, (¿quién niega que es justo?) le reprimais, i limiteis, que con él quiero combatir en vos mismo, lastimado en ver que en lugar dél que perdistes, tengais al dolor por hijo, porque no os naturaliceis en él de manera que venga á ser despues, más por costumbre que por deseo (iam morem fecerat usus), i es bien hacello en el Oriente del mal, porque más violentamente se ha de pelear contra lo antiguo i arraigado. ¿Quién, decid, inora auer nacido prestado al mundo? i así el que llora la muerte agena, ¿qué otra cosa siente siuo ser mortal? O ¿porque más llora aquella que el nacimiento, siendo ambas cosas naturales, una principio, y otra fin de la vida? Los autores de los leies incluíeron en breue termino el tiempo de llorar los difuntos, viendo que ninguno

dejaua de pasar por la de Naturaleça, ó porque no siendo injuria de la fortuna, basta poco dolor; ó porque es inútil á quien le padece, i graue á los que lo miran; i con raçon, porque más facilmente os llevará á vuestro hijo, que os le trará; el qual, si os atormenta, no le aprouchea, i así, es justo olvidalle al principio; porque si la raçon no pone fin al llanto, no lo hará la fortuna, que antes nos faltarán lagrimas que causas dellas, que por esto, nace-mos llorando, i lo mismo seguimos, i juzgo aurse de moderar, lo que se ha de sufrir muchas veces; i mirando quanto nos resta de tristeza, debemos, si no acaballas, suspendellas. No pienso acumular ejemplos, que dellos sobran libros. Solo sirua aquí el de David, que en tanto que tuuo esperança de la vida de su hijo, mostraua sentimiento, mas despues de perdida, ia muerto, cesó en él, sabiendo que el llanto no auía de bolversele, i que presto auía de seguirle. ¿Quién ai tan loco, que procure mouer con ruegos á quien sabe que no se ha de ablandar? Las ficras se amansan con arte, quíbrase el diamante, rómpese el marmol; pero no ai con que enterneecer la muerte, que uniuersalmente coje el fruto de todos, i por esta causa, mejor se ha de sufrir que otros males, ó por ineuitable, ó por comun, ó porque no viene segunda vez como ellos; i si los difuntos no bueluen con los sentimientos, si la suerte inmutable no se muda con miserias, i la muerte guarda lo que lleuó, cese el dolor que perece, que en faltarse, ve que no es su virtud natural, como la del fuego que lo consume todo, pues de diversas maneras sienten muchos sus males, i el tiempo quiebra las fuerças á la pena mayor, aunque se resista á los remedios. De donde colijo io, ser inútil, pues ó no quiere, ó no le entiende vuestro hijo; que si le siente, es ingrato, i si no superfluo, que el querrá que le deseeis, mas no que os atormenteis por su memoria; i si esto pretende, es indigno de vuestro amor; si no, vano vuestro sentimiento, porque el difunto tiene sentido, ó no; si no, carece de los males, i es furor dolerse por quien no se duele: si le tiene, goça del cielo, como es cierto; pues, ¿para qué será bueno consumirse por quien es bien auenturado? que llorar á aquel, es envidia, i á éste, locura; i considerados los daños, ó vicios á que se inclina nuestra edad, i quanto es ligera, antes se han de dar gracias al que muere, que lloralle. Euripides llama dia á nuestra vida, Demetrio Falereo corrigiendole, punto de tiempo, de cuiu breuedad ai un discurso en Seneca. Quan calamitosa sea, demuestran los Poetas en sus epítetos, nombrando míseros, tristes, i enfermos á los mortales, porque la primera parte de la vida, que

¹² Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MS. 3922, fol. 41-42b.

¹³ Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MS. 4266, fol. 84b-88b.

es la mejor, se inora; la media se ocupa en cuidados i negocios, i la ultima agrauan la enfermedad i vejez. Pero direis, murió vuestro hijo, sin tiempo, niño hermoso, i digno de larga vida. Respondo os, que qualquiera dia puede ser el postrero, pues unos sin ser aun hombres mueren en las oscuras patrias de los vientres, otros de diversas edades, i quan pocos tocan al umbral de la vejez, como dijo Homero; i no auiendo destinado tiempo á la vida, todos son legítimos á la muerte, porque no conviene medir el espacio del viuir con los solsticios, que la edad se ha de juzgar por las obras buenas, de suerte que aquel se dirá auer viuido mucho, no el que (con Homero) oprimió la tierra largos años, sino el que acabada bien la fábula de su vida, dejó de sí honesta memoria; i debe consolaros, que os dió presto el dolor, porque viuiendo, auíais de verle morir poco á poco, pues el primero paso de la vida entre los suios le contó la muerte, como vos decís en un soneto; i el aumento de los días, si bien se juzga, es daño, porque se acerca al fin, que diuidimos con la muerte el dia que viuiamos. Por ventura. ¿quejareis os de auer tenido hijo, que le deseais tener después de largo tiempo? Él cierto murió bien, pues fué quando empegaua á serle dulce la vida; i lo más que puede moueros es que partió inorante de vicios i calamidades, siendo incierto que le amenazaua la otra edad; que en los bienes solos son ciertos los que pasaron, i en los males los que no han venido, que es de suerte la vida llena de ellos, que ninguno la recibiría, si no se diese á los que no la conocen inespertos. Porque es ia costumbre, que la ultima parte délla ofenda con graues pecados la pureza de l'adolescencia, i contamine la felicidad de la juventud con desdichas; i en fin la presta muerte no solo le libró destos males, mas aun de los peligros; i aunque refráis lo que perdistes, pensad quanto es más lo que no teméis; y si bien lo comparais, más se le perdonó que quitó, que ai felicidad grande en la misma felicidad del morir. ¿Es justo pues, atormentaros por perderle, ó alegraros por tenerle tal? que mejor es auerle poseido que carecido dél, pues en pocos años fué lo que pudo ser en muchos, i á nadie dió el cielo grandes i eternos bienes, que no dura hasta el fin, sino cansada i lenta la felicidad; i no aguarda al ultimo tiempo lo que al primero madura, que donde no ai aumento, está vecino el ocase. Aduertid pues, no sea de animo poco grato acordarse de auer pagado la deuda, i olvidarse de auerla recibido, porque el daros Dios ese niño fué de benignidad, i el pedirle,

de derecho, i el goçarle os fué de provecho, i no el perderle de daño; si no es que juzgue vuestro amor propio lo prestado; i más debeis al cielo, quanto fué mejor la prenda que os dió, i pudiendo no hacerlo sin agrauio, no os parezca auerle pedido sin tiempo, que el fruto de auerle tenido, ia le cojistis en amalle, i poseelle, de que se le debe agradecimiento, i no quejas de auersele lleuado. Juzgo io en esta muerte no aueros quitado lo que os comunicó, pues en ella no falta el hombre, que según Socrates Platonico, es l'alma, siendo el cuerpo órgano, ó casa suia, ó mejor, cárcel o sepulcro, de que saliendo, nace más dichoso i viue libre. De cuiá consideracion podeis goçar con el ánimo lo que no veis con los ojos, pues con el pensamiento se suele tratar con los amigos ausentes; i no sé si con más eficacia que quando viuo podeis conversalle i tenelle, porque no raras veces cansan las importunidades de la puericia, i la continuacion de la compañía es materia de ofensas, disminuyendo la dulçura del amor, que l'amistad i deseo no constan de la mezcla de los cuerpos, sino de las almas; i éstas, i no aquellos aman los que quieren verdaderamente, i ni fuerça, ni distancia de tiempos, ó lugares puede separar la union déllas, que es pueril cosa juzgar muerto al amigo ausente. Quantas veces pues quisieredes, haveis presente con el pensamiento i plática á vuestro hijo, i él alternatiuamente se acordará de su padre, i sentirá sus afectos, i en sueños con secretos modos los ánimos de los dos se abrasarán, i entenderán. Pensad en sus dichos i entendimiento, qual fué, i qual se podía esperar; reuocadle á la memoria siempre, lo qual conseguireis, si haceis la suia más suaue que lagrimosa, porque es natural al ánimo huir de aquello á que va con tristeza. ¿Qué os impide no imajinar que habitais con él, auiendo de viuir en el cielo de aquí á poco tiempo? No lloreis su pérdida auiendole engendrado á Dios. Él viue, i por ventura asiste á lo que escriuo, riéndose de vuestras lágrimas i mis consuelos; i si la inmortalidad no le ubiera privado de dolor, llorará que le lloreis, pues no es de amantes, sino de sí mismos querer por gusto el ageno agrauio. La vida que le falta, dadsela con vuestros escritos, que es eterna la memoria del ingenio; i mejor le consagrareis con las letras siempre viuidoras, que le llorareis con vano sentimiento. Con estas razones suelo remitir el mio, que quise haceros propias, no porque carezcáis destos remedios, sino porque cuidé convenir que con quien la pena es comun, comunicase el consuelo. Dios os guarde.

*De Baltasar Elisseo de Medinilla.*¹⁴

DECIMAS Á LA AUSENCIA.

Desconfianças de ausencia,
 Hijas propias de mi amor,
 Pues dais materia al dolor,
 Dad valor á la paciencia.
 Háceos mi honor resistencia
 Por lo que teneis de celos,
 Mas como el todo es desbelos
 Da prebiniendo mudanças
 Al sabio desconfianças,
 Y á los honrados recelos.

Ríndeme vuestra porfía,
 Ay de lo que amor padece,
 Pues que por grande merece,
 Y por grande desconfía.
 Mi amor en mi alina os cría,
 No ofendais al dueño mío,
 Porque en aqueste desbío
 Mostrarle umilde procuro,
 Que si en su fé me aseguro,
 En mi dicha desconfío.

Mas vuestro poder mirad,
 Que con ser mucho mayor
 Su lealtad que mi temor,
 Vence el temor su lealtad.
 Bien paga á su voluntad
 (Si así su valor ofendo)
 Lo que dél estoy temiendo,
 Pues con culpas obligando,
 Más bengo á estarle queriendo.

Dos causas en mí teneis,
 Si la tercera negais,
 Amor con que os enjendrais,
 Ausencia con que creceis.
 Mas no me lo negareis
 Aunque os bea presumir
 De hijos de saber sentir,
 Que si es ynjenio dudar,
 Bien puede desconfiar
 Quien tan bien supo elejir.

Mostrais tanto en ausentáros,
 Mis deseos verdaderos,
 Que siendo culpa teneros,
 E benido á deseáros.
 No me espanto con fíaros,
 De mi amor desconfianças,
 Aunque al ausencia esperanças
 Da Celia de resistencias,
 Que son efetos de ausençias
 Los deseos, y mudanças.

Ya vibís en mí de asieuto,
 Y aunque procuro entretanto
 Dibertiros con el llanto,
 Con propio llanto os aumento.
 Porque á tal merecimiento
 Mirando mi amor agora
 Teme alcançar, si le adora,
 Y llorando amor porfía,
 Que quien ama desconfía
 Y tambien ama quien llora.

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A NOTE TO KÖRNER'S *LEIER
UND SCHWERT.*

One of the sonnets in Körner's *Leier und Schwert* bears a title which seems to be misapplied, and which has not been explained in any standard edition of the poet's works: *Vor Rauch's Büste der Königin Luise*, written in January, 1812. The work known to-day as "Rauch's bust of Queen Luise" could not have inspired Körner, as it was not made until 1816, three years after Körner's death; the most accessible reproduction of it is perhaps the one in Bigelow's *German Struggle for Liberty* (New York and London, 1903), vol. I, opposite page 8. This bust moreover represents a living woman, with eyes wide open, whereas the poet addresses the queen with the words: "Du schläfst so sanft," and "sehlumm're fort," and "dann, DEUTSCHE FRAU! erwache." The sonnet is evidently an apostrophe to a likeness of the dead queen. This being the case, one thinks at once of Rauch's sarcophagus in the royal mausoleum in Charlottenburg. The representation of the lifeless queen there and the poet's address agree perfectly. But how could the full-length recumbent figure be called a "Büste"? and how could Körner have seen it since the sarcophagus was not made until 1813? An authenticated connection between the figure and the sonnet is established by means of Peschel-Wildenow's *Theodor Körner* (Leipzig, 1898), vol. I, page 328. Here we are told that Körner met Rauch in Vienna in

¹⁴ Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MS. 3922, fol. 41-42b.

January, 1812, at the house of Humboldt, when Rauch was on his way to Italy to execute the sarcophagus, taking with him an "Abguss" of the head of the figure which he had made in Berlin, and which was later used in the execution of the complete sculpture. Körner's sonnet was therefore addressed to a bust of Queen Luise, but in reading the poem nowadays we are to think of the recumbent likeness of the queen on the sarcophagus in Charlottenburg.

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NOTES ON *BEOWULF*.

166-171. Sense is usually made out of this passage by taking 168 as adversative—"in spite of all this he [Grendel] could not molest the throne." (So, in general, Garnett, Earle, L. Hall, C. Hall.) The passage is usually regarded as a Christian interpolation; but it is hard to believe that even an interpolator would so far weaken the force of the description of Grendel's descent upon Heorot as to suggest that any portion of the hall was free from his molestation. Nor, admitting this, can we find a satisfactory explanation of *ne his myne wisse*. It is ridiculous to say that Grendel did not "share the sentiment" of the throne (Earle), or "did not know His [God's] purpose" (C. Hall); it seems equally unsatisfactory to adopt the old suggestion, "he [Grendel] scorned his [Hrothgar's] favors," as does Professor C. G. Child.

The chief difficulties disappear if we make the *hē* in 168 refer to Hrothgar. Hrothgar could not approach his own throne, precious in the sight of God (*or perhaps preferably*, that precious thing, standing before the eyes of God), nor did he [Hrothgar] at that time experience His favor." It is true that according to modern English standards, *hē* could refer only to Grendel, but in Old English poetry no such logical sequence can be expected. The simple use of a definite pronoun is suffi-

cient to indicate a change of subject. Proper names often seem indeed to be purposely withheld. Thus Beowulf himself, the hero of the poem, is not mentioned by name until 149 lines after his first appearance in the poem, though all this time he has been the chief person before us; so Grendel is vaguely referred to (100) as *ān*, before he is definitely named. This indefiniteness of subject contributes largely to the obscurity of the *Beowulf*. In this particular passage, the use of the definite *hē* (168) and of *wine Scyldinga* (170) seems to me sufficient indication that Hrothgar is the subject of the last four lines of the passage.

If this interpretation be accepted, the punctuation of the passage should be changed as follows:

*Heorot eardode,
sinc-fāge sel sweartum nihtum.
Nō hē ðone gif-stōl grētan mōste,
māððum, for Metode, nē His myne wisse;
ðæt was wræc micel wine Scyldinga.*

311. *Lixte se lēoma ofer landa fela.*

This beautiful line, with its suggestive connotation, reminds one of Balder's house, Breidablik.

760. *Him fæste wiðfeng; fingras burston.*

This line immediately suggests two questions: Whose fingers are referred to? and, What is the meaning of *burston*? Dictionaries and glossaries give only the obvious meanings. It is a passage that must be interpreted by the translators. The German and English translators agree in referring the fingers to Beowulf, rendering variously, "his fingers cracked" (Garnett, C. Hall); "eracked as they would burst" (Earle); "erackled" (J. L. Hall); "burst" (Morris and Wyatt). Professor C. G. Child renders, "the fingers of the giant one snapped"; which is vague, but seems to refer to Beowulf.

None of the translators seems to have made sense out of the apparently simple *burston*. What is meant by saying that anybody's fingers crack, erackle, or snap? Probably the underlying idea of most of the translators is that Beowulf gripped so hard that his knuckles cracked, but to evolve this meaning from the

text requires an unjustifiably loose translation of both *fingras* and *burston*. I can find no other instance in Old English of *burston* for "cracked."

The passage should, I believe, be rendered literally, with the following signification, "[Grendel's] fingers burst [open and bled]." That the fingers referred to are Grendel's seems to be obvious from 764b-765:

*wiste his fingra geweald
on grames grāpum.*

We must understand that Beowulf has seized Grendel by the hand, and is gripping and pulling it so hard that blood bursts from under the finger-nails. The sudden shift of subject from one person to another is, as I have shown above, everywhere to be expected in the poem.

Exact parallels are found in *Nibelungenlied* B. 675,

*Si druht im sīne hende daz ūz den nageln spranc
daz pluot im von ir Krefte;*

also in *Nib.* C. 657; and in *Salman und Morolt* 1609. The incident is common in modern novels; see e. g., *A Lear of the Steppes*, § 2, and *Micah Clarke*, chap. 21.

783. *Norð-Denum stōd
atelic egesa ānra gehwylcum,
ðāra ðe of wealle wōp gehjrdon,
gryrelēoð galan Godes ondsacan.*

Line 785 is usually rendered, "those who, from the wall, heard the howling," though Dr. C. Hall leaves the matter vague, and Professor Child ignores it altogether. Wyatt says in his glossary that *weal* means "burgh-wall," and some have felt that the appellation "North-Danes" also served to indicate that *wealle* here means "city-wall," as though we should translate, "the Danes who listen from the northern part of the city-wall." But "North-Danes" appears to be quite without significance here, for the same people have been variously called East-, West-, and South-Danes. Moreover, the translation "burgh-wall" is probably incorrect, since city-walls are nowhere referred to in the *Beowulf*, and are to be thought of, in general,

as belonging to a later period (cf. Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp. 90 ff.).

Dr. C. Hall in his preliminary note to this passage (p. 45), suggests, "Danes on the neighbouring castle-wall." But this seems unsatisfactory, Heorot being built of wood, and simple in its construction. No fortifications other than the walls of the building itself are mentioned; the outlying "bowers" (140) are probably adjoining huts, surely not a neighboring castle.

The wall of Heorot itself is the only one of importance enough to be mentioned, and we must, I think, render, "The North Danes who heard the howling from the wall[s] [of Heorot]," or more freely, "who heard the howling in the house."

815 ff. In the *Mabinogion* ("Pwyle, Prince of Dyved," near end), there is an incident of a giant claw that seizes new-born colts. The claw belongs to a monster of mysterious nature, who, like Grendel, is also a creature of the night. Like Grendel, again, he escapes leaving his arm behind him. Lady Guest's translation reads:

"And Teirnyon rose up, and looked at the size of the colt, and as he did so he heard a great tumult, and after the tumult, behold a claw came through the window into the house, and it seized the colt by the mane. Then Teirnyon drew his sword, and struck off the arm at the elbow, so that portion of the arm, together with the colt, was in the house with him. And then did he hear a tumult and a wailing both at once." (Cf. *Beo.* 786-87).

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ITALIAN ACTORS IN SCOTLAND.

The following records of payments to Italian actors in Scotland are worthy of notice as showing early continental influence on the British drama. The record of 1517 shows that four Italian actors,—probably four of the

six mentioned in the record of 1516,—received a money payment on their return.

1514. "Et histrionibus Italicis in octo libris et octo solidis in eorum feodis . . ." ¹

1516. "Et per solutionem factam sex histrionibus Ytalis domini gubernatoris in triginta quinque libris per preceptum domini gubernatoris, dominis auditoribus testantibus preceptum, et dictis histrionibus fatentibus solutionem super compotum xxxv li." ²

An. 1517. "Et quatuor histrionibus Ytalis in recessu ipsorum pro benevolentia de mandato dicti domini gubernatoris literatorio ostenso super compotum lx li." ³

Next year there is a payment to a number of Italian and Scotch performers who were both trumpeters and actors. Scotch Latinization of foreign names is very irregular, and it is hard to distinguish the Italians from the Scotchman in the list. Pais occurs elsewhere in the Rolls ⁴ in company with one Guillaume, and is evidently a foreigner. To these performers are also given measures of barley, grain, and a goodly number of capons.

An. 1518. "In primis allocatur compotanti per solutionem factam Juliano Drummond, Vincenti Pais, Sebastiano Drummond, Georgio Forest, et Juliano Rokkett, tubicinis et histrionibus Italicis et Scotis [£155. 3. 4.]," also "una celdra duabus bollis ordeï undecim martis ⁵ sex duodenis caponum," ⁶ etc.

The following payment probably refers to the same five performers.

An. 1518. "Et per solutionem factam quinque tubicinis Italicis in quinquaginta quinque libris et novem solidis per preceptum domini gubernatoris, dicto precepto manu sua subscripto ostenso super compotum lv li. ix s.

Et dictis tubicinis Italicis in quinquaginta una libris preter firmas et devorias domini de Garviauch in rotulo anni, etc. V^o decimi octavi dictis tubicinis allocatas, per preceptum dicti domini gubernatoris ostensum super compotum li li." ⁷

George Forest signs the receipts for the players in 1522.

An. 1522. "Et eidem per solutionem factam Italicis tubicinis de firmis terrarum thanagii de Kintor in centum septuaginta octo libris novemdecim solidis et quatuor denariis per preceptum domini gubernatoris et Roberti Bertoune, rotuloris, dictis tubicinis per binas suas quittantias manu Georgei Forrest, unius tubicinarum, subscriptas fatentibus solutionem super compotum [£178. 19. 4]." ⁸

The same year is recorded another money payment, with more barley and capons.

An. 1522. "Que firme et devoria predicta dicti domini de Garviauch assignatur sex tubicinis Italicis et Scotis in partem solutionis gagiorum et feodorum ipsorum, quilibet eorum precipiens in anno triginta octo libras et decem solidos" . . . ; ⁹ also "[4] celdre ¹⁰ [8] bolle ordeï [44] marte, [18] duodene caponum 48 duodene pultriarum."

Records of payments to Italian trumpeters continue with hardly any interruption up to the year 1561. In 1526 their salaries (£38. 10. 0), are made chargeable on the fermes and dues of the lordship of Garviauch, ¹¹ and payments are made accordingly in the years 1523, 1525, 1526 and 1527. ¹² But in 1529 it is directed that no further payments are to be made without the express command of the King ("sine expreso mandato domini regis"). ¹³ The old salary, however, is paid from the king's treasury in 1530, ¹⁴ and fairly regularly thereafter up to 1561. Beginning with 1547 there are separate payments to the Queen's trumpeters. But with 1561 mention of Italian trumpeters ceases; and as if to make a distinction, the payments thereafter ¹⁵ are usually said to be to "ordinary trumpeters." Thus in 1574 there is a payment to "quinque tubicibus ordinariis"; ¹⁶ and again in the same year "to the five ordinary trumpeters of the King"; ¹⁷ and again in 1588, "to the saidis ordiner trumpettis." ¹⁸

⁸*Id.*, p. 431.

⁹*Id.*, p. 423. These are, of course, pounds Scots (= one-twelfth of the English pound); and shillings Scots (= English penny).

¹⁰celdra = 'measure.'

¹¹*Id.*, xv, 220, 494.

¹²*Id.*, pp. 30, 156, 245, 312 respectively.

¹³*Id.*, p. 495.

¹⁴*Id.*, xvi, p. 5.

¹⁵1574-1588.

¹⁶*Id.*, xx, 165.

¹⁷*Id.*, 329.

¹⁸*Id.*, 398.

¹*Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, xiv (1513-1522), p. 8.

²*Id.*, p. 220.

³*Id.*, p. 285.

⁴*Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, cclxi.

⁵Oxen.

⁶*Rolls*, p. 300.

⁷*Id.*, p. 353.

These records show Italian players in Scotland sixty-three years before there is any record of them in England, and thirty-four years before there is any record of them in France. Their first appearance in the latter country is said by Brantôme to have been on September 28th, 1548, at the court of Henry II.¹⁹ Petit de Julleville states, however, that there were Italian players of farces at Paris in the time of Francis I.²⁰ This would still be later than the appearance of the Italians in Scotland.

In the record of payment in 1516 to the players, and in some of the other records, they are said to be "domini gubernatoris,"—the Lord Governor's. The Lord Governor, or Regent at this time was the Duke of Albany, a Frenchman. James V came to the Scotch throne at the age of eighteen months. A governor being necessary, an embassy was sent to France to offer the regency to Albany. He landed on May 18, 1515, and left again temporarily for France in May, 1517. The players of 1516 are certainly his; and four of them left Scotland in the same year as he himself, probably returning with him to France. There are, then, two of the original six Italian performers still remaining in Scotland. We may be reasonably sure that Vincent Pais²¹ of the record of 1518 is one of these original six.

Albany returned to Scotland in 1521, and ordered two payments to be made to Italian and Scotch trumpeters in 1522.²² The fact that George Forrest who is one of the company of five "tubicinis et histrionibus" in 1518, signs the receipt, serves to identify the company. Though this company is not called by the name of "histriones" after 1518, there is very little doubt that it was an acting company

in fact. For with only one exception the company of five Italians and Scotchman, called "tubicines" in 1526²³ is in personnel exactly the same as that called "tubicines et histriones" in 1518.²⁴ We may conclude that this original Italian company continued to combine the arts of acting and trumpeting, until it disappeared from the records in 1561.

In the first entry (1514), the players are not named "the Lord Governor's," and in fact are settled in Scotland, and receiving a payment before the arrival of Albany. The invitation to Albany, was, however, sent in 1513. The Duke, who was Admiral of France, was at first disinclined to leave his country, but at once dispatched as his agent the Seigneur de la Bastie. This knight had been in Scotland in 1506-7, and had won rich gifts.²⁵ From 1508 to 1513 he had been fighting in Italy for the cause of Louis XII, and from there he went almost directly to Scotland. He appears at the general council which met at Perth, October 19th to November 26th, 1513.²⁶ Possibly the Seigneur de la Baste brought Italian players of his own with him, or players belonging to Albany, or players whom later Albany attached to himself. It is, however, safe to conclude from the appearance of Italian players in Scotland at the time the country was coming under the rule of Frenchmen, and from the dependence of these players upon Frenchmen, that Italian players were known at the courts of French noblemen in the earliest years of the sixteenth century,—a fact of importance for the history of early French comedy.

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¹⁹ Brantôme, *Grands Capitaines François:—Le Grand Roy Henry II* (Œuvres Complètes, ed. L. Lalanne, Paris, 1867), III, 250, 256.

²⁰ *Les Comédiens en France au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1885), p. 357, n.

²¹ There is a John Pais, "tawbronar," i. e., drummer, mentioned as having received four payments, 1496-7, in *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* (ed. Dickson, Edin., 1877), pp. 280, 326, 340, 360.

²² *Exchequer Rolls*, XIV, 424, 431.

²³ *Id.*, XV, 220.

²⁴ *Id.*, XIV, 220.

²⁵ For his romantic career in Scotland vid. *Blackwood* (July, 1893), Vol. 154, pp. 132-144.

²⁶ *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, article on James V, p. 154.

WHY NOT A FUTURE SUBJUNCTIVE?

In his conjugation of the verb, Prof. J. M. D. Meiklejohn, in his *English Grammar*¹ (page 56), classes the forms *I should strike*, *I should be striking*, and *I should have struck* as, respectively, the future indefinite, the future imperfect, and the future perfect tense-forms of the subjunctive mood, thus making them correspond with the similar future tense-forms of the indicative mood. For such a classification there is justification both in reason and in convenience.

Shall and *will* are used, as is well known, both as notional verbs and as auxiliary verbs. When used as a notional verb, the past tense-form of *shall* is *should*, and of *will* is *would*; the meanings which each has as a notional verb are retained, the time in which these meanings are predicated being merely changed to the past. But it is easy to show that there are many cases in which *should* and *would* have no meanings of their own, but are as truly auxiliary verbs as are *shall* and *will*.

Will when used as a notional verb signifies wish, desire, inclination, purpose, intention, etc. In the sentence, "John will be punished in spite of his plea for mercy," the context excludes any of the meanings which are possible to *will* as a notional verb, and permits it to be classed only as an auxiliary verb, helping to form a future tense-form of the main verb "punished." If we put this sentence into indirect discourse after a past tense-form of the verb "say," we shall have the following: "Henry said that John *would* be punished in spite of John's plea for mercy." Does *would* in this sentence any more express a wish, purpose, intention, etc., than *will* does in the direct form? And if *will* is an auxiliary verb in the direct form, is not *would* necessarily an auxiliary in the indirect? But an auxiliary of what, if not an auxiliary of some mood?

Again, take a sentence like the following:

¹ *The English Language: its Grammar, History, and Literature*, by J. M. D. Meiklejohn, M. A., D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, New York, and Chicago, 1897.

"Notwithstanding his innocence, if he were here now he *would* be hanged." Can *would* in this sentence by any reasonable interpretation be construed as a notional verb, expressing past wish, desire, purpose, or intention? Or in a sentence like this: "If his own brother *would* steal John's purse, John *would* be disgraced," will the context permit to be given to *would* any one of the meanings which it must have in order to be classified as a notional verb?

If, then, in sentences like the above, *would* and *should* can not be notional verbs, it is necessary that they be auxiliary verbs; and inasmuch as they show the manner in which the action of the verb is presented to the mind, it follows that they are auxiliaries of mood—that they are "helping verbs" in the formation of the tense-forms of some mood. The question is, Of what mood are they auxiliaries?

Nearly a third of a century ago Dr. William Dwight Whitney, in his "*Essentials of English Grammar*"² (page 120), called attention to these forms, and classed them as "conditional forms" because they are "especially used to express a conditional assertion." But inasmuch as their use in expressing conditions is only one of several functions belonging to these forms, together with the fact that other forms likewise are used in expressing conditions, we can hardly regard the reasons given by Dr. Whitney as entirely sufficient for calling them the "conditional mood," and thus adding another to the number of moods which the student will have to learn. There are better reasons for classing them merely as future tense-forms of the subjunctive mood.

In the first place, all of the functions of the auxiliary forms *would* and *should* are properly subjunctive functions—they are functions that belong to the subjunctive mood in languages generally, and that go to make up the very conception of the mood itself. Indeed, they are functions which are regularly expressed by the subjunctive mood in the Old English period of our own language.

Again, to class these as future tense-forms

² *Essentials of English Grammar*, by William Dwight Whitney, Boston, Ginn & Heath, 1877.

of the subjunctive but completes the cycle of the tense forms of that mood. The subjunctive already has a full complement of present and of past tense-forms. Why should it not be possible to predicate action or state under the subjunctive modifications, in future time as well as in present or in past time? In this we have a most apt analogy in the German—the closest akin of all our cognate languages—which has in the subjunctive mood future tense-forms similar to those which it has in the indicative.

Probably the strongest reasons for classing as future subjunctives the forms in which *would* and *should* appear as auxiliaries, is the practical advantage which it serves. It is an exceedingly convenient classification, both in outlining the conjugations of the verb, and in explaining the more difficult principles of English syntax. After an experience of almost a decade with this method, the writer does not hesitate to say that the constructions for indirect discourse, for conditions contrary-to-fact (unreal conditions), for less vivid future conditions (ideal conditions), and the like, can be made much simpler, and that the co-ordination of these English constructions with similar constructions in German, Latin, and Greek is immensely facilitated, if these forms are classed as future tense-forms of the subjunctive mood.

Is there any good reason why these forms should not be classed as future subjunctive tense-forms? And if not, with the arguments mentioned above in favor of this classification, ought it not to be more generally adopted by the authors of our text-books on English grammar?

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A NOTE ON SHAKESPEARE.

For many years I have felt that the word *rouse*, 'intoxication, a drinking frolic,' which occurs four times in Shakespeare, has not been satisfactorily explained by the annotators or

in most of the dictionaries. The word is common in all the Scandinavian languages in the form *rus*, which means 'a carouse, a fit of intoxication.' For example in Danish, *at tage sig en rus* or *at faa sig en rus*, 'to indulge in a spruce'; *at sove rusen ud*, 'to sleep off one's debauch, sleep oneself sober.' The word must have been borrowed from the Danish, as pointed out by Professor Skeat, in whose *Etymological Dictionary* it is correctly explained. In the other dictionaries, except the Shakespearian, *rouse* is defined as meaning a bumper, though Webster adds "a drinking frolic." Schmidt, in his *Shakespeare Lexicon* defines the word as "free and copious drinking, a full measure of liquor"; and Phin in his *Shakespeare Cyclopaedia and New Glossary*, as "a bumper; a copious draft of liquor," referring to *Hamlet*, I, 2, 127; I, 4, 8, and *Othello*, II, 3, 66; and as "a carouse; a drinking feast," referring to *Hamlet*, II, 1, 58. The annotators almost invariably explain the word as meaning simply a 'bumper'; yet in Shakespeare it evidently means the same as in the language from which it was borrowed, at least in three of the four passages. These passages are the following: *Hamlet*, I, 2, 127: "And the king's rouse the heavens shall bruit again"; *Hamlet*, I, 4, 8: "The king doth wake to-night and takes his rouse"; *Hamlet*, II, 1, 58: "There was he gaming, there o'ertook in's rouse"; and *Othello*, II, 3, 66: "'Fore God, they have given me a rouse already."

In all these cases Professor Rolfe explains *rouse* as meaning 'a bumper,' though in the last case he adds "too deep a draft." Professor Dowden in his edition of *Hamlet* makes it 'bumper' in all the four cases. In Dr. Furness's Variorum Edition, where one naturally looks for the best criticism on all Shakespearian questions, there is no intimation that the editor has perceived the true explanation. Under the first case Dr. Furness quotes Wedgewood's antiquated etymology, but does not hint what he thinks the word may mean. Under the second he quotes Gifford's definition of *rouse* as meaning "a large glass in which a health was given." On "o'ertook in's rouse"

he quotes from Clarendon: "That is, by intoxication. One of the many euphemisms for drink," which is the nearest to the truth of all his notes, quoted or original. Under the passage in *Othello* he again quotes Gifford's definition. Phin, Schmidt, and Skeat, whose explanation is the best, are not even mentioned. It seems as if Gifford's definition had fixed the matter for all time in the mind of the annotators and most of the lexicographers. And yet this explanation is manifestly wrong so far as the passages in Shakespeare are concerned, however much the word elsewhere may have the meaning of 'bumper.'

In the first passage, "And the king's rouse the heavens shall bruit again," a very little thought will convince the reader that it is not the king's bumper that is to be bruited, but his draining of it, or rather his drinking or getting drunk, without reference to a single bumper, for we must suppose him to drain several at a sitting. In the second, "The king doth wake to-night and takes his rouse," the meaning is that the king is having his (customary) carouse, *tager sin rus*. In the third passage, "There was he gaming, there o'ertook in's rouse," it is absurd to say that the king or any other man can be overtaken in a bumper, though there is very evident sense in saying that a man may be overtaken in drunkenness. In the passage in *Othello*, "Forc God, they have given me a rouse already," the word *rouse* might possibly mean a bumper; yet there is not much point in Cassio's saying so. He says in effect, "They have made me intoxicated already." So it appears that in the three passages in which the word is found in *Hamlet* it can mean only one thing, 'a fit of drunkenness, a sprce'; and also in the passage in *Othello*, 'intoxication' is the most likely meaning.

In the passages quoted in the dictionaries and in notes to Shakespeare's plays to illustrate the meaning of the word *rouse*, it seems in most cases to have the same meaning as in Shakespeare. The passages I have seen are the following:—

He took his *rouse* with stoups of Rhenish wine,
from Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*;

Your lord, by his patent,
Stands bound to take his *rouse*,

from Massinger's *Duke of Milan*, act I, scene 1;

Fill the cup, and fill the can,
Have a *rouse* before the morn,

from Tennyson's *Vision of Sin*; in all of which the meaning of 'intoxication' is the only possible one.

I have taken, since supper,
A *rouse* or two too much, and by [the gods],
It warms the blood,

from Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of Malta*, is the only passage I have seen in which the definition of 'bumper' is suitable.

It appears, then, that in English literature generally, and in Shakespeare in particular, the word *rouse* means 'intoxication, a carousal,' and that no other explanation is admissible in Shakespeare.

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A NEW PLAY BY JOHN FORD.

I.

As the thirteenth volume of "Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas," Professor Bang publishes an admirable edition of an old play, *The Queen or the Excellency of Her Sex*, which he attributes to John Ford. *The Queen* has an interesting, though not an illustrious history; it seems to have slept in undisturbed oblivion since 1653, when it was temporarily resuscitated by the actor Alexander Gough. This Gough was one of the melancholy survivors of the Last Judgment of 1642. On evil days though fallen, Gough stuck to his calling, and played his part in those surreptitious and hazardous theatrical performances with which, in the reign of Puritan righteousness, the old lovers of the drama had to content themselves. The congratulatory verses prefixed to the play give vigorous expression to the resentment at the rigor of rulers

who interfered with personal liberty, and at the bigotry of priests who admit

"Onely a grave formality for wit."

In the poem of "T. C," there is a fine note of defiance :

"Yet the more Generous race of men revives
This Lamp of Knowledge, and like Primitives
In Caves, fearless of Martyrdom, rehearse
The almost breathless, now, Dramatick verse."

Some of the members of this fraternity of histrionic martyrs eked out their hand-to-mouth existence, says Wright (quoted by Professor Bang), "by publishing copies of plays never before printed, but kept in manuscript." The hunger of Goughe, then, may have preserved the *Queen*. The title page of the quarto informs us that this "Excellent old Play" was "Found out by a Person of Honour, and given to the Publisher, Alexander Goughe." But it gives no hint of the author.

The scholar who commits himself on the authorship of an anonymous old play takes his life in his hands; there are few more daring things that he can do, and there is no more searching test of his scholarship. In the graceful foreword to the edition of the *Queen*, Professor Bang speaks of his delight in making the discovery, and incidentally furnishes the materials for testing the validity of his judgment. From his *Gymnasium* days, he has been an admiring student of Ford; he has worked on the problem of distinguishing the authors in the Ford-Dekker plays; the voice of Ford has become like that of an old friend; and he has heard it again in the *Queen*. He has a wise skepticism of rhyme tests and other mechanical formulas. Long familiarity with his author, a genuine relish for the true Ford flavor, an immediate sense of the idiosyncracies of his style—that is the basis on which Professor Bang makes his decision, and that, in the absence of external evidence, is the only sufficient basis. To those intimate with Ford, the corroborative testimony of vocabulary, parallel passages, etc., is interesting but almost superfluous. Since the general acceptance of Ford's

authorship depends upon the consent of those who can, or think they can, recognize Ford's voice when they hear it, it behooves all such to express an opinion. When I first heard that the *Queen* had been attributed to Ford, I fortunately had access to the old quarto, and there read the play for the first time, unbiassed by notes or comment. Ford had been my pretty constant companion for several years, and I repeated Professor Bang's experience—an immediate sense of the author. Subsequent readings have only deepened my certainty that the author of the *Broken Heart* was the author of the *Queen*.

II.

The central interest of the *Queen* is, characteristically, an affair of the heart. The main action may to advantage be detached from the gross parasitical under-plot. Alphonso, leader of an insurrection against the Queen of Aragon, has, at the opening of the play, been defeated, captured and sentenced to death. Just as the axe is falling upon his disloyal neck, the Queen enters. It now appears that Alphonso is a young, enthusiastie crank, enraged, for reasons unknown, against the whole female sex.

"I hate your sex in general, not you
As y' are a Queen, but as y' are a woman :
Had I a term of life could last for ever,
And you could grant it, yes, and would, yet all
Or more should never reconcile my heart
To any she alive."

This ungallant speech seems rather to please the Queen than otherwise. In spite of insults and protests, she insists on pardoning him. Shortly afterwards, she marries him and crowns him king. At this point, Alphonso requests her to remain apart from him for a week that he may atone for his ill thoughts against her sex.

A month has passed, and still the king has not taken his wife. Her friends sue to him in her behalf; but he is obdurate. Then the Queen herself enters, like Esther to Ahasuerus, unannounced, and begs for his forgiveness and

love. She is soft and seductive,—tries to find a way into his heart. The King is visibly moved, but to rage. He cries out upon her for an enchantress; he will not lay his royalty "beneath an antick woman's feet." In his wrath, he says, absolutely without reason, that he has no faith in her honesty. Finally, he bids her go live chaste, as he does; so, he banishes her from his presence. She retires, hurt and sad, but loving him still.

In the third act, Muretto, the benevolent and bloodless Iago of the play, has persuaded Alphonso that the Queen is indeed dishonest, that she is in love with innocent young Lord Petruchi. She, meanwhile, is beating her brains for a device to gain her husband's favor; she would fain come before him in a chariot carved out of a single diamond and drawn by ivory steeds. The King summons her before him; accuses her of adultery, and sentences her to death, unless a champion shall appear and, in single combat with him, establish her honor. The Queen, in a fine moment of exaltation, forbids all who love her to fight on her behalf against her husband.

The fourth act contains what is in itself an interesting and really effective psychological study. The well-intentioned Muretto has been working on the King's feelings. In the face of the death that he has decreed, the Queen is growing more beautiful to him. Confronted with her, he has a bitter sense of her sinful loveliness. He is torn by the agonizing inner struggle of love and morbid jealousy.

"Between my comforts and my shame I stand
In equal distance; this way let me turn
To thee, thou woman. Let me dull mine eyes
With surfeit on thy beauty. What art thou
Great dazeling splendor? let me ever look
And dwell upon this presence."

But he persuades himself, by shutting his eyes and ears, that he is influenced only by her physical attractions, and dismisses her.

By the time that the trial by arms is reached, the King is ready to be defeated; yet he is perversely bent upon going through the ordeal. The speech with which he addresses the assembled lords must be quoted:

"Lords welcome, see thus arm in arm we pace
To the wide theater of blood and shame
My Queen and I, my Queen? had shee bin still
As shee was, mine, we might have liv'd too happ'ly,
For eithers comfort. Heer on this sweet modell,
This plott of wonder, this fair face, stands fixt
My whole felicity on earth. In witnes
Whereof, behold (my Lords) those manly tears
Which her unkindnes and my cruell fate
Force from their quiet springs. They speak alowd
To all this open ayre, their publick eyes,
That whither I kill or dy in this attempt
I shall in both be vanquisht."

Here is a cadence worthy of Ford at his best, an accent worthy of the spacious times of great Elizabeth, and of a much better man than Alphonso. To the mind of every reader of Ford, I think these lines will inevitably recall the musical words and pious tears of Giovanni before killing his sister. It is all perfectly in Ford's manner. There is the conventional suspense before a champion appears. Then, at a blast of the trumpet, enters the Queen's General, Velasco. The Queen entreats him not to fight, and swoons when he refuses to comply. At the second trumpet blast, Lord Petruchi appears. At the third, Muretto, the benevolent Iago. Of course, the King is confounded at this last champion, and demands an explanation. Muretto replies, in effect: I saw that the King was set against the sex, and planned to cure him of his eccentricity. I effected my laudable purpose by mixing insinuations of the Queen's faithlessness with suggestions of her beauty; so, brought the King to love his wife. Applaud my ingenuity and success. They all applaud, and thenceforth live in felicity.

III.

The obvious criticism upon this play is that it is theatrical. This is no "transcript from life;" this sex-dual in which woman is the aggressor is an affair of the stage-world—a sort of heroic anticipation of Mr. Shaw's *Man and Superman*. The author has taken no pains to make his story plausible; he has not told us how Alphonso became such an inveterate woman-hater; he has given no adequate explanation of the insurrection; he has supplied

no adequate motive for Alphonso's jealousy. The hero is a thing of shreds and patches. The great character of the play is undoubtedly the Queen. If our imagination can furnish a motive for her devotion to her morbid and fanatical subject, we can scarcely refuse our admiration to the lofty ardor and intensity of her passion. It is unnatural, but it is heroic. By her daring and high-pitched spirit, by her haughty humility, she reminds us of Calantha; but in her readiness to have her head cut off by her husband, she suggests patient Griselda. As Chaucer informs us, Griselda and her patience are dead and buried together in Italy.

The artificiality of the play is instructive; it points straight at Ford as the author. It consists not merely in the inadequate motivation of the characters; it is in the soul of the plot. The germinal idea, as I take it, is this: A man suffering from diseased notions of love and women is restored by psychological treatment to a normal state of mind. The King and the Queen are more or less humanized puppets, manipulated by the master of the show in certain typical and exciting crises of love, jealousy, and remorse to illustrate the treatment of mental aberration. The King is the patient, Muretto is the doctor, the Queen is the cure. In real life, Muretto would have been beheaded; here, he is hailed as a triumphant physician. Now, the germinal idea of the *Queen* is identical with that of Ford's first published play, the *Lover's Melancholy*. The theme of that highly artificial production is the curing of Palador, Meleander and the rest, who are all suffering severely from various forms of "melancholy,"—a real physician, Corax, is the hero of the cure.

The key to both of these plays and, indeed, one of the best commentaries on Ford's work, is Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. That great analysis of the diseases of the mind,—itself the product of a somewhat diseased mind,—seems to have affected Ford profoundly. It supplied him with a method and formula. Erudite in the symptoms of heart trouble, he bends his energies to depicting the

characteristic aspects of the major passions. He can portray a jealous man, a heart-broken woman, a vengeful or remorseful man, or a love-smitten woman with masterful power; he knows the symptoms, and records them, every one. But he is comparatively deficient in the power of exhibiting the subtle knots of cause and effect in a connected story of passion. Frequently, therefore, he sets to work in a very mechanical way to contrive occasions for his characters. Having no great fertility of invention, he all too often contents himself with presenting an interesting character in a flimsy patchwork of poorly connected scenes. His work is remarkably uneven; like many other men of limited genius, he had two or three good things in him, produced them, and then went pattering on from bad to worse. His work falls into two divisions: that in which the subject took hold of him, and that in which he took hold of the subject. In the first class, are the *Broken Heart*, *'Tis Pity*, and *Love's Sacrifice*. It is a noteworthy fact that the *Broken Heart* is all in verse. The whole play seems to have been inspired; there is no time nor place in the story for padding or buffoonery. *'Tis Pity* contains some prose and underplot, but the work is firm and coherent—the comic characters are swept into the whirlpool of the tragic plot. *Love's Sacrifice* is less cleanly constructed; the tragic action is interrupted and impeded by the impertinent and revolting scenes of the underplot. In the *Fancies* and the *Lady's Trial*, the underplot sprawls wantonly over the main action. The author falls into hopeless padding and pattering; a few scenes of power are dislocated by long and futile scenes without mirth or sense. The *Queen* is a much better play than the *Fancies* or the *Lady's Trial*, but, on the whole, I think it belongs in the class with them. Ford had not the energy or invention to fill out the five acts with the story of the Queen and her King. Only by the aimless quarrels of a "rascal rout" and the flat and disgusting love affair of the incomprehensible widow Salassa are the two or three inspired scenes of the main plot held together. If the *Queen* were a new play by a contemporary

writer, I think the critics would say, in effect: This tragi-comedy exhibits Ford's characteristic merits and defects; it occasionally rises to the tragic pitch of *'Tis Pity* and the *Broken Heart*, but it sinks still more frequently to the flatness of the *Fancies*; on the whole, we do not think it will greatly enhance the reputation of its author.

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FRENCH LIFE.

LANGLOIS, CH.-V., *La vie en France au moyen-âge d'après quelques moralistes du temps*. Paris: Hachette, 1908. 12mo. xix + 359 pp.

This work represents a third venture, by its author, into a region of research where history and philology elements converge. The method is a very ingenious application; the writer executes his task in such a way that both sciences are at work in the one field at the same moment. His plea is that Romance philologists are not sufficiently aware of the documents which scholars have to use who concern themselves directly with history material and, *vice versa*, that historians of the Middle Ages rather incline to neglect the literary monuments of this period because they consider these documents to be within the exclusive control of the philologists.

M. Langlois is a living example in scholarship of the synthesis of these two branches of research, which he employs to illuminate Mediæval conditions of life in their manifold aspects. His prime purpose is to show that Mediæval life is, essentially, no whit removed from that of contemporary civilization, and therefore worthy of the claim of human interest which men of these times attach to this present age.

Seventeen years ago there was printed in the *Revue Bleue* (1891) an article on: *La société du moyen-âge d'après les fabliaux*; the second

work on similar lines, but of much finer elaboration, appeared four years ago in: *La société française au XIII^e siècle d'après dix romans d'aventure*; the third contribution of the same order, just published, exhibits the cumulative working of its two predecessors, both in the perfection of method and the conciseness of its details. Owing to the considerate reception accorded to the *Société française*, M. Langlois was induced to follow on with the study he has but just completed; it can be said with all sincerity that this recent work has improved in every particular on the volume of 1904.

The book before us presents its readers with a decade of moralist writers of the thirteenth century employing the French language, though not all of them Frenchmen. The body of the work is made up of a modern French rendering of the best didactic thought which these moralists have left us; the translation or version of M. Langlois assumes the form of abridged paraphrase with intercalated quotations of the original texts, aimed to preserve, as far as may be, the early inspiration and natural expression of the Mediæval writer. A foreword introduces each author's moralisms, embodying biographical and linguistic detail as well,—the latter element, of course, not intended exactly for the general reader. Throughout this work are to be found an unusually large number of notes, the practical value of which, to any but specialists, will be a minimum.

To sum up in one short phrase the function of the book, one can say that within the simple compass of a few hundred pages it will be possible for the layman to find his road through what would be otherwise an endless mass of material which very few men have dared to approach hitherto except for technical purposes. M. Langlois has chosen conscientiously these ten exponents of moralistic literature of the thirteenth century in order to afford the modern general reader, and the scholar as well, a representation of the life of this period as seen from the religious critic's view-point. Of these ten writers, no less than seven can be consulted directly in printed editions of recent

date and scholarship and within easy access for purposes of reference. The author offers, moreover, to those of his readers who can follow the subject more readily a fund of explanatory material from the *Histoire littéraire, Roumanie* and the *Zeitschrift* upon which he depends quite often for decisions concerning authorship, sources and dates; he would not have gone very wide to include among these manuals the *Einführung* of Voretzsch (Halle, 1905), a very serviceable book for bibliographical data in this general connection.

It is not to be expected, of course, that the same intense human interest should characterize this present work as inheres in the volume drawn from the *romans d'aventure*. A century like the age of Louis IX which begins with the *Poème moral* and ends with Gilles li Muisis, counting also the moralists in between whom M. Langlois has gathered together in one group, is not required to furnish as many human elements as it would be obliged to do when contemplated from the standpoint of the *romans d'aventure*. At the outset, therefore, one might expect to meet in the volume before us a somewhat tasteless sort of thing were it not that the author has expended a great amount of scholarly tact in the treatment of his theme; he endeavors to minimize the *fâcheux renom de la littérature moralisante du moyen-âge*, and he has succeeded in his undertaking as few men before him have ever been privileged to do. Notwithstanding this, there remains a conviction in the reader's mind, upon a perusal of the book, that these moralists are monotonous, and even tedious, with their endless generalities and repeated arraignment of mortal errors. The reiteration of this discipline through the successive writers of the volume produces a wearisome effect in the long run. As an offset to this objectionable feature, if it be objectionable, it is not to be wondered at, of course, that M. Langlois appears to be over-jealous at times in the defense of these didactic writers. He resents, for instance, the term: *austère gentilhomme*, applied by M. Lénient to Hugues de Berzé, as a misconception. Yet one needs but glance through the so-called

Bible of Berzé to feel that the term fits very adequately. His estimate of: *Le petit plet* of Chardri and the *Floris et Liriope* of Robert de Blois seem unusually strange.

Of the entire collection of writers whom M. Langlois has grouped together for his purpose, possibly the *Fauvel* of Gervais du Bus, a Parisian, responds best to the title of the book; it is the shortest and the keenest, in a human sense, of the whole list.¹ *Fauvel* is the *beste autentique* imaged in tapestries and other Mediæval decorations as the object of a most fulsome attention from men of all estates both low and high. Even the Pope is represented in this work as causing *Fauvel* to be led into his holiness' presence when the Pontiff condescends to stroke the animal gently, saying at the same moment: *Ci a bele beste*. This is the *Fauvel* that has come over into the English phrase: *to curry favor* (*étriller Fauvel*), where the original word has changed its form and, in part, its early connotation. The only prose work in this collection is that by Philippe de Novare d'Outremer, entitled: *Des IIII tenz d'aage d'ome*,² a work of rare distinction for those days in one particular at least, namely, that no research whatever is required for the investigation of the sources of Philippe. The essay is original with the author and unfolds his personal opinions upon the times in which he lived. M. Langlois considers Philippe de Novare the sole writer of the thirteenth century worthy a place next to de Joinville in quality of merit; the substance of his composition is a survey of man's life in its four progressive stages of twenty years each. The venerable old man has added to his main work no less than three post-scripta of some twenty pages in all at the close of the fourth period. A like addition is easily the privilege of advanced years, or must be taken as such, in the case of Philippe de Novare and his musings.

Following, in point of interest, the two writings just mentioned are the *Lamentations*

¹ Cf. *Histoire litt.*, v. xxxii, pp. 103-153, for a synopsis and commentary of this poem.

² In the *S. D. A. T.*, vol. 27, Paris, 1883, ed. Marcel de Fréville.

de Mahieu by Mathcolus of Picardy³ and *Le livre des manieres* of Estienne de Fougères.⁴ The work of Gilles li Muisis, in spite of its modern form, is neither comely nor such as to compel attention.⁵ Certain it is that his editor, M. Kervyn de Lettenhove, stands unenviably alone in comparing the abbot Gilles to Dante; at which juncture M. Langlois comes well to the rescue when he says of the Belgian cleric: *le bonhomme n'était pas bête*.

Finally, it might be urged that in a book of this character so many references to the technical journals of Romance philology only bewilder the layman and fall short of any purpose to instruct or edify him; nevertheless, it is much better to have included the material in question than to have omitted it, owing to the fact of its intrinsic value with the context. We hazard the wish that M. Langlois may see fit to construct an entire series of such works as the one in hand; they will—all of them—be the product of a rare talent in the sphere of general philology.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Das Fähnlein der sieben Aufrechten. Novelle von GOTTFRIED KELLER. Edited with Notes and a Vocabulary by W. G. HOWARD and A. M. STURTEVANT. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1907. Pp. iii + 170.

Keller's *Fähnlein der sieben Aufrechten* had long deserved a place among annotated school-texts, both for its intrinsic literary merit and its availability for class-use. The text as presented in the present edition is considerably abridged.

³Ed. A-G. van Hamel, *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes-Études*, fasc. 95, 96. Paris, 1892-1905 (Erratum in Langlois reads: 1895.)

⁴Cf. J. Kremer's edition in *Ausg. und Abh.*, vol. XXXIX, Marburg, 1887.

⁵Cf. *Poesies de Gilles li Muisis*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove. Louvain, 1882.

While this abridgment has in a measure impaired the broad epic style of the original, and through a change in connection occasionally strains the meaning of a word or phrase, the pruning has from a pedagogical point of view been done with skill and judgment. Two passages, the taking apart of Hediger's musket and Karl's reminiscences of an earlier kissing episode, one is, however, sorry to miss. The technical character of the former of these doubtless caused its elimination, but this objection could have been met by less drastic means, and the retention of the passage would have somewhat lessened the force of the otherwise just criticism (p. 87) that Karl "is perhaps a little too much of a paragon."

There was even less reason for the omission of the second episode. It is in Keller's best vein, with a delightful humorous turn, that banishes all suggestion of sentimentality, and with the whole raised to a higher poetical level by the inimitably graceful image of the butterfly that Karl in vain seeks to clutch.

The work of editing has on the whole been carefully done. An introductory sketch dealing with Keller's career and the setting of the story is modestly made to preface the Notes. In view of the popularity which this text is reasonably certain to enjoy the following criticism of details is perhaps in place.

Page 1, l. 15, "durfte sich sehen lassen" has an entirely different connotation from "was a sight for gods and men."—p. 2, l. 7. The statement that Schiller "expressed his obligation" to Müller in *Wilhelm Tell* is hardly correct, and is bound to be misunderstood.—p. 6, l. 16. *Bilder* are *Sternbilder*, *constellations*.—p. 8, l. 10. *hässlich* is not ugly, homely, but odious, detestable, 'hateful.'—p. 9, l. 10. *fromm* is not piously but gently, obediently.—p. 16, l. 15. In the expression "eine längere und fast schwicrige Verhandlung" the difficulty lies not in *fast*, which the editors would interpret as used in the Swiss dialectic sense of *sehr*, but in *schwierig*, which is here applied to an abstract noun in a sense that is commonly restricted to individuals, i. e., *troublesome*, *vexatious*. *schwierig* with somewhat unusual shades of meaning is in fact a favorite word in Keller as the following quotations, all from *Martin Salander*, will show: "Die armen Würmer!"

dachte der Vater wiederum, "das ist eine schwierige Geschichte" (p. 111). "Du siehst, ich war auch beschäftigt; ich bin ein armer Teufel und habe stets mit dem Vermögen meiner Frau zu schaffen, es ist eine etwas schwierige Gegend dort hinten!" (p. 249). Unter diesen trieben sich die Einberuher umher, hier und da Rücksprache nehmend oder einen der schwierigeren Kannengießer bearbeitend (p. 129).—p. 19, l. 10. The dative construction with *rufen* deserved a note.—p. 27, l. 10. The editors failed to observe the unusual construction of *während* with the dative. The Vocabulary gives it as governing the genitive only.—p. 27, l. 21. *steifen* is probably not *stiff*, *obstinate*, but *pedantic*, *formal*, *stiff*.—p. 31, l. 22. The reference in the Notes to p. 4, l. 22, does not explain the omission of the auxiliary.—p. 37, l. 16. In "als . . . Hermine hinter einer blühenden Weide hervortrat, die ganz voll gelber Kätzchen hing," *Weide* has strangely been taken to mean *pasture* instead of *willow*.—p. 40, l. 22. In "Allein sei es, . . . er blieb," the word-order is entirely regular.—p. 41, l. 27. *Spezialwaffe* refers not to the 'special branch of the service, special corps,' but to the *Stutzen* as the distinctive weapon of the special corps.—p. 51, l. 1. *Zöpfe* requires a note. "Jetzt sind die Demokraten oben und gelten für schneidig; die Altliberalen werden schon von ihnen Zöpfe genannt," remarks a character in *Martin Salander*. Similarly, "Prosit Anstrich, Herr Altliberaler, vulgo Zopfius!"—p. 53, ll. 11-14. The passage requires comment. Thus *Verdummung* (Vocabulary, 'stupification, brutalization, oppression'), which contains in it the fling that the Catholic party stands in the way of the enlightenment of the masses, remains entirely unintelligible in the light of either the Vocabulary or the statement on pp. 86-87.—p. 59, l. 10. The "gentlemen in black" are not "clergymen" (Vocabulary under *schwarz*) but the gentlemen of the receiving committee. Compare the references p. 61, ll. 4-7, and p. 63, l. 25.—p. 61, l. 15. The position of *lacht* calls for comment.—p. 80, l. 15. *weil* is *so long as* not *because*.—p. 120. *Fort-schrittsmann* is used in a technical sense and is *progressist* rather than *progressive man*.—p. 123. *geistig* also occurs in the sense of *intellectual* in the story.

Words omitted in the Vocabulary are: *rein* (p. 22, l. 3), *wohlgetan* (p. 58, l. 12), *taktfest* (p. 58, l. 25), *schenken* (p. 62, l. 1), *Schar* (p. 76, l. 24). The following misprints have been noticed: *alsalb*, p. 18, l. 7.—last words of ll. 6-7, p. 56.—p. 95. Read "Page 64.—1. geblieben" for "2. geblieben."—p. 106, *whispers* for *whiskers*.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FRENCH LITERATURE.

Guide bibliographique de la littérature française de 1800 à 1905, par Hugo P. Thieme. Paris: Welter, 1907.

Professor Hugo P. Thieme's little bibliography of French literature in the nineteenth century, originally published in 1897 and itself a useful manual, now appears ten years later in a rich volume of over five hundred pages, enlarged and improved in every sense. Not only has the list of authors increased, but the brief sections on special topics, such as the drama, versification, etc., which contained a few entries each, have grown to an independent second part of about sixty pages. As it now stands Professor Thieme's volume will be an important addition to the working library of the teacher and advanced student and will many a time save the trouble of consulting the more unwieldy and expensive bibliographies. Its value is enhanced by the comprehensive sections devoted to the chief criticisms found in separate volumes, in collections of essays or in periodicals. Thus a large amount of otherwise rather perishable material is made accessible. The list includes a thorough survey of the important English and American as well as continental journals. The periodicals classified form a list of three and a-half pages comprising, Professor Thieme tells us, one hundred and seventy reviews completely indexed, and one hundred and two partly so. The list

of authors themselves is of about eight hundred and fifty names.

It seems ungracious to welcome the advent of a publication the result of such patience and industry by seeking defects, and it is to be hoped that the following comments may be considered merely as suggestions should Professor Thieme feel inclined at the end of another decade to give us a still bigger work, or a development of the second part:

The choice of authors is judicious and, for the earlier part of the nineteenth century comprises almost every one of modern interest. Indeed, one is a little startled to realize that the Abbé Siéyès and Volney are admissible to the list. As we reach contemporary writers, though individual tastes are bound to differ, there is room for query concerning certain omissions. Where are the chief writers who have come forward, let us say between 1900 and 1905, and concerning whom the reader might be the most anxious for information? There is no allusion to the novelists of provincial life Eugène Leroy, already dead, whose *Jacquou le croquant* is so much admired by good judges; Émile Guillaumin, author of the *Vie d'un simple*; Jean Revel (Paul Toutain) whose Norman stories won him some votes at a recent election to the Academy. This is a case where we do miss the "curious anomaly the lady-novelist" now elbowing her way to the front: Mme. Marcelle Tinayre, Mme. Myriam Harry (Mme. Perrault) author of *la Conquête de Jérusalem*, the Comtesse de Noailles, Pierre de Coulevain (Mlle. Favre). They are as worthy of record as Rachilde who appears. We look in vain for the dramatists Henry Bernstein, Francis de Croisset, and if Courteline and Gandillot are admitted, why leave out Tristan Bernard? None of the Goncourt prize-winners, even L. Frapié, are given, and to go a little more afield, if we have Xavier de Montépin and Émile Richebourg where is Alexis Bouvier? Finally, where is Alphonse Allais, during his life the most whimsical and popular of all French humorists?

Professor Thieme has not undertaken to account for all the political writers and journalists. But if MM. Bourgeois, Clemenceau and

Paul Deschanel are admitted why not M. Combes, who began life as a writer on theology? Was it impossible to find Challemel-Lacour's full name? If Rochefort and the pseudo-Frenchman Blowitz come in, where is Armand Carrel? And M. de Blowitz's successor as Paris correspondent of the *Times*, the American W. M. Fullerton might complain of neglect, inasmuch as his French writings have been rewarded by the Academy.

There is inconsistency and incompleteness in the names of authors, their pseudonyms, their *prénoms*. The publications of Théophile and Frantz Funck-Brentano are confused; a work by Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu (*Les États-Unis au XX^e siècle*), is credited to Paul L.-B., and Faguet's article on *Les trois Anti* refers to Anatole L.-B.; Jean Rameau is a pseudonym; Émile Gebhart did not die in 1904, but on the other hand became an Immortal in that year by entering the Academy; Quesnay de Beaurepaire's writing in connection with the Panama and Dreyfus affairs are more notorious than his novels written as Jules de Glouvet; Mme. Darmesteter (A. Mary F. Robinson) is now Mme. Duclaux and has published under that name; the reference under Saint-Simon to "Saint-Simon et Chavigny" refers to the author of memoirs and not to the nineteenth century writer.

There is inconsistency in recording reissues: sometimes the new dates follow upon the same line, sometimes they are recorded in chronological order below; for an example cf. Marcel Prévost. There is inconsistency and incompleteness in preparing names and titles in the references to books and periodicals. In a French indication the last name alone is less unnatural than with English authors. A few misprints are here noted: Du Camps for Du Camp (p. 56); Van Daehl for Van Daell (p. 59); O'rell for O'Rell (p. 60); Houssonville for Haussonville (p. 80); Clarletie for Claretie (p. 130); Guita for Guaita (pp. 158, 350, 503); Gourcoff for Gourcuff (p. 203); Bywanck (p. 206) and Byvank (p. 261) for Byvanck and Bijvanck ("Quelle muse oserait approcher des bords du Zuiderzéc!"); Rozières for Rosières (under *périodiques*, p. 192); Bevers for van

Bever (p. 193); Alais for Allais (p. 207); Pière Lacordaire (p. 224); St-Beuve (p. 229); Beaumier for Beaunier (p. 257); Wyzewa Th. (p. 261 and *passim*) for Wyzewa T. (Teodor de); Preston Herriet and Harriett (p. 287) for Harriet; Estherhazy for Esterhazy (p. 336), where also the dates of Reinach's *Hist. de l'Affaire Dreyfus* should be 1901, 1903, 1903, 1904, 1905; Hugs for Hugo (p. 369); De Amicio for De Amieis (p. 373); Pachen for Pacheu (p. 424); H. Sherard for R. H. Sherard (p. 442); B. N. Wells for B. W. Wells (p. 444); Sedgwich for Sedgwick (p. 486); P. Martin for B. Martin (p. 496); Goss for Gosse (p. 503). The volume testifies to its exotic printing place (Weimar) by the grave accent rakishly cocked upon the capital A (Â) like the cap on an English Tommy Atkins, though the author is not consistent in its use even on his title page, and by a confusion between I, Y and J: Edmund Yates, the English journalist becomes Jates (p. 200); Yetta Blaze de Bury is Jetta (p. 40) and, on the other hand, the *Iambes* of Barbier become the *Jambes de Barbier* (p. 55), which reminds one of the derivation of *Jambus* in the prologue to Rabelais's Book II.

The second part, on works to be consulted in connection with the history of the French language, literature and civilization, although an afterthought, will prove a very useful portion of the book and might well be developed into an independent volume. As it stands, it contains much miscellaneous material, which might bear sifting. One is not inclined to complain at the presence of many references to works concerning or dating from the period before 1800 back to the Middle Ages, but Thurneysen on the accentuation of old Irish verbs (p. 478) seems remote from French versification, and the *Credit Mobilier* (p. 496) means nothing nearer France than the American congressional scandal of that name. On the other hand one misses (*e. g.*, on p. 468) any reference to Nordau's *Entartung*, one of the important contributions to the study of the symbolists and decadents.

Such slips do not seriously detract from the great value of Professor Thieme's handbook

for the convenience of his colleagues and of students of French in general.

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THE DRAMA.

DRAMATIC TRADITIONS OF THE DARK AGES.¹

As its author assures us in his preface, this work is not a history of the medieval drama, but an attempt "to hold a brief for one of the parties to a controversy which, in his opinion, has either been ignored or decided incorrectly, for nearly three-quarters of a millennium." In other words it is an effort to show that there was a continuous and popular drama written and acted in the Byzantine Empire throughout the middle ages and that this drama was the direct source not only of the medieval and Renaissance drama of Western Europe, but of all dramatic elements found in medieval literature, for "we may talk as much as we like about independent literary origins. The simple fact is that there has never been anything of the kind within the historical period."² The author claims no originality for this thesis, but acknowledges his debt to Constantine Sathas,³ whom he considers "a reformer in the history of the whole medieval period." Creizenach,⁴ Krumbacher,⁵ and Cloetta⁶ are quoted, chiefly to be combatted.

Mr. Tunison first takes up dramatic traditions connected with the war between the Greek church and the theatre, then the plays produced by that church through the influence of the

¹ By Joseph S. Tunison, Chicago, the University of Chicago Press, and London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1907, xviii + 350 pages.

² Page 333.

³ *Ἱστορικὸν Δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ Θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν Βυζαντινῶν*, Venice, 1878.

⁴ *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas*, Halle, 1893.

⁵ *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur*, II, in Müller's *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, Munich, 1897.

⁶ *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte des Mittelalters*, Halle, 1890-92.

stage. In the first of the four chapters into which the work is divided, called *Traditions Due to the War between Church and Theatre*, he expresses the opinion that the early persecutions of the Christians took on a dramatic form which produced the church's hostility to the theatre. Chrysostom's opposition to the stage and Arius's interest in it are especially accentuated. Some notice is taken of the action of the Council of Trullo regarding theatrical practices. Tunison believes that an ecclesiastical drama arose at Constantinople toward 500, that the Iconoclasts subsequently brought theatrical dancing and music into the churches and that actors were introduced there about 990, originating a festival that spread to Western Europe as the Feast of Fools. He concludes that "it is clear that Voltaire and those who followed him were right in deriving the ritual play and mystery from Constantinople."⁷

In his second chapter, *Dramatic Impulses in Religion*, Tunison continues his account of the Byzantine stage, treating the plays that were written for the church. He begins with the Apollinarii in the fourth century and comes down to the Renaissance, making no chronological distinction between this and the preceding chapter. There he dwelt on traditions connected with disputes between the church and the theatre; he now takes up church plays themselves. Some elements appear in this second chapter that seem out of place, for we wonder what Heraclius's subsidizing of dramatic interests,⁸ the distinction between ballet-dancers and mimes,⁹ and the encouragement given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus to guild-plays¹⁰ have to do with dramatic impulses in religion.

Chief among the plays he mentions is, of course, the *Christus Patiens*, which he dates in the fourth century, contrary to the opinion of Krumbacher¹¹ and other scholars, who place it in the eleventh or twelfth. He meets

their linguistic arguments chiefly with the reflection that the critics "are prejudiced against the possibility of giving the work an early date, for the reason that it affects the study of the religious drama in the West."¹²

Having satisfied himself that a popular drama flourished at Constantinople, Mr. Tunison turns to Western Europe in order to prove the Byzantine origin of the medieval drama, the second part of his thesis. He had stated in his first chapter¹³ that the tropes of the church service from which most authors derive the medieval drama were themselves of Byzantine origin, a theory which he would prove by the statement that "the whole nomenclature of the science used in the construction of tropes and sequences is against those who wish to leave the lay reader under the impression that these amplifications of the liturgy originated in the West of Europe." Now, at the beginning of his chapter on *Eastern Tradition and Western Development*, he declares that modern historians have been influenced by patriotism to ascribe the origin of the medieval drama to Germany, England, or France, as the case may be. But the Greek, Sathas, has shown without *parti pris* that its origin is really Greek.

Chief among the western followers of the Byzantine drama he places the German nun Hrotsvitha and believes, contrary to Creizenach's opinion,¹⁴ that her plays were acted. Admitting that she was influenced by Terence, he concludes that her work is really derived from Byzantine plays, because he believes her plots to be from the hagiography of the Greek church, and because the abbess of her nunnery was the daughter of a Greek princess. Her dramatic influence, moreover, may be considered great, if we remember that the *Faust* legend, which she treats, was not forgotten and that she was quoted by "all writers who made any pretense of classic learning."¹⁵

Other examples of Byzantine dramatic influence are contained in the "disputes" of the troubadours, the Snow-Boy story, such tales as the *Querolus*, *Geta*, *Babio*, *Sadius* and *Galo*, etc.

⁷ Page 61. Voltaire would have the mystery brought back by Crusaders, just as he suggests that their pilgrimages were responsible for the fish and cockles found on top of the Alps.

⁸ P. 102.

¹⁰ P. 116.

⁹ P. 114.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 746-749.

¹² P. 71, note.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 17 seq.

¹³ P. 45, note.

¹⁵ P. 183.

If any scholars conclude with Cloetta¹⁶ that there was no continuous dramatic tradition from ancient to medieval times from the fact that the idea of tragedy and comedy was lost in the middle ages, as is shown by a number of definitions and the use of these words as titles to such works as Dante's *Divine Comedy* and the Greek "tragedies" of Krates, Oenomaos, and Diogenes,¹⁷ these objectors are confronted with the argument that "the miscellaneous use of the words 'tragedy' and 'comedy' and their cognates proves nothing . . . A newspaper man uses words of this kind in remotely derivative senses almost daily, and yet, if called upon, he could usually give a fair definition of each of them as restricted to the stage. In fact, an experiment upon a man who writes theatrical notices daily showed that his first thought, upon being asked the meaning of the word "tragedy" was not of the staged piece, but of some or any sorrowful occurrence or narrative, and his definition of "comedy" answered almost word for word to the group of definitions gathered by Cloetta from the whole range of medieval literature; and yet the man has a thorough professional knowledge of the theatre, with absolutely no knowledge whatever of the authors whom Cloetta cites."¹⁸

Another argument in favor of an independent origin for the medieval drama is the fact that this drama first appeared in Switzerland, England, France, and Germany, while Italy, the country nearest Byzantium was the last to develop it. We are wrong, however, if we draw any conclusions from this fact, for "the Italians knew well that these ecclesiastical dramas were not an evolution of the ritual" and "looked askance at the newcomer, more than suspicious of its origin, while the northern nations admired it as the proper offspring of the church." Tunison cites nothing in proof of this assertion.

But Italy, so loath to accept the religious drama of Byzantium, atoned for its indiffer-

ence by the numerous secular borrowings enumerated by Tunison in his last chapter, *The Mediation of Italy*. Our author considers personification in the eclogues of Theocritus and Virgil with Bede's imitations of them, Seneca's influence on Lydgate and on the play *Gorboduc*. He makes a digression on the history of the Roman drama and another on the *Winter's Tale*, mentions the dramatic qualities of the *Canterbury Tales*, of the *Fables of Adolphus*, the *Alda* of William of Blois, and other works, tracing their sources as far as he can to the Byzantine drama. He brings his book to a close with a genealogical dramatic tree, the main trunk of which "was successively Hellenic, Roman, Hellenistic, Byzantine, Italian." From the Hellenistic period comes the Christian drama; from the Byzantine, the "ecclesiastical theatre, the Morality and the Mystery"; from the Italian, the Spanish and English; "from the Spanish, the French comedy; from the English, the German. Such would be approximately what a complete analysis of the history of the drama must show."¹⁹

Mr. Tunison's idea of presenting in a fairly popular form a work on the dramatic traditions of an interesting age deserves commendation. The volume is attractively bound and named. The phraseology of the chapter headings is original. The passages of fine writing, pedantry, and slang are not sufficiently numerous to destroy the reader's interest. There are a number of pleasant anecdotes, some stories of more than passing interest. Any general reader who desires to be entertained in an atmosphere of learning will do well to read the book. I commend it to him heartily, for to him it is addressed.

To the scholar, however, to the scientific student of literary history the work is valueless. The author's attitude is prejudiced to a degree. He is constantly striving to establish Byzantine influence, using to that end the machinery of exaggeration, confusion, and solemn repetition of statements not yet proved. He seldom quotes documents at first hand, derives his facts from Sathas almost without

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹⁷ These are romances. Cf. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 647.

¹⁸ P. 124.

¹⁹ P. 334.

criticism, has no bibliography and most incomplete foot-notes. Again and again he makes statements without giving proof or authority.²⁰ His material is largely undigested, very badly arranged.

To reconstruct a continuous Byzantine drama he calls to his aid the plays which formed a decadent prolongation of the ancient classic stage, but which ceased to be represented by the seventh century, and adds to them the later book-dramas and school imitations of classic authors, plays that were, as far as we can tell, neither acted nor intended for representation. References to the hippodrome, to circus performances, mimes and pantomines are held to refer to a real drama. He fails to consider the changing conditions of the Byzantine world, the influence of the Barbarians on its culture. To fill in the period from the seventh to the ninth century, which Krumbacher²¹ describes as cutting straight through the stage output and separating the ancient drama from the medieval, he brings forward such academic plays as the *Adam of Ignatius* (717). But by going twice over the period from the fourth century to the Renaissance and by a careful avoidance of all but the fewest dates, he creates the impression upon the casual reader that plays were written at Constantinople throughout the middle ages. I do not mean that he is intentionally insincere, for he seems to believe firmly in his thesis. His lack of accuracy may be due to his adherence to Sathas's work, which is notoriously ill-arranged.²² But this is hardly an excuse, for if Tunison's volume had a scholarly *raison d'être*, it would lie in his bringing order into the confusion of Sathas's treatise, a thing that he cannot be said to have accomplished.

Nor do we find Tunison's efforts at establishing Byzantine influence in the West more successful than they were at proving the existence of a continuous stage at Constantinople. He knows little of the medieval drama and dismisses with a few brief notes the mass of

scholarship devoted to tracing its development out of the church liturgy. His mistaken attitude towards Hroswitha's dramas has been shown in the *Nation*.²³ As a further example of his inaccuracy I quote his statement that Celtes's edition in 1501 of Hroswitha's plays antedates "all non-religious dramas in the West, except the two tragedies of Mussato and perhaps a Spanish comedy"²⁴ (the *Celestina*). He has forgotten *Pathelin*, *Robin et Marion*, *Griselidis* and other secular dramas of the middle ages. In the same connection he states that the *Celestina*, "though written in 1499, was practically unknown till much later." As a matter of fact, 1499 is merely the date of the earliest extant edition of the work, which was probably written about 1483.²⁵ The large number of its editions in the leading European languages throughout the sixteenth century belie Tunison's statement regarding its fame.

But his great mistake is the constant insistence upon Byzantine influence. Had he left this alone and confined himself to the facts of dramatic history, he would have written a book of some value and of decided interest. As it is, the volume is devoted to proving an impossible thesis in a manner that may mislead the careless reader, but will deceive no special student. Scholars will not take it over-seriously. They will be rather inclined to congratulate Mr. Tunison on the courage with which he has unsuccessfully assailed so orthodox an opinion as that of the independent origin of the medieval drama. They will congratulate him, too, on his acquaintance with Byzantine dramatic traditions, which are so much better known by him than they were by the authors of medieval plays in Western Europe.

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²⁰ Especially in his statement that she derived her plots from Byzantine hagiography. *The Nation*, LXXXV, 287-288.

²⁴ P. 139.

²⁵ See Foulehd-Delbosc in the *Revue Hispanique*, IX, 171-99.

²⁰ Cf., for example, pp. 6, 15, 38, 81, 102.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 646.

²² Cf. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 647, note.

SPANISH LITERATURE.

GUSTAVO ADOLFO BECQUER, *Legends, Tales and Poems*, edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by EVERETT WARD OLMSTED, Ph. D. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1908.

Nothing but praise can be due to Professor Olmsted for his selections from the prose and poetical remains of the lamented Becquer. Those who have known and loved Becquer in the Spanish three volume edition of 1898, will rejoice that he has found in America such a sympathetic and painstaking editor.

Professor Olmsted has given in this edition far more than we are accustomed to find or to demand in Spanish text-books. If we are not mistaken, his life of Becquer contains more reliable information than was anywhere accessible heretofore; his notes on Spanish prosody are more detailed than any we know in English except Dr. Ford's remarks on the same subject in *A Spanish Anthology*; his literary and explanatory notes on the text betray a range of reading and an alertness of observation which make of this volume a model from the literary standpoint.

The fact is that we are here dealing with genuine artistic literature in a Spanish text-book for almost the first time. Whatever else may be said in favor of the novelists, dramatists and short-story writers whose works have been adopted in our schools, they do not appeal to us primarily as artists. Becquer is an artist and a poet. To have treated him with other than respect and appreciation would have been a sacrilege. We must congratulate the editor upon the consecration which he has brought to his task, and the publishers upon the perfection of the book as a model of typography.

The editor states in his Preface that the text may be used in first or second year work. We should suppose that the vocabulary was so large and the style so literary as to preclude its use in the first year. Many teachers will agree that "fondness for good literature should be stimulated from the very first," and will yet continue to use for elementary work texts which make less demand upon the intellectual

appreciation of the pupil. The constantly recurring notes on prosody will not interest undergraduates, if we know them. We may be wrong, but we hold that the literary appreciation of a given lyric is not a whit increased when we are told that "this poem is made up of alternate decasyllabic anapests and dodecasyllabic amphibrachs." That is indeed Greek and will remain such to those who use the book. On the other hand, we believe thoroughly in the editor's novel efforts to cultivate in the student the habit of making his own literary comparisons with other foreign authors. The notes, moreover, are very full on all matters dealing with the religion, history and geography of Spain. In some of them, stiff quotations from Baedeker and the *Century Dictionary* seem of exaggerated length, and we think the editor could himself have worded the note more concisely. The bare mention of a town or province does not call for a paragraph of history with dates and present population, though we confess to having read these notes with interest and profit. The statement that Palestine is "a territory in the southern part of Syria,—chief city Jerusalem" does not seem to leave much to the originality of the student. But perhaps Professor Olmsted, like others of us, has not yet sounded the depths of undergraduate ignorance! We have, however, no controversy to find with notes which contain so much information worth having, except with the note on the *trobadores* (p. 31) which is inaccurate. It cannot be said of the troubadours that "belief in the marvelous, and hence in fairies, likewise characterized these poets." It is likely Becquer meant nothing more in the text than "popular ballad singers."

This edition consists of ten of Becquer's prose tales dealing with the legends, traditions and art of the Spanish provinces, and of some thirty pages of lyric verse among the most appealing in Spanish literature. That the edition marks a great advance in scholarship and typography is certain. Teachers must decide for themselves whether the text with its prevailing use of literary and artistic words rather than of the words of everyday speech

is what they want for their classes. Where Spanish literature is taught *per se*, and by all lovers of careful editing, Professor Olmsted's work will be welcomed and admired.

A fairly careful reading of the entire text has revealed but the following dropped accents:

P. 40, l. 26, *agazapose* for *agazapóse*.

P. 57, l. 8, *que* for *qué*.

P. 103, l. 19, *esta* for *está*.

P. 110, l. 16, *magnifico* for *magnífico*.

WILLIAM WISTAR COMFORT.

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FABLE LITERATURE.

SNARELY, G. E. : *Æsopic Fables in the Miroir Historial of Jehan de Vignay*. Baltimore : J. H. Furst Company, 1908. Johns Hopkins Diss.

This dissertation is only a portion of a more important work, a critical text of twenty-nine Æsopic fables taken from Jehan de Vignay's translation into Old French of Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*. The dissertation as at present published comprises a biographical notice, an account of the translator's literary work, the influence of his writings upon English literature, the Latin source of the fables, and a description of the manuscripts.

Jehan de Vignay, that "industrious translator and very mediocre writer," as he is characterized by Paul Meyer, has received scant attention from the historians of literature. Most content themselves with the mere mention of his name and of a few of his works. Few facts concerning his life are known; but meager as these are, they have never before been fully brought together. The best previous account of Jehan de Vignay is that offered by Paul Meyer,¹ who says of this translator: "*moins heureux que Nicole Oresme ou que Pierre Bessuire, qu'il a précédés, il attend encore sa biographie, qui pourtant offrirait une matière assez neuve à des recherches intéressantes.*" Mr.

Snarely, although he has collected more biographical facts than any one of his predecessors, has failed to give us anything like the definitive biography for which M. Meyer longs. Mr. Snarely has doubtless gleaned all that one can readily find in the way of biographical data from Jehan de Vignay's own works, but as these consist mostly of translations they naturally afford little information. It is probable that only diligent search among the archives will produce the material required.

The main facts that we know concerning Jehan de Vignay are these: He was born in Normandy near Bayeux, about 1275 according to Mr. Snarely's estimate. He belonged to the order of Saint Jacques du Hault Pas, and as early as 1298 was a professor at Dijon. In 1318 he was acquitted of a charge of murder. Later he seems to have filled an ecclesiastical position in Rouen, and he died in all probability in 1348. His connection with the house of Valois was very close. Most of his work was done at the command of Jeanne de Bourgogne and her husband Philippe VI.

Mr. Snarely, basing his opinion upon internal evidence, identifies this Jehan de Vignay with the like-named author of two Latin treatises: *Margarita Philosophiarum* and *Glossa in Doctrinale Alexandri de Villedieu*. Aside from these original works, Jehan de Vignay is the author of twelve translations, of which the most interesting are the *Miroir Historial* of Vincent de Beauvais, the *Chronique* of Robert Primat, the *Légende Doree* of Jacques de Varazze (Jacobus de Voragine), and *Le Livre des Eschez* of Jacques de Cesoles. The two last-mentioned works interest the student of English literature in that they were the originals of two of Caxton's well-known translations. Mr. Snarely discusses separately each of the translations, and also devotes a special chapter to the Caxton editions. In his preface he tells us that he has been able to list as many as 132 manuscripts of Jehan de Vignay, but unfortunately this list is not yet published. Throughout the dissertation there are constant references to an appendix to be published later with the text of the fables.

In a chapter devoted to sources we are told that Jehan de Vignay's fables are all taken from Vincent de Beauvais; but no attempt is made to trace

¹ *Les anciens traducteurs français de Végèce, Rom.*, vol. xxv. See especially pp. 406-408.

the sources of the latter. To do so would be to go beyond the scope of the present work. As a translator Jehan de Vignay sinned in being too literally faithful to his original and too false to the genius of his own tongue. However, his clumsy style did not prevent a vogue which extended through nearly three centuries.

The last chapter of the dissertation is devoted to a description of the nine manuscripts containing the fables. The relationship of the manuscripts is given in tabular form. In forming his critical text Mr. Snively will, of course, also use the Latin of Vincent de Beauvais.

To sum up, the present dissertation offers a clear and scholarly account of the life and works of a little-known author. Mr. Snively has his bibliography well in hand. The second installment of his work promises to offer more than is new than the first.²

²Since the publication of Mr. Snively's dissertation in May, 1908, I have come across the mention of what is probably a tenth manuscript of Jehan de Vignay's fables. L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la Librairie de Charles V*, Paris, H. Champion, 1907, Vol. II, p. *307, gives a note on a manuscript purchased by Mr. H. Yates Thompson, the well-known English book collector, on Dec. 15, 1906. This manuscript at one time belonged to the duc de Berry, and it contains the first thirteen books of Jehan de Vignay's *Miroir Historial*. A rather full description of this new manuscript may be found in *Book-Prices Current*, Vol. XXI, p. 301, where it is stated that it was bought by Mr. Quaritch for £1290.

It may be further noted that, according to L. Roth, *Die mittelalterlichen Sammlungen lateinischer Thierfabeln*, Philologus, Vol. I (1846), pp. 523-546 (see p. 526), Vincent de Beauvais quotes Romulus fables singly in various places in his works ("und an verschiedenen stellen zerstreut") in addition to the collection of twenty-nine such fables studied by Mr. Snively in Jehan de Vignay's translation. These fables can hardly be identical with the twelve fables cited by J. Jacobs, *History of the Æsopic Fable*, pp. 229-268, from the pseudo *Speculum Morale*. Hence it is probable that a careful reading of the Old-French author's entire text would have disclosed additional fables for investigation to Mr. Snively.

Finally, it should be stated that in the slight fire which occurred in the Library of the Johns Hopkins University on September 17, 1908, the greater part of the official draft of Mr. Snively's dissertation was destroyed.—GEORGE C. KEIDEL, October, 1908.

GEORGE T. NORTHUP.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. La vie et les ouvrages de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, édition critique publiée avec de nombreux fragments inédits, par MAURICE SOURIAU. Société des Textes français modernes. Paris: Publications de la Société de Librairie et d'Édition, 1907.

This volume, published as No. VII, by the *Société des Textes Français Modernes*, will render valuable services, especially coming at a time when Rousseau studies are so much in favor.

The text was so far available only in the edition of 1836, which was practically useless for scientific purposes. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre had been prevented by other occupations (see *Avant-Propos*, p. x) from completing his contemplated work on Rousseau, and only notes had been left, and very valuable notes, too. Aimé Martin decided to include them in the *Oeuvres posthumes*, but in order to make them more acceptable to the public, as he thought, he assumed the delicate task of writing out the book himself with the aid of the notes. He was not a competent person to do it as is well shown in Souriau's "Avant-Propos"; moreover, in itself, it was undesirable that such a work of rearrangement be undertaken at all. In the first place, the literary value would never be equal to that of *Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*; and from the scholarly point of view, that is, to have the book available for scientific purposes, the slightest alteration was still too much.

Let us give an instance: On page 60 (of the Souriau edition) we read that Rousseau had to depend for his living during his last stay in Paris, on 600 francs a year; whatever he needed more,—and he said that he needed altogether 1200 francs a year—he had to earn in copying music. But we know from another source that Rousseau had during this period a larger income which he actually received, but a smaller sum than even the 600 francs upon which he could absolutely depend (see: *Oeuvres*, Ed. Hachette, XII, pp. 243-4). Both pieces of information come directly from Rousseau, it would seem; but both cannot be true. Now, we know that B. de Saint-Pierre misstated some other facts which Rousseau had certainly told him correctly (e. g., Rousseau never told him that he was born in 1708, or that his mother had brought him up); so, we know

that B. de Saint-Pierre cannot be entirely depended upon when he merely reports Rousseau's statements, and that, in case of disagreement with probable statements from other sources, we need not lay too much stress upon B. de Saint Pierre's. But this we did *not* know before, as Aimé Martin had carefully corrected errors similar to those mentioned before publishing his edition.

But leaving aside the question of edition, it is well that the book should be easily accessible now for a good many reasons :

It gives us the best, the most direct information regarding one of the periods of Rousseau's life which is most difficult to understand and to judge impartially. And there B. de Saint-Pierre speaks of facts which he has personally witnessed, and therefore he can be relied upon pretty well. *E. g.* his description of Rousseau's appearance, pp. 31-32 (Souriau edition); the description of his apartment, pp. 31 ss.; their excursions around Paris, pp. 236 ss.; the daily occupations of Rousseau, 49, etc.

It gives some interesting points of comparison with passages of the "Confessions" (which, of course, B. de Saint-Pierre did not know), *e. g.*: the hospice in Turin, p. 34; the Venice episode, pp. 44-5; the love episode in Turin, p. 94; the Misses Galley and Graffenried, p. 95; or anecdotes similar to those told in the "Réveries," pp. 90-1.

It adds new information—and at places the new edition gives more than the one of Aimé Martin—*e. g.*: the Tante Suzon, pp. 38-39; Rousseau's father, p. 40; concerning the *Devin du Village*, pp. 63, 136; the financial situation of Rousseau, pp. 60, 61, 62, 63 (see what I said above regarding this point). And some opinions of Rousseau concerning men of his time: Voltaire, p. 10; Richardson, pp. 126, 129, 140; Hume, pp. 39-40, 64, 99; or books, like *Astrée*, p. 123.

The information regarding Rousseau's writings, and particularly *Emile*, is very important, pp. 37, 112, 161, 169-173. Rousseau wanted his friend to write a continuation of *Emile*, and, of course, explained to him in detail what he wanted; and from the point of view of Rousseau's development of ideas, the summary now published by Souriau we consider to be a capital document (most romanesque at the same time and bold is this second *Emile*; let us only say that Rousseau is not opposed to polygamy, as

Emile deliberately takes two wives like the patriarch Abraham).¹

I am not prepared to say that all these notes are fascinating reading. The criticism of Rousseau, the comparison of Rousseau and Voltaire offer pretty commonplace views (of course they were not so at the time of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre). Some of the remarks about Rousseau's character are not bad (pp. 73 ss.).

What has been said will suffice to give an idea of the book; we conclude by saying that no Rousseau library is complete without it.

The only thing that we really miss in this excellent book is an Index; a very easy thing to supply in a new edition.

A. SCHINZ.

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OLD ENGLISH HISTORY.

The Origin of the English Nation, by H. MUNRO CHADWICK, Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1907. (Cambridge Archaeological and Ethnological Series.)

Mr. Chadwick is well-known as a learned and patient student of Anglo-Saxon and Germanic antiquities and a cautious, though vigorous antagonist of many of the older theories touching primitive life and institutions. His volume entitled *Studies in Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, published in 1905, was mainly directed toward the solution of some of the most obscure problems in early English history; the volume before us carries the subject back to the days of Anglo-Saxon settlement and thence to the Continent from the fifth to the second centuries. His method of investigation is that of working from the known to the unknown, already successfully utilized by Seebohm, Vinogradoff, Maitland, Round, and others in investigating English history before the twelfth century.

¹ Bernardin de Saint-Pierre declined the offer, and we learn from a letter of Le Bègue de Presle, shortly after the catastrophe of July, 1778, that Rousseau had decided to finish "Emile" himself. (See Musset Pathay's document on the question of the suicide in *Vie et ouvrages de J. J. Rousseau*, Vol. II.)

This work is composed of twelve essays, each in a sense separate in itself yet forming a part of a common plan. Through the majority of the essays one general purpose runs, to employ the evidence of philology, archæology, and folklore to the elucidating of the character of primitive tribal institutions. Though the main thread is often lost sight of in the midst of the many detailed archæological, mythological, and philological digressions, nevertheless its essential character remains clear. Primitive life was not democratic but monarchic and aristocratic; its leading institutional feature was not a tribal assembly upon which monarchy was dependent or by which it was limited, but a king surrounded by his warriors. Mr. Chadwick rejects Tacitus' account, as describing a people more advanced in civilization than were the Germanic tribes of the north, and he places his dependence upon the poems, traditions, and archæological remains rather than upon the statements of the Roman historian, whose *Germania*, he believes, does not present a normal tribal organization.

Mr. Chadwick at the same time searches for the home of the Angli and finds it in the regions at the base of the Danish peninsula bordering on the Baltic. He denies Bæda's contention that the Angli came to Britain as "leaderless hordes," and believes that the conquest was effected by kings and warriors, that is, by the military class, which dominated the tribe and controlled whatsoever of government was developed at that time. He denies to the peasants—the mass of the tribe—any important share in government or in fighting, and relegates them to a subordinate place as concerned only in agriculture and religious ceremonies. Similar conditions existed in Britain after the conquest, so that all prevailing notions as to the military origin of kingship on English soil are without foundation.

Lastly, Mr. Chadwick takes up the questions which Bæda raises in his *Historia* as to whether the Angli and the Saxons were two separate and distinct peoples. From a study of dialectal characteristics and other linguistic evidences, from tradition, and from known social peculiarities such as the system of *wergelds* and the like, he concludes that the invaders of Britain belonged not to three but to two dis-

tingent nationalities, which we may call Jutish and Anglo-Saxon. The former occupied Kent and southern Hampshire and the latter the rest of the conquered territory. The Anglo-Saxons may not have been originally a homogeneous people, but there is no evidence to show that any national difference survived when they invaded Britain. By alien peoples they were all called Saxons, but the names which they applied to themselves and their language were *Angelcyn* and *Englisc*.

With Mr. Chadwick's main contentions we heartily agree, though his evidence is often scanty and his foundations often slender. His processes are, however, always scholarly and his methods scientific, a statement that cannot be made of the manner in which the von Maurer-Freeman school reached its conclusions. The historical scholar will not always feel competent to judge as to the soundness of many of Mr. Chadwick's arguments, but he is certain to feel satisfied that Mr. Chadwick has presented the subject in a new light and has started the investigation in a right direction.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

SOURCE OF VOLTAIRE'S *Phœnix*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In matters of mere opinion, critics may be, for reasons of temperament or differing mental valuations, diametrically opposed to one another. In matters of fact, where a mathematical logic exists, there should be no basis for disagreement. The following references show how critics may differ even with the same material at hand. The danger in source-finding lies in unqualified assertion, where the data present to the senses is of doubtful character.

In Voltaire's *La Princesse de Babylone*, a phoenix plays an important part, ostensibly acting the rôle of a messenger of love; in reality, being the vehicle to express Voltaire's conception of the human soul.

Le Breton, in his *Roman au XVIII^e Siècle*

[Paris, 1898, p. 212], after some consideration of the sources of Voltaire's "romans," makes the unqualified statement regarding the phoenix that; "Il [Voltaire] n'a guère imité, du reste, les Mille et une Nuits, et les Mille et un jours, qu'à travers les conteurs de son siècle: ce phénix qui sert de Mentor à la Princesse, il l'a pris dans le petit volume du Chevalier de Mailly que j'ai déjà cité . . ."

This "petit volume" entitled *Voyages et Aventures des Trois Princes de Sarendip*, while doubtless responsible for incidents in *Zadig*, cannot, with the greatest effort of the imagination, be considered the source of Voltaire's phoenix. There is, indeed, in this collection of pseudo-oriental adventures, a tale dealing with metempsychosis, in which a sparrow and a parrot take part, but this may be rejected at once, as bearing not the slightest resemblance to the story of the phoenix. Further than this there is, in the volume, nothing to suggest, even faintly, the mystic bird of Arabia.

John Dunlop, in his *History of Fiction* [London, 1845, p. 374], found an entirely new and equally absurd source. "Another of Voltaire's novels, *La Princesse de Babylone*, has been suggested by a French tale entitled *Le Parisien et la Princesse de Babylone* inserted in *La Nouvelle Fabrique des excellens Traits de Verités par Philippe d'Alcripe* [an anagram for Le Picard]. . . . In his tale, the beautiful princess of Babylone has a disgusting and unwelcome suitor in the person of the Sophi of Persia. The son of a French jeweler hearing of her beauty, sends her an amatory epistle by means of a swallow, and receives a favorable answer by a similar conveyance; and this bird, which corresponds to Voltaire's phoenix, becomes the friend and confidant of the lovers."

The resemblance of this tale to Voltaire's is of the slightest description and should give no encouragement to a critic to suggest a possible connection. The tale of d'Alcripe is a bit of oriental love-making. Voltaire's "conte," for all its wealth of descriptive detail, is primarily a vehicle for presenting certain philosophical ideas. Rather than postulate such sources for the phoenix, it is simpler and wiser

to grant Voltaire's originality in this case, at least until some probable source is discovered. The phoenix and its peculiar habits were well known to antiquity and the Middle Ages. Voltaire needed no enlightenment on a subject discussed by Herodotus, Pliny, and Tacitus.

Voltaire was not concerned with the antics of the phoenix; its fabulous powers of death and resurrection were what interested him, engaged as he was on a metaphysical problem. The mystic qualities of the phoenix typified the divine forces of the human soul, and these Voltaire was intent upon showing. It is reasonable to suppose that the phoenix was no borrowing from French fiction, but a stock figure brought forth from the store of the memory to serve as a concrete example of an abstract idea.

SHIRLEY GALE PATTERSON.

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NOTE ON TURKISH PLAYS.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In *Schejtan Dolaby*, one of the *Karagöz* comedies, there is a parallel to Jaques' familiar speech in *As You Like It*, II, 7, 139,

All the world's a stage,

And all the men and women merely players :

Hadgievad, an actor in the Turkish play, makes his entrance singing a song, from which the following extract is taken. (Jacob, *Karagöz-Komödien*, 2. Heft, Berlin, 1899.)

Mit Aufmerksamkeit betrachte dieses Himmelsgewölbe,
Diese Welt ist dem Schatten ähnlich für Kenner.
Äusserlich gesehen ist es (das Schattenspiel) ein Vorhang
Aber es ist eine Allegorie auf die Welt.
Wähne nicht, dieser Vorhang bestehe lediglich aus Schattenbildern.

Wenn man ihn in Wahrheit betrachtet, ist er der Platz
lehrreichen Exempels.

Die zeitlichen Vorgänge zeigt der Vorhang,
Was alles gekommen und vorüberzogen ist am Ahn.
Ausserhalb dieser Welt ist für Niemanden Bestand,
Ohne Dauer hat geschaffen die Majestät, welche man um
Beistand anfleht (d. i. Gott).

Alle, die kommen, gehen wieder, bis die Vernichtung
eintritt.

Im hajak (Schatten?) sind hajak die geschauten Gegenstände.

The Turkish *Karagöz* comedies are shadow plays, or, more correctly, silhouette plays. The apparatus consists of a canvas screen, back of which is placed a lighted olive oil lamp. The figures are made of leather, and are attached to a slender rod. The shadowplayer sits back of the lamp and manipulates the figures by pressing them against the screen with his rod. The screen, translated here by the word *Vorhang*, corresponds, therefore, to the stage; and the *Schatten*, really silhouettes, to the action of the players. The words which are translated in lines 5 and 6 as *Vorhang*, and *Platz lehrreichen Exempels* are, in Turkish, similar in sound, thus bringing out the more forcibly the idea of the stage presenting a picture of human life.

GRACE FLEMING SWEARINGEN.

Olivet College.

AN ANALOGY BETWEEN THE *Golden Legend* AND AN OLD IRISH POEM.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—That the modern scholar, in seeking the sources of literary works, is apt to over-emphasize mere coincidences is a well-known fact. Because a poet may happen to have a thought that has already been expressed before, it does not follow that he has borrowed it from his predecessor. The thesis of many a doctoral dissertation might be controverted, if we were able to devise some method by which these mere parallelisms could be detected. An interesting example of such a coincidence is the following:

In Longfellow's *Golden Legend*, there is a description of the scriptorium of the convent of Hirschau in the Black Forest. Friar Pacificus is transcribing and illuminating a volume; and as he completes his day's work, he looks through the window and exclaims:

"How sweet the air is! How fair the scene!
I wish I had as lovely a green
To paint my landscapes and my leaves!
How the swallows twitter under the eaves!
There, now, there is one in her nest;
I can just catch a glimpse of her head and breast,
And will sketch her thus in her quiet nook,
For the margin of my Gospel book."¹

In 1853, Zeuss published in his celebrated *Grammatica Celtica*,² three Old Irish verses that

were found scattered in the manuscript of the St. Gall Priscian, which dates from the middle of the ninth century. These verses express the moods of the glossator as he struggles with the obscurities of the Latin text. The second one, which occurs on pp. 203-4 of the manuscript, bears a striking resemblance, both as regards situation and sentiment, to the lines cited above. I append a translation of the three verses, which, I may add, differs but slightly from that of Whitley Stokes:³

I.

Bitter is the wind to-night: it shakes the ocean's white locks:

I fear not the coursing of a clear sea by the fierce warriors of Lothlind (Norway).

II.

A hedge of trees surrounds me: a blackbird's lay sings to me—a praise that I do not hide.

Above my booklet the lined one, the twittering of the birds sings to me.

In a brown robe, the cuckoo's beautiful clear song sings to me from the tops of the bushes.

May the good Lord protect me from Doom! I write well under the greenwood.

III.

Take thy corner in the prison: thou shalt reach neither pillow nor pallet:

Sad is that, as the servant of the rods, the pack-saddle of ill-luck has stuck to thee.

Now, the *Golden Legend* was already copy-righted in 1851, or two years before the appearance of the *Grammatica Celtica*, in which the Irish verses were published for the first time.⁴

JOHN L. GERIG.

Columbia University.

³ Stokes and Strachau, *Thesaurus Palæohibernicus*, vol. II, p. 290.

⁴ An interesting example of the same kind appeared in *Le Figaro* of Sept. 10, 1907. M. Georges Thiébaud had noted a striking analogy between the *Vase brisé* of Sully-Prudhomme and a passage of *L'Homme qui rit* (tome I, p. 434 of the *ne varietur* edition) which was thus conceived:

"Il arrive parfois que, sans qu'on sache comment, parce qu'il a reçu le choc obscur d'une parole en l'air, un cœur se vide insensiblement. L'être qui aime s'aperçoit d'une baisse dans son bonheur. Rien de redoutable comme cette exsudation lente de vase fêlé."

This passage was communicated to Sully-Prudhomme who replied, in a letter dated from Châtenay (Seine), the 2nd of Sept., 1907 (two days before his death), as follows:

"... La coïncidence que vous me signalez ne me surprend pas moins que vous. Simple coïncidence, en effet, car mon petit poème le *Vase brisé* a paru en 1865 chez le libraire-éditeur Alphonse Lemerre dans mon premier volume, intitulé *Stances et Poèmes*, et il était composé depuis plus d'un an déjà. Il est donc antérieur au roman d'Hugo, *L'Homme qui rit*. Il est plus que probable qu'Hugo n'avait pas eu connaissance de mon *Vase brisé*: il y a donc une rencontre bien extraordinaire de nos deux pensées dans le passage que vous me citez. J'en suis fier, grâce à vous. ..."

L'Homme qui rit was written from July, 1866, to August, 1868, and was published in 1869.

¹ P. 177 of the 1853 edition.

² Zeuss-Ebel, *Gram. Celt.*, 1877, 2nd ed., pp. 953-4.

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